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II SERIE

II

# CORPUS BASILICARUM CHRISTIANARUM ROMAE

THE EARLY CHRISTIAN BASILICAS OF ROME

(IV - IX Cent.)

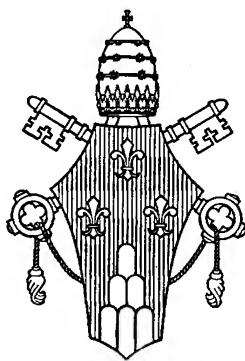
BY

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CITTÀ DEL VATICANO

PONTIFICIO ISTITUTO DI  
ARCHEOLOGIA CRISTIANA  
ROMA — VIA NAPOLEONE III, I

INSTITUTE OF FINE ARTS  
NEW YORK UNIVERSITY  
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## ABBREVIATIONS OF FREQUENTLY QUOTED WORKS

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| ALBERTINI, <i>Opusculum de Mirabilibus ... Romae.</i> | FRANCESCO ALBERTINI, <i>Opusculum de Mirabilibus Nouae &amp; veteris Urbis Romae</i> , Rome, 1510 (Basel, 1519).  |
| ARMELLINI-CECCHELLI, <i>Chiese.</i>                   | MARIANO ARMELLINI, <i>Le chiese di Roma dal secolo IV al XIX</i> , nuova ed. a cura di Carlo Cecchelli, Rome, 1942.   |
| ARINGHI, <i>Roma Subterranea.</i>                     | PAOLO ARINGHI, <i>Roma Subterranea novissima in duos tomos distributa</i> , Rome, 1651.   |
| BAGLIONE, <i>Vite.</i>                                | GIOVANNI BAGLIONE, <i>Le vite de' pittori, scultori, architetti ed intagliatori dal pontificato di Gregorio XIII del 1572 fino a tempi del Papa Urbano VIII nel 1642</i> , Rome, 1642 (Naples, 1733).             |
| BARTOLI, <i>Monumenti.</i>                            | ALFONSO BARTOLI, <i>I monumenti antichi di Roma nei disegni degli Uffizi di Firenze</i> , 5 vols., Rome, 1914-22.   |
| BIONDO, <i>Roma restaurata.</i>                       | FLAVIO BIONDO, <i>De Roma restaurata...</i> (Venice, 1510); Italian ed., Venice, 1543.  |
| BOLDETTI, <i>Cimiteri.</i>                            | MARC'ANTONIO BOLDETTI, <i>Osservazioni sopra i Cimiteri de' santi martiri ed antichi cristiani di Roma</i> , Rome, 1720.  |
| BOSIO, <i>Roma Sotterranea.</i>                       | ANTONIO BOSIO, <i>Roma Sotterranea, opera postuma... nella quale si tratta de' sacri cimiterii...</i> , Rome, 1632 (2nd ed., Rome, 1650).   |
| BOURQUE, <i>Sacramentaires.</i>                       | EMMANUEL BOURQUE, <i>Étude sur les sacramentaires romains</i> , I, Vatican City, 1948.  |
| BUFALINI, <i>Map of Rome.</i>                         | FRANCESCO EHRLE, S. I., ed., <i>Roma al tempo di Giulio III, La Pianta di Roma di Leonardo Bufalini del 1551</i> , Rome, 1911.  |
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| CANINA, <i>Tempi Cristiani.</i>                       | LUIGI CANINA, <i>Ricerche sull'architettura più propria dei Tempi Cristiani...</i> 2nd ed., Rome, 1846.   |
| CIACONIUS, <i>Res Gestae Pont.</i>                    | ALPHONSUS CIACONIUS (A. CHACON), <i>Vitae et res gestae pontificum Romanorum et S.R.E. cardinalium...</i> , Rome, 1677.   |
| CIAMPINI, <i>De Sacris Aedificiis.</i>                | GIOVANNI CIAMPINI, <i>De Sacris Aedificiis a Constantino Magno constructis...</i> , Rome, 1693.   |
| CIAMPINI, <i>Vetera Monimenta.</i>                    | GIOVANNI CIAMPINI, <i>Vetera Monimenta in quibus praecipue musiva opera Sacrarum, Profanarumque Aedium Structura ... illustrantur. Pars Prima</i> , Rome, 1690. <i>Pars Secunda</i> , Rome, 1699 (2nd ed., 1747). |
| C.I.L.  | <i>Corpus inscriptionum latinarum</i> , ed. Berlin, Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin, 1863-1936.   |
| C.S.E.L.  | <i>Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum</i> , ed. Vienna, Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna, 1869 ff.   |
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- B.A.C. *Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana*.
- Bull. Com. *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma*.

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<i>B.Z.</i>	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift.</i>
<i>Diss. Pont. Accad.</i>	<i>Dissertazioni della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia.</i>
<i>Jbch. Dtsch. Archäol. Inst.</i>	<i>Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.</i>
<i>Mem. Pont. Accad.</i>	<i>Memorie della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia.</i>
<i>Mél. Ec. Franç.</i>	<i>Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École Française de Rome.</i>
<i>Mon. Accad. Lincei.</i>	<i>Monumenti Antichi pubblicati per cura della R. Accademia dei Lincei.</i>
<i>N.B.A.C.</i>	<i>Nuovo Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana.</i>
<i>Not. sc.</i>	<i>Notizie degli scavi di antichità. R. Accademia dei Lincei.</i>
<i>Papers Brit. School.</i>	<i>Papers of the British School at Rome.</i>
<i>Rendic. Pont. Accad.</i>	<i>Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia.</i>
<i>Rev. Arch.</i>	<i>Revue archéologique.</i>
<i>R.A.C.</i>	<i>Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana.</i>
<i>Röm. Mitt.</i>	<i>Römische Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.</i>
<i>R.Q. Schr.</i>	<i>Römische Quartalschrift.</i>





## P R E F A C E

The preface to this third volume of the *Corpus Basilicarum* can be very short. The original intention was to make this the last volume of the series, including all the churches from S. Maria Maggiore through S. Vitale. Because of the amount of material, this proved impossible. We therefore decided to divide it into two volumes: Volume Three to contain S. Maria Maggiore through S. Pudenziana and Volume Four to contain the churches from SS. Quattro Coronati through S. Vitale. Volume Four should be ready for the press early in 1967. The three large fourth century churches extant only in small remnants and their dependent buildings — S. Giovanni in Laterano, S. Pietro in Vaticano, and S. Paolo f.l.m. — will have to go into a supplementary volume which, *Deo volente*, should be ready shortly thereafter.

Volumes Three and Four again could not have been completed or printed without the help provided by Mrs. Phyllis B. Lambert and the Architectural Research and Publication Fund which she has generously established at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University. Our very warmest thanks go to her. Our thanks go likewise to the Pontifical Institute for Christian Archaeology in Rome, and in particular to its rector Father Félix Darsy, its secretary, Monsignor Giovanni Manthey, and to Professor Pasquale Testini, who carefully supervised the publication. It is with pleasure that we thank Craig H. Smyth, director of the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, and the directors of the American Academy, Mr. Richard F. Kimball and Prof. Frank E. Brown, as well as the librarian of the Academy, Mrs. Nina Longobardi, and Prof. Enrico Josi, who time and again has smoothed our path. Thanks go to Mrs. Debra Dienstfrey, who has coordinated work on Volumes Three and Four, to Mrs. Carol Krinsky, who has edited the complete manuscript, and to a number of student research assistants, whose names are listed in notes at the beginning of the chapters on which they worked. Mrs. Dienstfrey and Mrs. Krinsky have compiled a list of works quoted in abbreviated form, which appears at the beginning of this volume.

Mr. Spencer Corbett is responsible for the surveys in this and the following volume, and has prepared to a large degree the structural analyses of the individual buildings. Other obligations have prevented Mr. Wolfgang Frankl from continuing his collaboration on the *Corpus Basilicarum*. His contributions have in a great number of cases been incorporated into our work. By and large it is impossible to determine who has done what. We can only hope it has been done well.

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Spring, 1966



## S. MARIA MAGGIORE

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(R. Krautheimer, S. Corbett, W. Frankl)\*

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\* Research assistant, WALTER CAHN

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- KÜNZLE, Summary of paper read to Pontif. Accad. Rom. di Archeol., *Rendic. Pont. Accad.* 33 (1960/61), p. 9 ff.
- SCHWAGER, "Zur Bautätigkeit Sixtus V. an S. Maria Maggiore in Rom", *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Hertzianae*, Munich, 1961, p. 324 ff.
- KÜNZLE, "Zur Basilica Liberiana: basilica Sicinini = basilica Liberii", *R. Q. Schr.* 56 (1961), p. 1 ff.; 129 ff.
- BERTELLI, *La Madonna di Santa Maria in Trastevere*, Rome, 1961, esp. p. 48 ff.
- WELLEN, *Theotokos*, Utrecht-Antwerp, 1961, p. 93 ff.
- KÜNZLE, "Per una visione organica dei mosaici antichi di S. Maria Maggiore", *Rendic. Pont. Accad.* 34 (1961/62), p. 153 ff.
- URBAN, "Kirchenbaukunst", 1961, p. 96 ff, p. 268.

## B. — ANCIENT DESCRIPTIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

## 1. DESCRIPTIONS

## a) BEFORE 1290.

*Liber de Ecclesia Lateranensi*, ca. 1180, based on earlier version, ca. 1070 (MIGNE, *P.L.* 194, col. 1557: "De ecclesia Sanctae Mariae Maioris"; VALENTINI-ZUCCHETTI, *Cod. Topografico*, III, p. 359 ff.; BIASIOTTI, *op. cit.*, 1935).

## b) BEFORE 1590.

MUFFEL, *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom* (1452), (*Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins ... Stuttgart*, no. 128) Tübingen, 1876, *passim*, esp. p. 31 ff.

RUCELLAI, *Giovanni Rucellai ed il suo zibaldone*, ed. Perosa, London, 1960, p. 69; also in *Zibaldone quaresimale* (1459), ed. MARCOTTI, *Arch. Soc. Rom. Stor. Patr.* 4 (1881), p. 568 ff.

FRA MARIANO DA FIRENZE, *Itinerarium*, *loc. cit.*

GIOVANNI COLONNA DA TIVOLI, *Taccuino*, Vat. lat. 7721, c. 63.

SIRLETO, *Trattato sopra la Chiesa di S. Maria Maggiore*, Vat. Barb. lat. 5276, f. 116 ff.; also Rome, Bibl. Casanatense, picc. 627 (transcribed: PESARINI, Vat. lat. 13127, f. 432).

PANVINIO, *Schedario*, Vat. lat. 6780, f. 24, 151 f.; 6781, f. 151 ff.

PANVINIO, *De praecipuis Basilicis*, 1570, *loc. cit.*

UGONIO, *Schedario*, Barb. lat. 1993, f. 72 (68); 1994, f. 41 (73) ff.; 2160, f. 98 (48).

UGONIO, *Stationi*, *loc. cit.*

## c) AFTER 1590.

*Acta Visitationum*, 1592-1600, Rome, Bibl. Vallicelliana, I 59, vol. 2, f. 21 ff. (transcribed: PESARINI Vat. lat. 13127, f. 125).

DE ANGELIS, *op. cit.*

PANCIROLI, *Tesori nascosti*, *loc. cit.*

BRUZIO, *Teatrum Romanae Urbis*, VI, Vat. lat. 11875, f. 873 ff. (transcribed: PESARINI, Vat. lat. 30127, f. 419 ff).

MELLINI, *Dell'antichità di Roma*, Vat. lat. 11905, f. 225 (308) ff.

CIAMPINI, *Vetera Monimenta*, *loc. cit.*

TERRIBILINI, *Descriptio Templorum Urbis Romae*, Rome, Bibl. Casanatense 2183, f. 331 ff.

ANONYMOUS, Description of church, ca. 1743, Rome, Bibl. Accad. dei Lincei, Cod. 708 II, fol. 278.

BIANCHINI, *Praefationes et Adversaria Historiae ... Basilicae Liberianae*, Rome, Bibl. Vallicelliana, T 74, f. 231.

BIANCHINI, *Notizie storiche relative alla Fabbrica di S. Maria Maggiore*, Rome, Bibl. Vallicelliana, T 75, T 86 (ed. BIASIOTTI, *Boll. d'Arte* 9 (1915), p. 145 ff., n. 2; Id., *Diss. Pont. Accad.* 13 (1918), p. 251 ff., n. 3).

BIANCHINI, *De sacris imaginibus...*, *op. cit.*, and MIGNE, *P.L.*, CXXVIII, p. 263 ff.

ANONYMOUS, Proposal for remodeling the basilica, Vat. lat. 9023, f. 203 ff.

PIER FILIPPO STROZZI, Letter to Bianchini, Nov. 30th., 1747, Rome, Bibl. Vallicelliana, T 86, *passim*.

CANCELLIERI, *Schedario*, Vat. lat. 9165.

STEVENSON, *Schedario*, Vat. lat. 10553, f. 11 ff.

PESARINI, *Schedario*, Vat. lat. 13127, f. 413 ff.

2. ILLUSTRATIONS <sup>1</sup>

ca. 1480 ANONYMOUS, longitudinal section of nave, showing three intercolumniations and part of coffered ceiling, pen and ink; Vat. lat. 11257, f. 185<sup>v</sup> (KRAUTHEIMER, *op. cit.*, 1949; our fig. 50) <sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> For a list of copies after the mosaics, see WAETZOLDT, *Kopien*, p. 48 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Ronald Malmstrom has convincingly suggested that the group of early drawings contained in Vat. Lat. 11257 dates from about 1480 rather than about 1510 as assumed by KRAUTHEIMER, *op. cit.*, 1949.

- late XV cent. ANONYMOUS, Ground plan with elevation in longitudinal section, pen and ink; Uffizi, Dis. arch. 1864 (BARTOLI, *Monumenti*, v. I, pl. II, fig. 3; our fig. 49).
- 1499 (?) FRA GIOCONDO, Drawing of a Doric capital and part of cornice, pen and ink; Uffizi, Dis. arch. 2050<sup>r</sup> (BARTOLI, *Monumenti*, v. I, pl. XXXIX, fig. 66).
- ca. 1510 ANONYMOUS, Drawing of a composite capital, pen and ink; London, Soane Museum, Codex Coner, f. 90<sup>v</sup> (ASHBY, "Drawings attributed to Andreas Coner", *Papers Brit. School.* 2, 1904, p. 59, pl. 119a).
- before 1516 GIULIANO SANGALLO, Drawing of a composite capital, pen and ink (similar to drawing in Codex Coner, f. 119): Vat. Barb. lat. 4424, f. 11d (HÜLSEN, *Il libro di Giuliano da Sangallo*, Leipzig, 1910, p. 21); drawing of a Doric capital, inscribed A. S. MARIA MAGGIORE, f. 14<sup>v</sup> (*Ibid.*, p. 25).
- ca. 1550 A. VAN DEN WYNGAERDE, View of the palace and the basilica from the rear, drawing; Oxford, Ashmolean Museum (our fig. 17).
- 1551 BUFALINI, Plan of Basilica, woodcut; *Map of Rome* (ed. EHRLE, Rome, 1911; FRUTAZ, *Piante di Roma*, II, pl. 198).
- before 1573 SALLUSTIO PERUZZI, Ground plan of the basilica, combining various parts without over-all consistency; below, detail of a nave bay, showing elevation with window and mosaic panel, pen and ink; Uffizi, Dis. arch. 660<sup>r</sup> (BARTOLI, *Monumenti*, v. IV, pl. CCCLXXVI, fig. 656; our fig. 10).
- 1575 DUPERAG-LAFRERY, View of the basilica showing the façade, as seen from a high vantage point, engraving; Map. *Le Sette Chiese di Roma* (FRUTAZ, *Piante di Roma*, II, pl. 236).
- 1585-1590 ANONYMOUS, Views of the façade, apse, flank, and surrounding structures, frescoes; Vatican Library (our figs. 7, 15).
- late XVI century MASCHERINO, Ground plan of old palace adjacent to the church, pen and wash; Rome, Accademia di San Luca (T. MAGNUSON, *Studies in Quattrocento Architecture*, Rome, 1958, p. 225 f., fig. 27; J. WASSERMAN, *Ottaviano Mascarino*, Rome, 1966, p. 120; our fig. 16).
- ca. 1590 CHERUBINO ALBERTI, pen and ink drawing of column shaft, base and capital found near S. Maria Maggiore and described as follows: on shaft, "Questo fuso è di porfido aveva sopra questo capitello dorico e base dorico non penso siano di suoi p. [?] in gono di 9 [?]" ; alongside, "p. 26. Erano drento in Santa Maria Magore fuora cavati"; on base, "p. 1, o. 1 1/4. Mi ... al mezo"; sketchbook, Rome, Gab. Naz. Stampe, Vol. 2501, A, f. 4.
- XVI century ANONYMOUS, Plan of the basilica, pen and wash; Vienna, Albertina, It. Az. n. 588 (SCHWAGER, *op. cit.*, fig. 238).
- XVI century ANONYMOUS, Plan of the basilica, pen and wash; Uffizi, Dis. arch. 216, attributed to B. de Rocchi (SCHWAGER, *op. cit.*, fig. 237).
- 1600 G. MAGGI, View of the church, including façade and left flank, engraving (ARMELLINI-CECHELLI, *Chiese*, p. 286).
- 1600 N. VAN AELST, View of the façade, engraving (EGGER, *Veduten*, II, p. 26; our fig. 9).
- 1606 A. GIOVANNOLI, Views of the façade and apse, engravings (*Vedute degli Antichi Vestigi di Roma*, figs. 17, 18).
- ca. 1610 G. MAGGI, View of the façade, engraving (Cichy, *Röm. Veduten des 14-19 Jahrhunderts*, Rome, 1959, pl. 38).
- 1610 W. VAN NIEULANDT, View of the façade and surrounding site, oil painting; Hofstede de Groot Collection (HOOGWERFF, *Nederlandsche schilders in Italie in de XVI<sup>e</sup> eeuw*, Utrecht-Oosthoek, 1912, pl. 52).
- 1621 ANONYMOUS, Plan, elevations and numerous other views of the church, engravings (DE ANGELIS, *op. cit.*, *passim*; our figs. 13, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30).
- 1642-1648 I. SILVESTRE, View of the façade and surrounding piazza, engraving (FACHEUX, *Catalogue raisonné de toutes les estampes ... d'Israel Silvestre*, Paris, 1857, pp. 39, 65).
- 1662 J. A. BEERSTRAATEN, View of the façade, oil painting, detail; Louvre, no. 2310 (WILLIS, *Niederländische Marinemalerei*, Leipzig, 1911, pl. 28).
- 1664 L. CRUYL, View of the western nave elevation and surrounding area, pen and wash; formerly Vienna, Albertina no. 20973 (EGGER, II, pl. 64).
- 1665 L. CRUYL, View of the western nave elevation, with surrounding area, engraving (*Romae Typis I. B. de Rubeis...*, 1666).
- 1673 L. CRUYL, View of the church, with western nave elevation and part of the façade, pen and wash; Florence, Poggio Imperiale (LANGEDIJK, "Eine unbekannte Zeichnungs-

- folge von Lieven Cruyl", *Mitteilungen des Kunsthist. Inst. in Florenz* 10 (1961), p. 77; our fig. 10).
- XVIII cent. ANONYMOUS, View of the façade before the Fuga restoration, oil painting (GREGORIO, "Mostra di Topografia Romana", *Capitolium*, 1929, p. 512); present location unknown.
- ca. 1720 ANONYMOUS PACETTI, View of the façade and surrounding piazza, pen and wash; Berlin Kupferstichkabinett, no. 14277 (EGGER, II, pl. 65).
- 1713 R. DE COTTE, Ground plan of the church, pen and ink; Paris, Bib. nat., Cabinet des Estampes, Vf 7, fol. 16 (no. 1060; our fig. 18).
- 1736-1743 F. FUGA, Plans and other drawings for the remodelling of portico and nave, pen and wash; Rome, *Ist. di Arch. e Storia dell'Arte*, Racc. Lanciani, XI, 46, 11-14, nos. 31809 ff. (our fig. 22, 23, 24; see also PANE, *Ferdinando Fuga*, Naples, 1954, pls. 62, 63, 65, 72).
- 1839 G. FONTANA, View of the nave, engraving; (VALENTINI, *op. cit.*, 1839, pl. IV).
- 1843 L. ROSSINI, View of the interior looking toward the entrance, and ground plan, engraving; (L. ROSSINI, *Scenografia degl'interni delle più belle chiese...*, Rome, 1843, pls. XXI, XXIX).
- 1846 L. CANINA, View of the nave and many other parts of the church, lithographs (*Ricerche sull'architettura più propria dei Tempi Cristiani*, Rome, 1846).

## C. — DATES

- 352—356 Pope Liberius founds a basilica, bearing his name, adjoining the *macellum Libiae*: "*Hic fecit basilicam nomini suo iuxta macellum Libiae*" (L.P. I, p. 208).
- 366 The Liberian basilica is mentioned in the preface of the *Libellus precum* as the site of serious partisan strife in connection with the schism attending the election of Pope Damasus (MIGNE, P.L. XIII, col. 82). Saint Jerome, on the other hand, locates these outbreaks in the Sicininum (*Eusebii Chronicorum libri II interprete S. Hieronymo*, MIGNE, P.L. XXVII, cols. 505-506), while Ammianus Marcellinus places them in the "basilica Sicinini" (*Rerum gestarum libri XXVII*, 3, 11). Other references to the basilica occur in Rufinus' *Historia Ecclesiastica* (MIGNE, P.L. XXI, col. 521), and in the letter of the emperors Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian ordering the restitution of the basilica (*Epistulae Imperatorum Pontificum...*, ed. GÜNTHER, CSEL XXXV, Vienna, 1895, p. 49).
- 432—440 A basilica, which the compiler of the *Liber Pontificalis* identifies with that of Liberius, is constructed and dedicated to the Virgin by Pope Sixtus III, who gives to the new church many precious objects, including chalices, silver candelabra, crowns, and a silver stag spouting water, as well as vessels for baptism. Sixtus further provides dining rooms adjoining the steps leading to the entrance of the basilica, other buildings in the neighborhood of the church and estates outside Rome: "*Hic fecit basilicam sanctae Mariae, quae ab antiquis Liberii cognominabatur*<sup>1</sup>, *iuxta macellum Libiae, ubi et obtulit ... cenacula a regiae gradorum adherentes basilicae*" (L.P. I, p. 232-233). The corresponding passage in the *Catalogus Canonianus* makes no mention of the church of Liberius: "*Hic fecit basilica sanctae Mariae iuxta macellum Libiae*" (L.P. I, p. 88). The activity of Sixtus was recorded in the inscription still visible at the center of the triumphal arch mosaics, XYSTVS EPISCOPVS PLEBI DEI, and also in another inscription over the main doorway, repeatedly reported in early mediaeval syllogae (Tours, Lorsch IV, Verdun) and preserved in part until it was destroyed in the late sixteenth century redeco-

VIRGO MARIA TIBI XYSTVS NOVA TECTA DICAVI  
 DIGNA SALVTIFERO MVNERA VENTRE TVO  
 TV GENITRIX IGNARA VIRI TE DENIQVE FAETA  
 VISCERIBVS SALVIS EDITA NOSTRA SALVS  
 ECCE TVI TESTES VTERI SIBI PRAEMIA PORTANT  
 SVB PEDIBVSQVE IACET PASSIO CVIQVE SVA  
 FERRVM FLAMMA FERA FLVVIVS SAEVVMQVE VENENVM  
 TOT TAMEN HAS MORTES VNA CORONA MANET<sup>2</sup>

(DE ROSSI, *Inscriptiones* II, pp. 71, 98, 139, and PANVINIO, *De praecipuis Basilicis*, 1570, p. 235).

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 57 and note 1.

<sup>2</sup> We follow Tours.



- An entry in the *Liber Pontificalis* also records the gift by Sixtus III of a baptismal font decorated with porphyry columns: “*fecit et fontem baptisterii ad sanctam Mariam et columnis porphyreticis exornavit*” (*L.P.* I, p. 234).
- 461—468 Pope Hilarus I provides a golden chalice, twenty-five similar vessels in silver, twenty-five silver pitchers, and fifty silver chalices, to be used in the services of the *stationes* and stored in the basilica Constantiniana or in the basilica of Saint Mary (*L.P.* I, p. 245).
- 468—483 Pope Simplicius dedicates a basilica, adjoining the basilica of Saint Mary, to Saint Andrew: “*Hic dedicavit basilicam ... beati apostoli Andreae, iuxta basilicam sanctae Mariae*” (*L.P.* I, p. 249).
- 498 The election of the anti-pope Laurentius, rival of Symmachus, takes place in the basilica of Saint Mary (*L.P.* I, p. 260).
- 498—514 Pope Symmachus constructs an oratory dedicated to Saints Cosmas and Damian near the basilica: “*Item ad sanctam Mariam oratorium Cosmae et Damiani a fundamento construxit*” (*L.P.* I, p. 262).
- VI cent. The *presepe* is mentioned in a ninth century inscription which reproduces a sixth century deed of gift by a certain Flavia Xanthippa: “*BASILICAE SCAE DI GENETRICIS QA AD PRAESEPEM*” (*FERRI, op. cit.*, p. 151). However, the term AD PRAESEPEM might be a ninth-century interpolation.
- 635—642 The basilica is mentioned in the *Epitome De locis sanctis martyrum*: “*Basilica quae appellatur sancta maria maior*” (*DE ROSSI, Roma Sotterranea* I, p. 143).
- 642—649 Under Pope Theodore, the basilica is mentioned, for the first time in the *Liber Pontificalis* as “*beata Maria ad Praesepe*” (*L.P.* I, p. 331). This appellation is repeated, with slight variations, in the *gesta* of the succeeding popes, Martinus (*L.P.* I, p. 338) and Eugene (*IBID.*, p. 341).
- 687—701 Pope Sergius I establishes feast days in honor of the Annunciation, Nativity, and Dormition of the Virgin, to be celebrated in S. Maria Maggiore (*L.P.* I, p. 397).
- 715—731 Pope Gregory II establishes a monastic old age home, located behind the apse of the basilica: “*Hic gerocomium quod post absidam sanctae Dei genetricis ad Praesepe situm est monasterium instituit...*” (*L.P.* I, p. 379).
- 731—741 Under Pope Gregory III, five beams are renewed in the roof and lighting fixtures are mounted on the entablature over the columns in imitation of the method of lighting in S. Peter's. Gregory also presents an icon of the Virgin and Child, in gold and precious stones, to the oratory of the *Presepe*, which is mentioned here for the first time: “*Fecit in ecclesia Sanctae Dei genetricis ad Praesepe per circuitum super columnas regulare candelabrum ad instar ecclesie beati Petri apostoli ... et ibidem in oratorio sancto quod Praesepe dicitur imaginem auream dei genetricis amplectentem dominum Deum nostrum...*” (*L.P.* I, p. 418). “*Mutavit autem trabes in sancta Dei genetrice ad Praesepe num. V*” (*Ibid.*, p. 420).
- 752—757 According to two interpolations in the text of the *Liber Pontificalis*, silver grills (*rugae*) are donated by Pope Stephen II for the front of the altar. The pope further contributes a golden image of the Virgin and Child decorated with precious gems, and restores two older silver icons of the Virgin (*L.P.* I, pp. 443, 453).
- 772—795 Pope Hadrian I restores the basilica and inserts twenty beams in the roof: “*Item praecipuus praesul basilicae sanctae Dei genetricis ad Praesepe quae a priscis temporibus tota marcuerat, ultro citroque restauravit, et in sarta tecta eiusdem ecclesiae posuit trabes maiores XX*” (*L.P.* I, p. 508). He also donates two textiles for the main altar, a four-fold curtain for the main door, disposed after the manner of the basilica of Saint Peter (*Ibid.*, p. 500), and other curtains for the intercolumniations. He also contributes golden historiated panels for the decoration of the altar of the *Presepe*, silver panels for the confessio, a chalice and a paten (*Ibid.*, p. 511, 512). A casual reference to the foundation of the basilica by Sixtus III and its decorations occurs in a letter from Hadrian I to Charlemagne: “*Sixtus fecit basilicam sanctae Dei Genetricis Mariae cognomento Majorem ... tam in metallis, quamque in diversis historiis sacris decoravit imaginibus*” (*MANSI, Collectio*, XIII, p. 801; *L.P.* I, p. 235, n. 8).
- 795—816 Pope Leo III restores the vault of the apse (?) and of a quadriporticus: “*Fecit simul etiam et cameram eiusdem ecclesiae et in quadriportica*” (*L.P.* II, p. 2). In 809, he also repairs the roof: “*Verum etiam et sarta tecta basilica beatae Dei genetricis semperque virginis Mariae dominae nostrae quae appellatur ad Praesepe omnia noviter restauravit*” (*Ibid.*, p. 27)<sup>1</sup>. The list of donations is lengthy

<sup>1</sup> For the date 809, see Hülsen, « Osservazioni sulla biografia di Leone III », *Rend. Pont. Accad.* 1 (1923), p. 107 ff., esp. p. 111.

and impressive, including a ciborium in solid silver, grills (*rugae*) for the entrance of the chancel, a solid, gold cross, an altar frontal in silver covered with gold, numerous crowns, a *cantharus* and many textile hangings for various parts of the basilica (*Ibid.*, pp. 2, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 26, 29, 30, 31, 33).

- 817—824 Because the episcopal throne stood at an insufficiently elevated level and in close proximity to the *matroneum*, it was possible for the women attending the services to approach the seat of the pope and overhear his conversations. For this reason, during the pontificate of Paschal I, the seat of the bishop was raised to a higher platform accessible by stairs. The altar was also raised in height and decorated with precious marble. Six porphyry columns were erected in front of the *confessio* and crowned by an architrave. The chancel was decorated with variegated marble panels: “*Praeterea idem sanctissimus et orthodoxus pontifex ... ecclesiam sanctae et intemeratae virginis Mariae dominae nostrae quae appellatur ad Praesepe cernens quondam tali more constructam ut post sedem pontificis mulieres ad sacra missarum sollemnia stantes prope adsistere iuxta pontificem viderentur, ita ut si aliquid conloqui pontifex cum sibi adsistentibus voluisset, ex propinqua valde mulierum frequentatione nequaquam ei sine illarum interventione liceret; et largum ibidem locum inesse qualiter inde sedem mutari valeret cerneret, dato operis studio, caepit indesinenter agere sedem inferius positam sursam ponere, ut eo familiaris Domino preces fundere posset, quo consortia populorum modeste declinare potius constitisset; denique sedem optime quam dudum fuerat pulcherrimis marmoribus decoratam condidit, et undique ascensus quibus ad eam gradiatur construxit; pavementumque altaris erigens pretiosissimis marmoribus stravit. Erexit sane sex inibi ante confessionem sacri altaris purpureo colore columnas, quas super et candidi marmoris trabem posuit, purpureis dextra levaque marmoribus nectens novis illas scilicet celaturis exornans satis commode decoravit. Presbiterium quoque ipsius ecclesiae diversis marmoribus quam pridem fuerat in melius reparavit (L.P. II, p. 60).*
- The list of donations of Paschal I to the basilica includes an altar frontal (*propitiatorum*), golden grills for the *confessio*, a *gabatha* in solid gold with precious gems, and eight silver arches resting on sixteen columns. Pascal further contributes silver grills and six chandeliers for the space in front of the altar, forty-two chandeliers to be hung in the intercolumniations, four crowns, an icon of the Virgin and Child, and many textiles for the altar, intercolumniations, portal, and apse of the basilica (*L.P. II*, pp. 60, 61, 62, 63).
- 827—844 Pope Gregory IV donates a textile inscribed with his name, with scenes of the Nativity, Baptism, Presentation in the Temple, and Resurrection (*L.P. II*, p. 76).
- 844—847 Pope Sergius II donates to the oratory of the Presepe panels in silver covered with gold, with scenes of the Incarnation and Nativity of the Virgin (*L.P. II*, p. 91).
- 855—858 Pope Benedict III restores the baptistery: “*In qua vero basilica baptisterium, distectum quod multa per tempora manserat, celeri studio, futuram sperans a Domino retributionem, restauravit et ad pristinum statum perducere procuravit (L.P. II, 144).* This pope also contributes a golden crown to the basilica (*Ibid.*, p. 144).
- 858—867 Pope Nicholas I gives a silver *cantharus* to the basilica (*L.P. II*, p. 153).
- 867—872 Pope Hadrian II receives Byzantine ambassadors in the sacristy of S. Maria Maggiore in connection with the controversy over Photius: “*huic sanctissimo Hadriano papae cum episcopis et proceribus in secretario sancte Mariae Maioris, iuxta morem sanctae sedis apostolicae residenti se satis humiliter presentarunt ..*” (*L.P. II*, p. 178).
- 885—891 Pope Stephen V provides lamps for nocturnal devotions and donates to the basilica four finely woven textile hangings to be suspended around the altar (*L.P. II*, 194).
- 1145—1153 The portico is reconstructed under Pope Eugenius III; inscription on the architrave: *TERCIUS EVGENIVS ROMANVS PAPA BENIGNVS OBTVLIT HOC MVNVS VIRGO SACRATA TIBI / QVE MATER XPISTI FIERI MERITO MERVISTI SALVA PERPETVA VIRGINITATE TIBI / ES VIA VITA SALVS TOTIVS GLORIA MVNDI DA VENIAM CVLPIS VIRGINITATIS HONOR*; now in the courtyard to the north of the church (FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, XI, p. 9, No. 1).
- 1187—1191 Clement III, while bishop of Palestrina, ceded to the basilica the adjoining palace, this being the first mention of that structure; quoted in bull of Celestin III (1191-1198), which in turn refers to a bull of Clement III: “*Quia felicitis recordationis Clemens III ... dum ... Praenestinae sedi praesideret, in ecclesia vestra palatium de proprio fecerit fabricari...*” (MIGNE, *P.L.* 206, col. 910; KEHR, *It. Pont.*, I, p. 56, no. 9 and DE ANGELIS, *op. cit.*, p. 117, who interprets the document as referring to the building of the palace 1181-1187; see also BIASIOTTI, *op. cit.*, 1935, p. 30).
- 1291 A chapel in honor of the *Presepe*, designed by Arnolfo di Cambio, is constructed within the basilica (PANVINIO, *Cod. Vat. lat.* 6781, f. 151, published by BIASIOTTI, *Mél. Ec. Franç.*, 1915, p. 28; VASARI, *Vite*, ed. MILANESI, I, Florence, 1878, p. 278).

- 1295 The apse is reconstructed under Pope Nicolas IV and decorated with the mosaic of the Coronation of the Virgin signed IACOB TOR/RITI PICTOR H'OP' MOSIAC FEC. The inscription below the mosaic, now lost, recorded the work of Nicholas IV:

QVARTVS PAPA FVIT NICOLAVS VIRGINIS AEDEM  
HANC LAPSAM REFICIT FITQ. VETVSTA NOVA  
PATER APOSTOLICVM SERVET FRANCISCVS ALVMNVNVM  
PROTEGAT OMNIPOTENS MATRE ROGANTE BEET  
A. D. MCCLXXXV

The façade mosaics also executed at this time bore the signature PHILIPP' RVSVTI FECIT HOC OPVS (FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, XI, p. 11, beneath the figure of the Saviour in the mosaic of the old façade, now enclosed in the loggia).

- 1370—1378 Construction of the campanile, attributed to Pope Gregory XI (UGONIO, *Stazioni*, 1588, f. 61<sup>v</sup>, and DE ANGELIS, *op. cit.*, pp. 61, 89). PANVINIO credits Gregory XI only with a restoration of the tower (*De praecipuis Basilicis*, 1570, p. 237), but elsewhere merely mentions having seen this pope's coat of arms on its side (Cod. Vat. lat. 6781, f. 22). FRA MARIANO, on the other hand, attributes the building of the campanile to Sixtus IV (*Itinerarium*, ed. BULLETTI, p. 188), while PIAZZA credits Pope Gregory X, on the basis of an unspecified document in the archives of the basilica (*Gerarchia*, p. 344).
- 1373 Construction of a chapel dedicated to Saint Lawrence, sponsored by Cardinal Nicolo Capocci, according to his will in the archives of the basilica (DE ANGELIS, *op. cit.*, p. 55).
- Ca. 1400 Stephanus Paulus Octavianus de Vaschis constructs a chapel dedicated to Saint Jerome (DE ANGELIS, *op. cit.*, p. 56).
- 1411—1423 Cardinal Francesco Landi constructs a chapel dedicated to the Assumption of the Virgin and to Saint Francis, located at the entrance of the choir, on the right side (DE ANGELIS, *op. cit.*, p. 55).
- 1424 Bishop Nicholas Vivianus constructs a chapel in honor of the Visitation, fronting on the right aisle of the Basilica (DE ANGELIS, *op. cit.*, p. 56).
- 1437—1438 Pope Eugenius IV executes repairs in S. Maria Maggiore. The documents specify delivery of wood, tiles, lime and roof beams (MÜNTZ, *op. cit.*, I, p. 48 f.). See also BIANCHINI, *Notizie...* (Vallicelliana, T 75), f. 35: "Nell'anno 1724 fu rinnovato il tetto ... furono calati alcuni travi ... ove era scritto il nome di Eugenio IV...".
- 1445—1484 Guillaume d'Estouteville, archpriest of the basilica from 1445 until his death in 1484, undertakes far-reaching restorations. Repairs are made in several chapels, and Cardinal d'Estouteville provides for the construction of organs, for windows and glass, for large bells, and for restoration of the campanile. He also restores the choir and the roof above, inserting vaults in the aisles and transept, and donates gold and silken *paramenta*: "Idem reverendissimus dominus ... maximos sumptus et impensas fecisse pro reparatione et ornamenta basilice Sancte Marie Majoris, videlicet sanctorum Michaelis et Petri ad Vincula, pro structura cappelle sancti Antonii ... pro constructione organorum, fenestrarum et pro vitris et pro campanis grossis et pro campanili noviter et pro edificio chori et pro tectis et voltis in duabus alis pro variis paramentis aureis et serviceis..." (Arch. S. Maria Maggiore, D, II, 163; J. MARX, *op. cit.*, p. 51). "Crucem mediam transversam, & naves ex utraque parte minores, e ligneis lateritias, & fornicatas fecit Guillelmus Cardinalis Rothomagensis" (PANVINIO, *De praecipuis Ecclesiis*, p. 235). Two large chapels are dedicated to the Virgin by the same prelate: "Duo alia magna sacella fabricarunt idem Guillelmus in honorem S. Mariae Virginis" (IBID., p. 237).
- Cardinal d'Estouteville is also credited with the building of two marble portals and a stairway consisting of fifty marble steps leading to the apse of the basilica: "Fecit hic cardinalis duas portadas marmoreas, cum quindecim gradibus ibidem marmoreis per quos ad ecclesiam S. Mariae majoris ascenditur et multa in eadem aede vetustate corrupta restituit et in melius reformavit" (Vatican Library, Chig. I, V, 167, f. 4; MÜNTZ, *op. cit.*, III, p. 161).
- 1447—1455 Pope Nicholas V initiates works in the palace adjoining the basilica, completed by Pope Julius II: "Palatium S. Mariae Majoris a Nicholao V inchoatum opus sumptuosissimum et imperfectum quod quidem prout ut erat tua beatitudo Julius II exornavit ac portis ac valvis et fenestris et aliis necessariis rebus munivit" (ALBERTINI, *op. cit.*, Lib. III, 558); see also payments in 1450-51 "per lo lavoro di Santa Maria Magiore" (MÜNTZ, *op. cit.*, I, p. 144 f.).
- 1455—1456 Payment for doors at S. Maria Maggiore (MÜNTZ, *op. cit.*, I, p. 200).

- 1492—1503 Under Pope Alexander VI, the gilded wooden ceiling begun by Callixtus III is completed: “*Tectum incepit Callixtus III, persolvit Alexander VI*” (PANVINIO, Vat. lat. 6781, f. 36); “*Alexander ... VI laquearia aurea posuit super quae hoc anno tua beatitudo (Julius II, 1510) tectum cum trabes instauravit*” (ALBERTINI, *op. cit.*, c. 81, ed. 1886, p. 6); also “*tectum basilicae laqueari ligneo aurato pulcherrimo Alexander sextus*” (PANVINIO, *De praecipuis Ecclesiis*, p. 238).
- 1510 Construction of a new roof; see preceding digest.
- 1555—1559 Paul IV restores the vaults above the right aisle of the basilica “*Quarum navium dextram collabentem restituit Paulus IIII*” (PANVINIO, *De praecipuis Ecclesiis*, p. 237). In Vat. lat. 6781, Panvinio situates this restoration in the left aisle: “*Minores naves restaurate et fornicata a cardinali jamdicto: dextera manet, sinistra refecta a Paolo IIII*” (f. 24).
- 1564 Construction of a chapel fronting on the left aisle, under the auspices of Cardinal Guido Sforza (FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, XI, p. 40).
- 1564—1572 Carlo Borromeo, archpriest of the basilica, restores the choir (UGONIO, *Stationi*, 1588, f. 68<sup>v</sup>; CIACONIUS, *Res Gestae Pont.*, III, p. 900).
- 1565 Construction of a chapel fronting on the left aisle, sponsored by Cardinal Federico Cesi (FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, XI, p. 41).
- 1575 Pope Gregory XIII reconstructs the portico to the design of Martino Longhi. The work is commemorated by an inscription formerly on the entablature: GREGORI(us XIII) PONT MAX EVGENII LABANTEM PORTICVM DEIECIT AC MAGNIFICENTIVS RESTITVIT VIAM RECTAM AD LATERANVM APERVIT ANNO IVBILEI (m)DLXXV. The inscription is conserved in the courtyard to the north of the church (FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, XI, p. 45).
- 1587 The chapel of the *Praesepe* is constructed during the third year of the pontificate of Sixtus V: SANCTISS. PRAESEPI / DOMINI NOSTRI / IESV CHRISTI / SIXTVS PAPA V / DEVOTVS / SACELLVM / EXTRVXIT / AN. SAL. MDLXXXVII / PONTIFICATVS / TERTIO (FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni* XI, p. 48).
- 1593 Restoration of the mosaics of the nave and the apse under Cardinal Pinelli (PANCIOLOLI, *Tesori nascosti*, 1625, p. 253). The work of Cardinal Pinelli, otherwise unspecified, is recorded in an inscription above the right door: DOMINICVS / S.R.E. / CARD. PINELLVS / ARCHIPRESBYTER / ORNAVIT AN. DOM / M.D.X.CIII (FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, XI, p. 53).
- 1611 The *capella Borghesiana* is constructed under Pope Paul V: SANCTAE VIRGINI / DEI GENITRICI / MARIAE / PAVLVS PAPA V / HVMLIS SERVVS / SACELLVM / OBTVLIT / AN. SAL. MDCXI / PONTIFICATVS / SEXTO (FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, XI, p. 58). Paul V also restores the campanile (DE ANGELIS, *op. cit.*, p. 61).
- 1673 Construction of the apse, designed by Carlo Rainaldi: CLEMENS X PONT. MAX. LIBERIANAE BASILICAE SEPTEMTRIONALEM FRONTEM ... EXTRVXIT ET EXORNAVIT AN. SAL. MDCLXXIII..., on the outer wall of the tribune (FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, XI, p. 81).
- 1724—1730 Under Benedict XIII the roof is once more restored and structural repairs are carried out in the chapels: “*... reparatam tecti universi et sacellorum structuram, omni squalore deterso, splendore pristino sint restituta*” (BIANCHINI, *op. cit.*, also published in MIGNE, *P.L.* CXXVIII, col. 265).
- 1743—1750 In 1743 under Pope Benedict XIV the church is thoroughly restored under the direction of Ferdinando Fuga. The facade is newly built to his design “*Minacciando ultimamente rovina, Benedetto XIV nel 1743 penso non solo di rifarlo, ma fare di pianta tutta la facciata con la loggia della benedizione sopra, e includervi gli antichi mosaici per maggiormente conservarli, ... col disegno del cav. Fuga*” (TITI, *Descrizione delle pitture*, 1763, p. 250). Two inscriptions commemorate the work undertaken under Benedict XIV. One above the left door, records the construction of new quarters for the canons, the repairs made to the stairs leading to the apse, and the restoration of the ceiling (FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, XI, p. 98). The other, above the main portal, is more detailed, and mentions the construction of the pavement, the re-cutting of columns and insertion of new capitals and bases, the restoration of sculptural and mosaic decoration, and the installation of new benches in the choir: BENEDICTO XIV. PONT. MAX. / QUOD LIBERIANAE BASILICAE LACVNAR REPARAVERIT / DE INTEGRO PAVIMENTVM REFECERIT / COLVMNIS AD VERAM FORMAM REDACTIS EXPOLITIS / NOVA CAPITVLA IMPOSVERIT NOVAS BASES SVBIECERIT / PLASTICVM OPVS OMNE INAVRAVERIT / PICTVRIS DETERSO SITV VENVSTATEM RESTITVERIT / ABSIDEM EXORNAVERIT / CHORVM NOVIS SVBSELLIIS INSTRVXERIT / ARAM MAXIMAM EXCITAVERIT SACRAM DENIQVE AEDEM ANTEA INCONDITAM / AD ELEGANTIAM PARTIVMQVE CONSENSVM REVOCAVERIT / CAPITVLVM ET CANONICI BENEFICENTISSIMO PRINCIPI / ANNO IVBILEI MDCCL. PP.; above the central door inside the church (FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, XI, p. 97; cf. also BIANCHINI, *Vallicelliana*, T 74, esp. f. 241 ff.; T 75; T 86, pp. 10 ff.).

- 1824 Under Pope Leo XII, all the mosaics are cleaned and again repaired, with the help of iron clamps (Archivio del Camerlengo, Tit. 4, no. 884; WILPERT, *Mosaiken*, I, p. 420, n. 1).
- 1844 Restorations are undertaken under Pope Gregory XVI, as recorded by an inscription (FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, XI, p. 102).
- 1861—1864 Construction of sunk "confessio" in front of the high altar (Cf. notice by GASPARDONI, «Arti e Lettere...», *Il Buonarroti* 2 (1865), p. 163) to a design by Vespignani (F. FABI MONTANI, *La confessione della basilica Liberiana*, Rome, 1867, p. 37 ff.).
- 1931 Restorations of the mosaics of the triumphal arch under Pope Pius XI, executed by Wilpert and Biagetti (BIAGETTI, *op. cit.*, 1931, no. 5, p. 27 ff.).
- 1931—1932 Foundation walls and substructures of the Early Christian apse are brought to light in excavations undertaken by August Schuchert (SCHUCHERT, *op. cit.*, *passim*).
- 1965—1966 The burial vaults below the nave and aisles are opened up and connected with each other, thus bringing to light remains of Roman buildings antedating the church and the foundation walls of the latter in their full length (See below, p. 59 f., Supplementary Note).

## D. — GENERAL DESCRIPTION

### I. Exterior

S. M. Maggiore is situated in a busy and densely populated part of the city, with broad streets and modern buildings on every side. Thus it is not easy at first sight to appreciate the commanding position of the church in relation to the contours of the ground. Closer study reveals that the basilica occupies the summit of the Esquiline; its entrance façade is on the crest of the hill, while the long nave and its flanking aisles reach out behind in a northwesterly direction, raised on an artificial terrace above the descending slope of the hill (figs. 1, 2). Before the sixteenth century, when



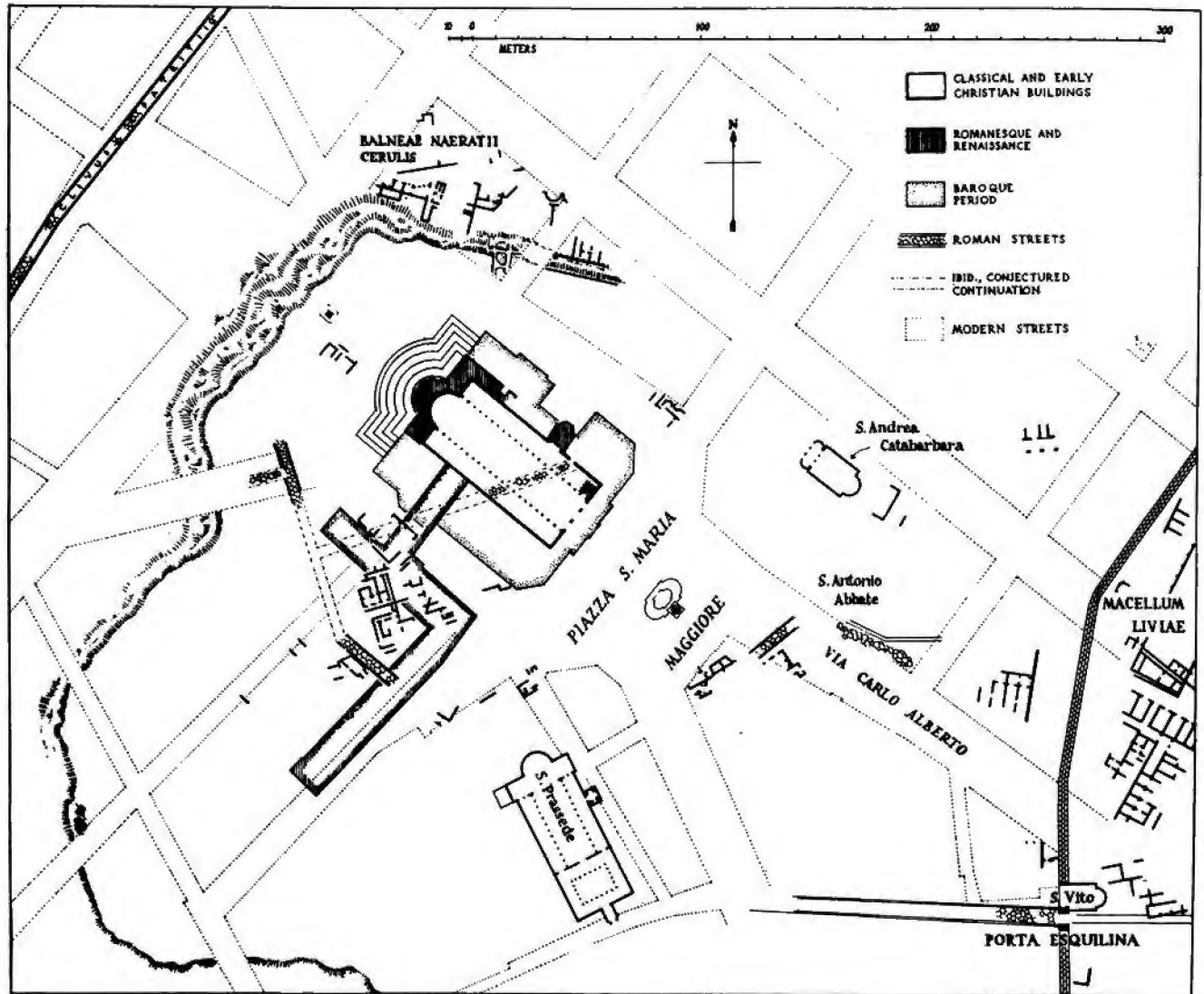
(Photo: Min. Aeronautica)

Fig. 1. S. Maria Maggiore, Air view of church and surroundings, ca. 1950

the *Vallis Patritia* was artificially filled in, the contours were much more sharply accentuated, as Bufalini's plan shows (fig. 3). The spur of the hill descended, gently at first, but became steeper as it approached the valley, and originally there were steep escarpments only 60 meters to the north and west of the basilica. Lanciani's plan (*F.U.R.*, pl. 17) shows ancient tunnels, perhaps *arenaria*, excavated in the northern cliff side and it seems probable that these are connected with other rock-cut passages which have been identified underneath the church<sup>1</sup>. The original slope

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 14.





(Drawing: Corbett)  
 Fig. 2. S. Maria Maggiore, Plan of the church and surrounding ancient buildings

Fig. 3. S. Maria Maggiore, Bufalini, plan of surroundings, Map of Rome, 1551

of the ground was such that, if we assume that the church facade stands approximately at natural ground level, the apse floor is at least fifteen meters above it.

In the nineteenth century, during the redevelopment of the neighborhood, the remains of numerous ancient Roman buildings and streets came to light<sup>1</sup>. Unfortunately, these buildings contribute little to our knowledge of the history of the church. Roman houses belonging to two distinct strata were discovered 50 m. to the southwest of the basilica, in the angle of Via dell'Olmata and Via Paolina (fig. 2). The lower stratum is of Republican date and lies 7 m. below the surface; the upper layer seems to be Hadrianic and lies at —3.80 m. Other remains have been found on the north side of the basilica: two parallel walls retaining the steep north escarpment of the Esquiline and, beyond them, some houses and the *Balnea Naeratii Cerulis*, the latter restored in 385 A.D. Although these baths were only 80 m. from the basilica, the two buildings are quite independent of one another; they are divided by the escarpment and differ by forty degrees in orientation.

While the neighboring buildings thus seem to have little bearing on the siting and foundation of the church, the disposition of the adjacent Roman streets is more significant. At the bottom of the valley between the Esquiline and the Viminal, the *Clivus Patritii* passed the church 180 m. from the west wall, in a direction at right angles to the main axis. A side street, which probably branched off the *Clivus Patricii*, ascended the spur of the Esquiline, 55 m. from the south-west corner of the church. Its pavement was discovered in 1890 crossing the end of Via di S. Maria Maggiore. This street runs at an angle of thirty degrees to the basilica; a second street, branching off the first towards the southwest, ran at an angle of about sixty degrees to the church. At the crest of the Esquiline, on the other hand, the streets were more nearly parallel to the church. One street was found in the Hadrianic stratum, 85 m. from the south wall; another street, perhaps more important, lay along the front of the Convent of S. Antonio Abate in line with and 1.75 m. below what is now Via Carlo Alberto, and thus parallel to the axis of the basilica. Nearly at right angles to this artery, and only 0.50 m. below ground, another Roman street and houses came to light in 1874, a few meters beyond the south-west side of Piazza di S. Maria Maggiore.

The Roman street beneath Via Carlo Alberto led towards the Servian Wall, intersecting it close to the *Porta Esquilina* (Arch of Gallienus) which adjoins the church of S. Vito in Macello. Beyond the wall lay the *Macellum Liviae*, extending northwards across the line of the present Via Napoleone III. The *Macellum* is roughly 250 m. from the basilica<sup>2</sup>, a distance worth noting in view of the supposed identity of S. Maria Maggiore and the “*basilica Liberii... juxta Macellum Liviae*”<sup>3</sup>.

Beneath the church itself, important Roman remains have been noted at various levels, principally by Giuseppe Bianchini during Fuga's activities of 1741-47<sup>4</sup>. About two meters below the floor at the entrance to the Sforza Chapel in the left aisle of the basilica, Bianchini saw the pavement of a Roman road which ran diagonally across the church in the direction of the Sacristy doorway, i.e. at an angle of about thirty degrees to the nave axis. This may have been a *diverticulum*, branching off the road which was found in 1830 at the end of Via S. Maria Maggiore; we call it the “church *diverticulum*”. Inside the nave near the east façade, Bianchini noted a Roman mosaic pavement at a level of —1.75 m., slightly higher than the “church *diverticulum*”. To the north of the *diverticulum* and considerably lower down (—2.90 m.) a strange feature was seen in the

<sup>1</sup> « Archeologia municipale », *Bull. Com.* 1 (1872-73), p. 74; 2 (1874), p. 84, 212 ff. *Not.Sc.* (1876), p. 140; (1877), p. 267; LANCIANI, « Nuove scoperte... Regione IV », *Not. Sc.* (1890), p. 213 f. IDEM, *F. U. R.*, pls. 17, 23. IDEM, as quoted by BIASIOTTI, *Boll. d'Arte*, 9 (1915), p. 27 ff. n. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Bull. Com.*, 1874, p. 212 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 5, dig. 432-440 and below, p. 59, Supplementary Note.

<sup>4</sup> BIANCHINI'S notes (*Vaticelliana* MS, T 75, c. 285 ff.) have been published by BIASIOTTI, *Boll. d'Arte*, 9 (1915) p. 145 ff., n. 2.





(Photo: Pont. Comm. di Arch. Sacra)

Fig. 4-5. S. Maria Maggiore, Arcaded building in the substructures of Capella Paolina

right aisle, near the sacristy doorway: a travertine socle supporting a semicircular brick wall (a funeral monument?). Farther west, at the same level, Bianchini observed a drain crossing the aisle, and another drain, or possibly a water conduit, was seen crossing the nave in the same direction, but at a lower level ( $-4.40$  m.). Considerably lower, at  $-13$  m., Bianchini saw a mass of small stones (concrete?) and, at the same level, certain narrow passages cut in the live rock<sup>1</sup>. Bianchini also noted two wells, one in the left aisle near the Sforza Chapel and the other at the south end of the narthex. Likewise at Bianchini's time, a wall standing at right angles to the nave was discovered and seen again in the excavation of the nineteenth century open "confessio". Finally, another such early structure is known from photographs (figs. 4, 5): a series of arches running approximately at right angles to the main axis of the basilica existed in the Borghese vault below the Pauline chapel. Each arch spanned about 3 m., and the apex was roughly 6 m. below floor level. The style of brickwork suggests a date in the Early Christian period<sup>2</sup>.

The east front of the church faces Piazza S. Maria Maggiore. In the middle of the square stands a tall Corinthian column, taken from the Basilica of Maxentius and erected on its present site in 1614 by Pope Paul V. A wide avenue, Via Merulana, leads from the southeast corner of the square in a straight line to the Lateran. From the east side of the square another avenue, Via Carlo Alberto, leads straight towards S. Croce in Gerusalemme (fig. 2). Until the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the square was unpaved, and the majority of the buildings surrounding it were informal and irregularly placed. The only important features were the basilica façade (fig. 6) and Paul V's column. Facing the basilica, the interval between the two streets mentioned above was filled with a group of unpretentious houses, possibly medieval in origin but added to in the eighteenth century. To the west, the piazza was bounded by the convent and church of S. Antonio Abate; its Romanesque porch still stands incorporated in the façade of the Russian church which now occupies the site. To the northwest, a group of houses of undetermined date was separated

<sup>1</sup> BIANCHINI, *loc. cit.* « Sotto palmi  $9\frac{1}{2}$  nella navata della Paolina (the south aisle of the basilica), avanti alla Cappella Sforza, si trovò una strada selciata ... come le antiche strade consolari ...; la medesima tagliava obliquamente la navata grande, verso la porta che conduce alla sagrestia. ... Sotto palmi 13, nella navata della Sistina, vicino alla suddetta porta della Sagrestia, si vide un piantato di grossi travertini riquadrati, sopra del quale si alzava un muro semicircolare, lavorato a cortina; e allo stesso livello della detta navata, fra la cappella Xistina e quella del Gonfalone ... fu scoperta una piccola chiavica che tagliava a traverso la medesima navata.

Sotto palmi  $19\frac{1}{4}$ , nella navata di mezzo, fu veduto un altro edificio alquanto simile al suddetto, ma di lui più grande, il quale divideva in mezzo la lunghezza della stessa navata. Lo dicevano i periti ancor esso una chiavica. Io per altro lo credetti piuttosto qualche condotto di ... acqua ... Finalmente sotto palmi 58, nello scavare il fondamento dell'Altar Maggiore, fu trovato un massiccio di selcetti, e allo stesso livello eravi il piano di alcuni corridori, scavate nel vergine, che erano alti palmi 8, larghi palmi 3 ».

<sup>2</sup> The remains apparently were demolished in 1941-1942 in the remodeling of the Borghese vault.

Fig. 6. S. Maria Maggiore, Piazza and façade of the church, ca. 1870



(Photo: Parker)

from the north side of the basilica by a street leading to the gate of Villa Montalto, the private residence of Pope Sixtus V (fig. 7) while, until 1888, the southwest corner of the piazza was marked by the palace of Cardinal Cassetta, which incorporated the remains of the old papal palace *apud S. Mariam Majorem*<sup>1</sup>.

At present, the façade of the church consists of a graceful two-storied portico flanked to right



(Photo: Pont. Comm. di Arch. Sacra)

Fig. 7. S. Maria Maggiore, Fresco in the Vatican Library: the façade of the church and surrounding buildings, 1585-1590

and left by twin façades of *palazzi* which contain the baptistery, sacristy, and apartments for the clergy (figs. 2, 8). The left hand palazzo was built in 1721, and the portico in 1741, both by Ferdinando Fuga. The right hand *palazzo*, which Fuga copied, had been built as early as 1604 by Flami-

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 20 f.



(Photo: Kidder Smith)

Fig. 8. S. Maria Maggiore, Present façade

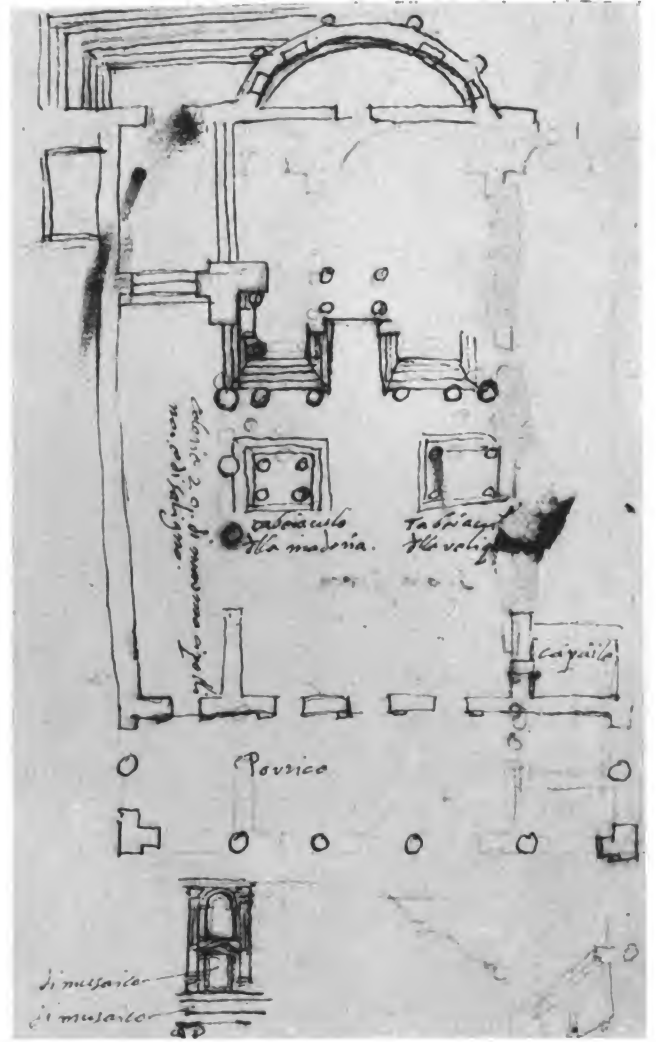


Fig. 10. S. Maria Maggiore, Sallustio Peruzzi, Plan of church and elevation of clerestory, 1550



Fig. 9. S. Maria Maggiore, Nicolaus van Aelst, façade of the church, 1600

nio Ponzio. The appearance of the east front before 1604 is recorded in numerous paintings, drawings and engravings, such as the one by Nicholas van Aelst dated 1600 (fig. 9). They all show the late thirteenth century mosaic façade which, though partly hidden, still exists, rising above a single storied portico. The latter, built by Gregory XIII in 1575<sup>1</sup>, was supported by four pairs of coupled columns set between end piers which were decorated with coupled pilasters. A low attic story above the entablature was surmounted by a lean-to roof which rested, at the back, against the base of the façade mosaic. The entablature bore two inscriptions. One, on the frieze, recorded that Gregory XIII pulled down an older porch and rebuilt it in a more magnificent form; below this, the architrave stones bore another inscription from the pontificate of Eugene III (1145-53)<sup>2</sup>. Evidently these stones belonged to the older porch and were re-used in the six-

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 9, dig. 1575. Francino's woodcut of 1588 is obviously mistaken in showing ten columns. It is copied from Dupérac-Lafréry's 1575 engraving, which correctly shows eight columns.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 7, dig. 1145-1153.





Fig. 11. S. Maria Maggiore, L. Cruyl, Church seen from the south, 1673

teenth century reconstruction. Pope Eugene's twelfth century porch is known to us only by these lintel stones, two roughly sketched plans<sup>1</sup>, one of late fifteenth century date (fig. 49), the other by Sallustio Peruzzi (fig. 10), and a few words of description by Panvinio<sup>2</sup>. It was about the same width as its sixteenth century successor (the latter was 27 meters overall; the twelfth century inscription is 23.80 m.), but the columns were single instead of coupled (fig. 10). Panvinio noted only four columns "*porticus quattuor columnis et duobus pilastris sustentata*"<sup>3</sup>; however, besides the four columns in front, the twelfth century porch also had a column at each side, standing half way between the end piers (originally corner piers) and the front wall of the basilica (fig. 10). It must have been one of these side columns that Bianchini saw while the sixteenth century porch was being pulled down to make way for the present one; the shaft then discovered was of red granite<sup>4</sup>. Presumably Panvinio did not see it because it had been built into the side wall of the porch and forgotten. The low, two-storied building on the south side of the porch, seen in van Aelst's and other views, stood only a foot or so behind the plane of the sixteenth century porch colonnade, as appears in Cruyl's drawing of 1673 (figs. 9, 11). Presumably it was a wall of this building which hid the side column, enabling it to survive into the eighteenth century. Since the two-storied building blocked the side openings of Eugene III's porch, it is evidently later than the porch; but since it enabled the twelfth century shaft to pass through the sixteenth century changes unnoticed, it must have been already in existence when Gregory XIII's porch was built. In addition to the four columns and two piers of Eugene III's porch, Panvinio also mentioned as sustaining the porch a feature

<sup>1</sup> Uffizi, *Dis. arch.*, 660, 1864; BARTOLI, *Monumenti*, 1914-22, pl. II, fig. 3, pl. CCCLXXVI, fig. 656.

<sup>2</sup> Vat. lat. 6781, f. 151<sup>r-v</sup>., published by BIASIOTTI, *Mél. Ec. Franç.*, 1915, p. 15 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *IBID.*, p. 20.

<sup>4</sup> BIANCHINI MS., *Vallcelliana*, T 75, c. 443, reported by BIASIOTTI, *Diss. Pont. Accad.*, 1918, p. 251, n. 1.

which dated from the reign of Paul IV (1555-59) — “*porta tiburtina nova versus portam sanctam*”<sup>1</sup>. The *porta santa* was in the left hand part of the porch, and it is possible that Paul IV’s travertine doorway was inserted in the left hand intercolumniation of Eugene’s portico, to prop up the collapsing twelfth century architrave; but this is conjecture.

Above the roof of the portico, as van Aelst’s engraving shows, the mosaic façade was flanked on one side by the *horologium*<sup>2</sup>, and on the other by the campanile (figs. 6, 7, 9). The *horologium* was a clock tower surmounted by bells hung in ornamental arches; its spiral stairs still exist in part, although the upper portion of the structure has been removed and the front is concealed by Fuga’s portico. The campanile to the right of the façade is still intact. The last of the long series of tiered Romanesque campanili to be built in Rome, it has three stories of paired, slightly pointed blind arches surmounted by three upper stories which have more elaborate quadruple openings with semicircular arches. Van Aelst showed them incorrectly as pairs of round headed arches in every story. Cruyl drew them more accurately (figs. 9, 11). As Panvinio noted<sup>3</sup>, the arms of Gregory XI (1370-78) decorate the uppermost of the three stories with pointed arches (i.e., the first story above the level of the mosaic façade). Presumably the middle part of the campanile was built by that pontiff. But there seems to have been a pause in construction because the upper part was not built until the middle of the fifteenth century; witness, at the summit and on the vaulting bosses of the higher stories, the arms of Cardinal Guillaume d’Estouteville, archpriest from 1445 to 1483<sup>4</sup>.

The north side of the church is dominated by the great domed shrine built for Sixtus V by Domenico Fontana between 1581 and 1587 as a setting for the relic of the *presepio*<sup>5</sup>. The relic had previously been housed in a small chapel, measuring approximately three meters by five in plan and about three meters high, which opened off the north aisle. The chapel was within the area covered by Fontana’s new building, but off axis and close to the south wall (fig. 22). Fontana encased the chapel in a heavy timber frame and transported it bodily over a distance of eleven meters to its present position, which is at the center of the new building, below floor level. This was done by raising the old chapel into the air on pulleys suspended from the vaulting of the new building<sup>6</sup>.

To an observer who stands in the street opposite the northeast corner of the church, a short length of the north clerestorey wall of the nave is visible, between Ponzio’s sacristy building and Fontana’s chapel (fig. 12). In fact, the two clerestorey walls are the only portions of the Early Christian basilica to remain visible externally. The original round headed windows with their arches of bipedals are still intact, although alternate openings are blocked up. De Angelis’ engraving of 1621 (fig. 13) shows the openings filled with cusped frames of Gothic tracery. To the right of the Sistine chapel, the engraving depicts the gabled north end of the transept which was added to the Early Christian nave in the thirteenth century. Since 1933, this gabled end wall has been concealed by new buildings, but old photographs<sup>7</sup> suggest that it retains its original form.

The rear wall of the church – facing west – is masked by a Baroque façade which was erected in 1673 to the design of Carlo Rainaldi (fig. 14)<sup>8</sup>. It encloses the west wall of the transept and the

<sup>1</sup> BIASIOTTI, *Mél. Ec. Franç.*, 1915, p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 22.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17, n. 5.

<sup>5</sup> SCHWAGER, *op. cit.*, esp. p. 331 ff.

<sup>6</sup> DOMENICO FONTANA, *op. cit.*, p. 50 ff.

<sup>7</sup> BIASOTTI, *Boll. d’Arte*, 1915, p. 142 ff.

<sup>8</sup> FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, XI, p. 81. BRAUER-WITTKOWER, *Die Zeichnungen des Gianlorenzo Bernini*, Berlin, 1931, pl. 163 ff., p. 12 a, b, 182, and 194, show a rejected project of Bernini preserved in a number of drawings and engravings, including a workshop drawing formerly in the Archives of S. Maria Maggiore, but now lost.



Fig. 12. S. Maria Maggiore, North righthand clerestory

apse which projects in the center, standing on monumental flights of steps which follow the curve of the apse wall. To the right of his façade, Rainaldi incorporated the west front of the sacristy of the Pauline chapel, which had been in existence since 1611; to the left he reproduced the same façade, for the sake of symmetry, using it to mask the vacant ground on the west side of the Sixtine

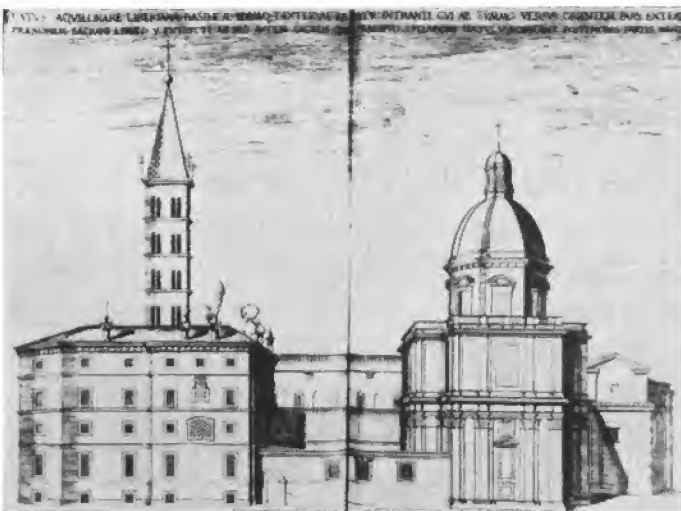


Fig. 13. S. Maria Maggiore, De Angelis, Basilica from the north, 1621



(Photo: Gab. Fot. Naz.)

Fig. 14. S. Maria Maggiore, The apse and the church seen from the west side, 1888





Fig. 15. S. Maria Maggiore, Fresco in the Vatican Library, The church and apse seen from the southwest, 1585-1590

chapel. A marble tablet<sup>1</sup> in the center of this wing wall seems to have been transferred from the wall of the chapel itself. The appearance of the late medieval apse and transept before Rainaldi's alterations and before the building of the chapel of Paul V is seen in a wall painting in the Vatican library (fig. 15). It shows the medieval apse as a five sided structure, emphasized at the corners with cylindrical pilasters. Romanesque cornices crowned the five wall faces and above these a tiled roof of five facets capped the apse<sup>2</sup>. Precisely the same design was used in the apse of the Lateran basilica, demolished in 1884<sup>3</sup>. Both apses were built by

Nicholas IV (1288-92) and both were decorated internally with mosaics by Jacopo Torriti.

On each side of the apse, the thirteenth century transept extended outwards to cover the width of the basilica aisles. The doorways facing west were inserted by Cardinal d'Estouteville in 1474 to afford more convenient access to the church from the direction of the city. The flights of steps which appear in the pictures cited as well as on Peruzzi's plan (fig. 10) must date from the same period. Small round windows with Gothic tracery surmount the doorways; they may be contemporary with the doors, or else original features of the transept. In the latter case they were meant to illuminate the wings of the transept where, on the south side, the tomb of Nicholas IV lay until it was removed in the sixteenth century.<sup>4</sup> On the north side of the apse a small square turret contained a spiral stair, the lower part of which still exists hidden inside the Baroque façade.

As mentioned above, the southern part of Rainaldi's west front incorporated the west wall of the sacristy of the Pauline (or Borghese) Chapel. This chapel was built by Flaminio Ponzio between the years 1605 and 1611, in close imitation of Fontana's Sixtine Chapel, and disposed symmetrically opposite it with respect to the main axis of the church. The massive rear wall of the Borghese chapel protrudes beyond the general line of the south wall (fig. 11). To the right, in Cruyl's drawing, stands the plain rear wall of the Sforza Chapel. Begun about 1556 by Cardinal Ascanio Sforza and finished by his brother Cardinal Alessandro Sforza, archpriest from 1572 to 1581, it was built by Giacomo della Porta working from designs left by Michelangelo<sup>5</sup>. Next to it is the relatively small chapel of S. Catherine, founded by the Cesi family and built by Martino Lunghi the Elder<sup>6</sup>. The chapel is no longer visible externally as it is enclosed in Fuga's south-east corner palazzo.

Before these three chapels were built along the south flank of the basilica, the principal sacristy stood on the site of the Borghese Chapel. It appears in the Vatican painting (fig. 15) as an austere structure with three large windows facing west. The picture shows the remains of the walls which, until the reign of Sixtus V, extended southwards from the sacristy and connected it with the adjacent papal palace. A sixteenth century plan of this palace, the sacristy, and the connecting

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, XI, p. 58.

<sup>2</sup> See also Alò Giovannoli's engraving of 1616. The medieval apse probably still exists inside the Baroque revetment.

<sup>3</sup> LAUER, *Le Palais de Latran*, Paris, 1911, p. 212, fig. 83 and pls. III, IV.

<sup>4</sup> BIASIOTTI, *Mil. Ec. Franç.*, 1915, p. 34.

<sup>5</sup> ACKERMAN, *The Architecture of Michelangelo*, London-New York, 1961, I, p. 100 ff.; II, p. 122 ff.

<sup>6</sup> BAGLIONE, *Vite*, p. 64.



(Rome, Accademia di San Luca)



(Oxford, Ashmolean Museum)

Fig. 17. S. Maria Maggiore, A. van den Wyngaerde, View of the palace and the basilica from the west

Fig. 16. S. Maria Maggiore, Plan of palace adjacent to the church, sixteenth century

wing, is preserved at the Accademia di San Luca (fig. 16)<sup>1</sup>. It shows that the palace was L-shaped in plan, with chambers facing north and east, while long loggias occupied the south and west sides of the wings overlooking a garden which lay in the angle. A. van den Wyngaerde drew the arcades of the loggia (fig. 17), and the northeast view of the building appears in one of the Vatican Library paintings (fig. 7). The palace was originally established prior to 1187, but it was restored and probably enlarged under Nicholas IV, who used it as a residence. It was again restored by Nicholas V, and the walls illustrated here seem to belong to this period. It was not finally demolished until 1888<sup>2</sup>.

## II. Interior

### I. GENERAL

Fuga's portico is divided into five bays. The left hand bay corresponds with the Porta Santa which, when it is open, leads into the south aisle. The three middle bays contain three doorways which open into the nave (fig. 8). The right hand bay has no doorway because the north aisle, which lies behind it, is blocked by the base of the campanile.

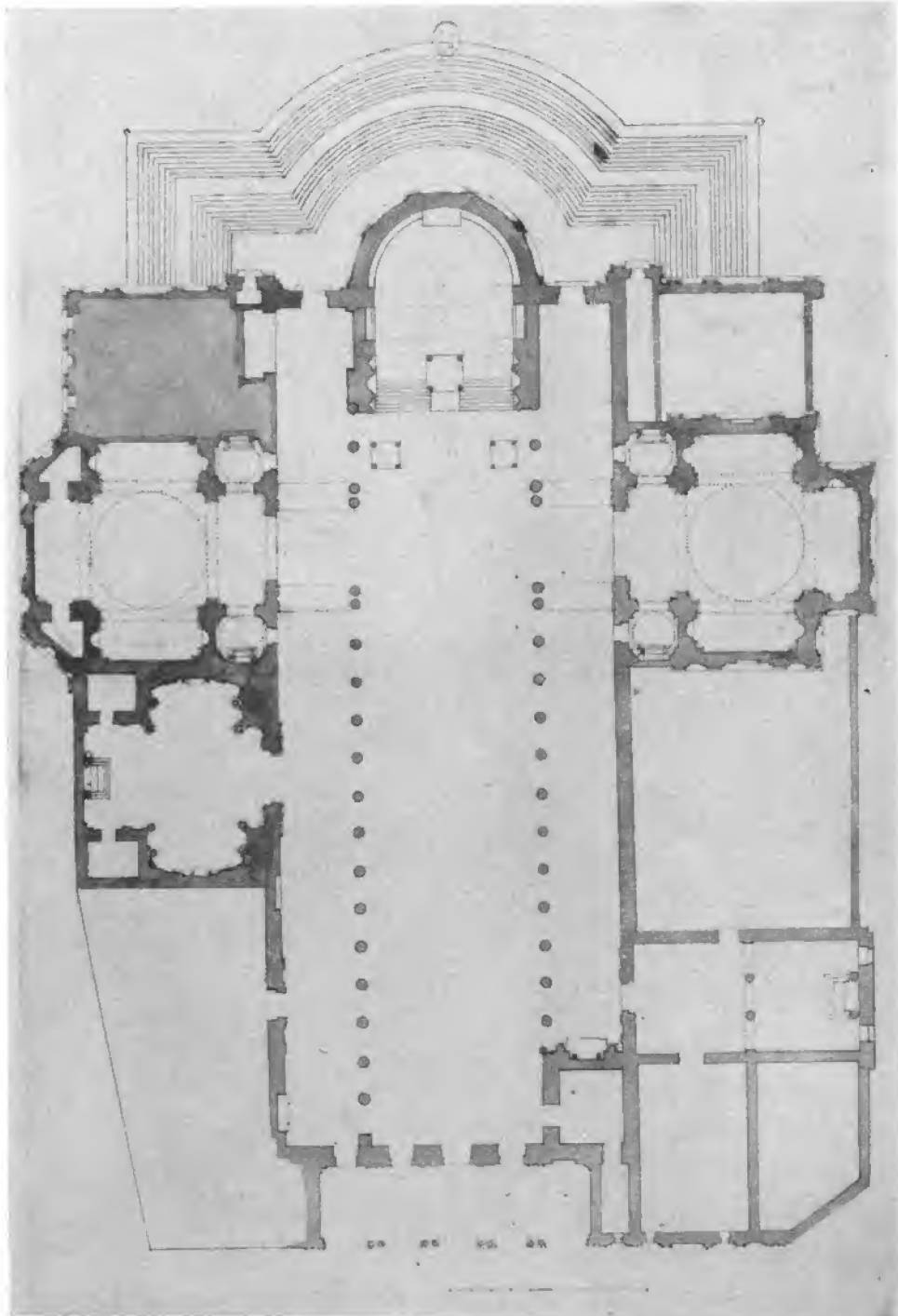
The nave (figs. 18, 19) is 71.56 m. (roughly 240 R. ft.) long, measuring internally between opposite pilaster faces, and it varies in width from 17.45 m. to 17.60 m. (60 R. ft.), measuring between the centers of the columns. The height is 18.50 m. from the pavement to the underside of the coffered ceiling. The nave is substantially an Early Christian structure but except for the mosaics, nothing that is visible today dates from before the Renaissance. Even the ancient Proconnesian marble column shafts were reworked in the eighteenth century and supplied with new capitals and bases.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 4: Mascherino plan.

<sup>2</sup> BIASOTTI, *Mé. Ec. Franç.*, 1915, p. 20, n. 2; IDEM, *op. cit.*, 1911, p. 29 ff.



Twenty Ionic columns on each side of the nave support horizontal entablatures. These entablatures consist of an architrave; a mosaic frieze showing a tendril design, interrupted in the middle of each wall by a medallion enclosing a Lamb; and a cornice, richly decorated and topped by a series of brackets. Both architrave and cornice are of plaster and clearly of late sixteenth century



(Paris, Bib. Nat.)

Fig. 18. S. Maria Maggiore, Robert de Cotte, Plan of the church, 1713

workmanship. On the other hand the mosaic frieze is apparently of fifth century date, though possibly repaired in the thirteenth century. Above the entablature the clerestorey walls are appointed with Corinthian pilasters. Single aisles, 7.40 m. (25 R. ft.) wide, lie outside the colonnades; they are roofed with elliptical barrel vaults broken by interpenetrating crossvaults at each intercolumniation (fig. 20). Openings in the outer walls of the aisles give access to the various chapels already noted on the exterior of the church. In the upper order of the nave, the spaces between the Corinthian pilasters are occupied alternately by windows and paintings, while below the level



(Photo: Alinari)

Fig. 19. S. Maria Maggiore, General view of the nave looking west



(Photo: Alinari)

Fig. 20. S. Maria Maggiore, South aisle of the basilica looking east, towards the entrance

of the window sills every intercolumniation is decorated with a fifth century mosaic panel, except in a few cases where sixteenth century painted imitations have been substituted<sup>1</sup>.

The west end of the nave is formed by a huge arch, decorated in its upper half with the fifth century mosaics and inscription of Sixtus III. Originally this arch was the frontal of the apse; but, with the enlargement of the church in the thirteenth century, it became a triumphal arch leading to the late medieval transept<sup>2</sup>. The transept is six and a half meters wide from east to west and about thirty-five meters long

<sup>1</sup> For a general discussion of the mosaics, see CECHELLI, *op. cit.*, 1956, with extensive bibliography, and more recently KÜNZLE, « Per una visione organica dei mosaici antichi di S. Maria Maggiore », *Rendic. Pont. Accad.* 34 (1961-62), p. 153 ff., and particularly his critical commentary of previous publications, *ibid.*, p. 177 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 33.

from north to south, embracing the full width of the Early Christian basilica and protruding a little way beyond the side walls. The coffered ceiling of the transept dates from 1931. In the eighteenth century, the aisle vaulting was extended to pass across the areas which had formerly been the wings of the transept and above these vaults the upper parts of the transept were converted into organ lofts. In consequence the transept, as seen from inside the church, has practically ceased to exist. The thirteenth century apse projects from the west side of the transept on the center line of the basilica. The half-dome and the upper part of the walls are decorated with mosaics, started in the pontificate of Nicholas IV (1288-1292) and completed in 1295 by Jacopo Torriti<sup>1</sup>. The lower zone of the apse wall was redecorated in the eighteenth century with Ionic pilasters, continuing the order of the nave colonnades. The pilasters are set between the four pointed Gothic windows which we have already noted in the pre-Baroque exterior of the apse.

The high altar stands in the nave in front of the triumphal arch. The grandiose baldacchino with its gilded canopy supported by four porphyry columns, was designed by Fuga<sup>2</sup>. The altar table rests on an antique porphyry urn which previously stood near the east doors in the second intercolumniation of the north colonnade. It is said to have been the sarcophagus of Iohannes Patritius, the co-founder of the church with Pope Liberius according to the legend of the miraculous August snow fall. The sunk *confessio* in front of the high altar was designed by Virginio Vespignani and was completed in 1864.

## 2. REDECORATIONS UNDER BENEDICT XIV

Except for the fifth century mosaics, the late fifteenth century ceiling, and the seventeenth century decorations of the upper story of the nave walls, the interior of the basilica owes its present appearance very largely to the remodeling effected by Fuga. He did not substantially change the structure, but he altered the decoration extensively. He remodeled the side walls of the aisles and installed a series of rectangular recesses containing side altars and confessionals in regular alternation except where openings occur (figs. 21, 22). He extended the aisle vaults to cross the transepts, and enriched all the vaults with moldings and gilding. Likewise, he made important adjustments to the nave colonnades to reduce them to a state of symmetry. At the western end of each colonnade there was originally a "fin" wall joining the piers of the triumphal arch to what is now the penultimate column shaft (fig. 18). Fuga removed the "fins" and created intercolumniations in their place, supplying the present terminal columns and *antae*, which are built of small *peperino* blocks faced with marble. At the eastern ends of the colonnades, he erected papal monuments, each occupying two intercolumniations, one to Nicholas IV to the left of the entrance and the other to Clement IX to the right. Between these monuments and the east wall, he placed supplementary end columns and *antae* to correspond with the ones at the western ends, but since here the intercolumniations were blocked up by the monuments (and the campanile on the right side), half-columns and half-*antae* were enough to achieve the desired effect. Since the monuments covered two intercolumniations, the shafts which had originally been at the eastern extremity of the colonnades became redundant. Fuga took them down and used them to replace two out of six *cipollino* shafts, which were thought to impair the uniformity of the nave. He replaced the other four *cipollino* shafts with new shafts of Luna marble, which are distinguishable by being built in

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 8, dig. 1295.

<sup>2</sup> Two of these columns came from the portico and two from the Winter Choir, now the Baptistery (BIANCHINI, *Vallcelliana*, T 75, f. 450 v. « due ne stavano sotto il portico e le altre due nel coretto estivo (trasformato poi in fonte battesimale » cf. BIASIOTTI, *op. cit.*, 1918, p. 255, n. 1). The plaster angels and martyr's crown which appear in the old photographs were removed in 1931 and are now stored on the upper loggia of the narthex.

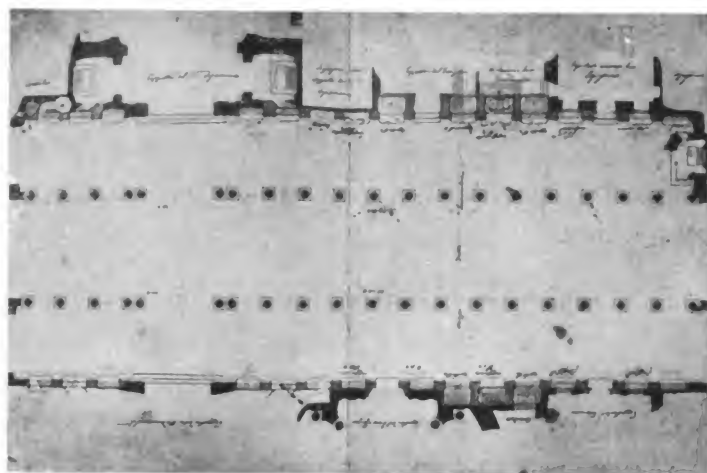


(Photo: Anderson)

Fig. 21. S. Maria Maggiore, The widened intercolumniation at the entrance to the Cappella Sistina

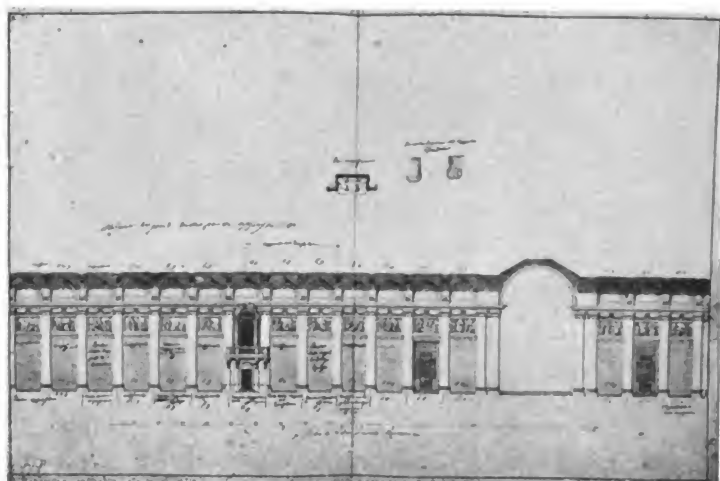
sections while all but one of the ancient Proconnesian shafts are monoliths. The Luna marble shafts stand near the east end of the nave, two on each side, opposite the entrances to the Cesi chapel on the left and the baptistery on the right.

Fuga further adjusted the nave colonnades by inserting uniform capitals and bases in place of the old ones which, though all of the Ionic order, were poorly matched and much damaged. This was done without dismounting the column shafts, each new capital and base being made in two pieces, to fit like a ring around the core of the original unit<sup>1</sup>. The design of the new capitals was based on those which Ponzio had installed at the entrance to the Pauline Chapel. The shafts were reworked to make them appear uniform in diameter and length, and false apophyges and astragals were inserted at the appropriate levels. To compensate for the excessive height of some of the ancient bases, a skirting of grey marble was



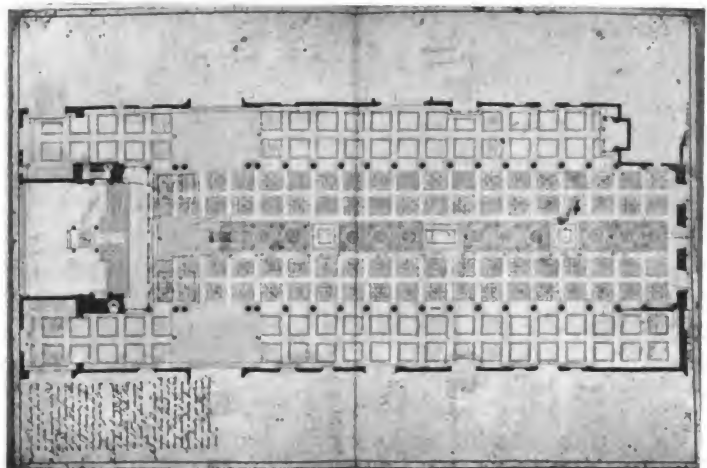
(Racc. Lanciani 31809)

Fig. 22. S. Maria Maggiore, Fuga, Plan for the remodeling of the side chapels, 1736-1743



(Racc. Lanciani 31801)

Fig. 23. S. Maria Maggiore, Fuga, Elevation of the side wall of the south aisle, 1736-1743



(Racc. Lanciani 31808)

Fig. 24. S. Maria Maggiore, Fuga, Plan of the basilica with notes for the pavement (numbering of distances added)

<sup>1</sup> PRANDI, *op. cit.*, p. 242, observing that the bases were added to the original shaft in two pieces, was uncertain whether to assign them to the restorations of Eugene III or of Benedict XIV.



inserted between the floor and the underside of the new false bases, giving the impression of low plinths (figs. 19, 20)<sup>1</sup>.

On each side of the nave, about three-quarters of the way along it, two columns were moved apart and the trabeation above them has been turned into an arch, in order to emphasize the approaches to the Sixtine Chapel on the north and to the Pauline Chapel on the south side of the church (figs. 19, 20, 23). Moreover, the pilasters in the upper order were suppressed, the clerestorey windows were altered, and three mosaic pictures on each side of the nave were sacrificed in order to create impressive entrances to the two chapels.

Fontana and Ponzio originated these changes more than a century before Fuga's time, but it was left to Fuga to render the two openings symmetrical. Fuga found Ponzio's Pauline chapel opening as it is today, a high archway resting on two grey granite column shafts (fig. 23); but Fontana's Sixtine Chapel opening had red granite shafts and, instead of an arch, was spanned by a long horizontal lintel (fig. 25). Fuga substituted grey shafts for red<sup>2</sup> and built an arch to match Ponzio's, as the date at the apex of the arch attests.

Fuga appears also to have remodeled the architrave unit of the Ionic entablature of the nave colonnades truncating the base of the mosaic *rincaux* and Lamb medallions which decorate the frieze. It is obvious that the meander originally extended several centimeters below the level where the architrave *cymatium* now projects.

The nave pavement is an elaborate work of *opus alexandrinum*, dating originally from the Romanesque period, but modified by Fuga (fig. 24). At present, there are five rows of square panels but only the central row survives from the original pavement. A blank rectangle in the fourth bay once contained a mosaic depicting two equestrian figures bearing shields and banners, inscribed SCOTUS PAPARONE and JOHS PAPARONE FILI EI, apparently the donors of the floor.

### 3. THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

Even before Fuga, an important series of alterations to the church had taken place, beginning with Gregory XIII's new portico (1575) and ending with the works of Paul V (1605-1621). During this period, the nave received its present appearance (except for Fuga's work on the colonnades) in a campaign of redecoration undertaken by Cardinal Pinelli, archpriest of the church from 1587

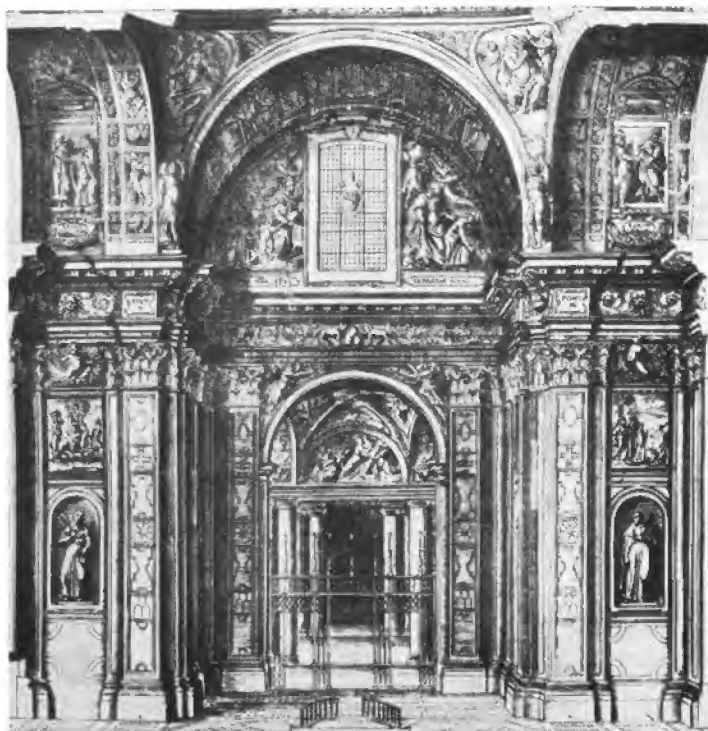


Fig. 25. S. Maria Maggiore, De Angelis, Looking south from the interior of the Cappella Sistina, 1621

<sup>1</sup> The source of this information is BIANCHINI, Vallicelliana T 75, f. 441 «... si è riportato in ciascuna colonna un nuovo collarino e capitello per essere gli antichi molto corrosi dal tempo, e finalmente si sono tutte fusate e ripulite senza però muoverle dal suo luogo. Otto di loro peraltro sono state mutate di pianta perchè scompagnavano troppo dalle altre nella qualità della pietra, essendovene sei di cipollino e due di granito corallino, alle quale sono surrogate quattro di marmo di Carrara, due di granito egizio e due di marmo greco, togliendosi queste due ultime dai muri della navata dove ora appoggiano i depositi di Nicolo IV e di Clemente IX».

<sup>2</sup> The red granite shafts were used in Fuga's new portico: BIANCHINI, as quoted by BIASIOTTI, *op. cit.*, 1918, p. 255, n. 1.



Fig. 26. S. Maria Maggiore, De Angelis, Section of nave and aisles facing east towards façade, 1621

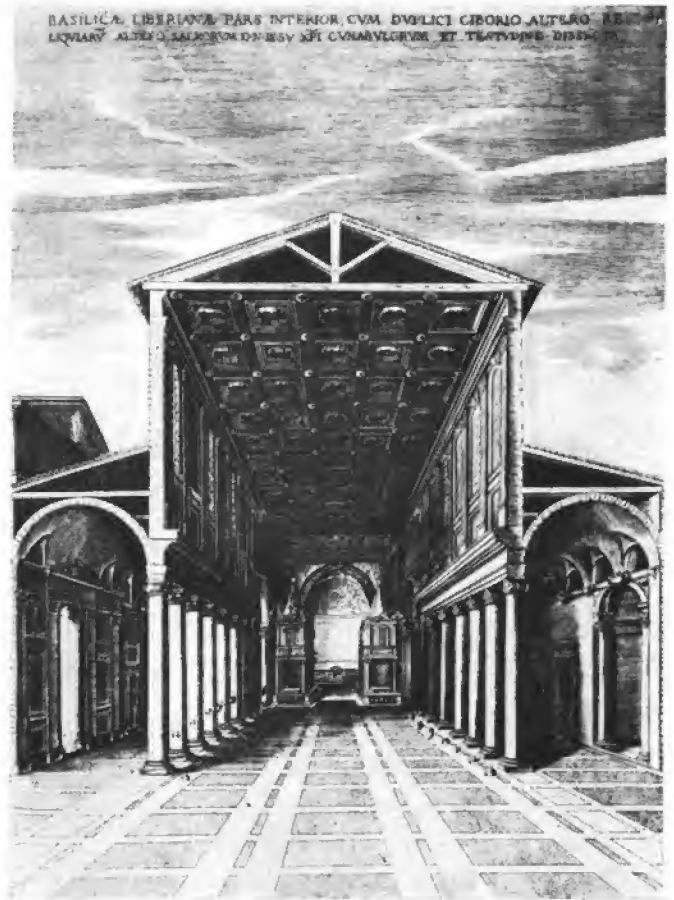


Fig. 27. S. Maria Maggiore, De Angelis, Section of nave and aisles facing west towards apse (numbering added), 1621

to 1611<sup>1</sup>. The state of the church at this time is illustrated extensively by De Angelis (figs. 26, 27). He shows the interior of the east wall of the nave substantially as it is today. The only differences are that the cusped rose window has given way to a more modern framework, and that the inscription and arms which commemorate Fuga's works in the reign of Benedict XIV have been put in the central position; thus they displace the record of Cardinal Pinelli's activities which originally had the place of honor<sup>2</sup>. Cardinal Pinelli was responsible not only for the present decoration of the nave end wall, but also for the side walls above the level of the colonnades. The present Corinthian stucco covering of the pilasters in the upper order was executed under his direction, as were the cornices of the Ionic entablatures below them, as his pine cone badge in the stucco decorations attests. He sealed up alternate windows and commissioned paintings in place of the former openings, and he also was responsible for the frames which enclose the fifth century mosaic panels below the window sills. When these panels were being restored in 1937, it was found that, at an unknown period, some of them had been removed from the walls and reset; probably this also was the work of Pinelli's craftsmen<sup>3</sup>.

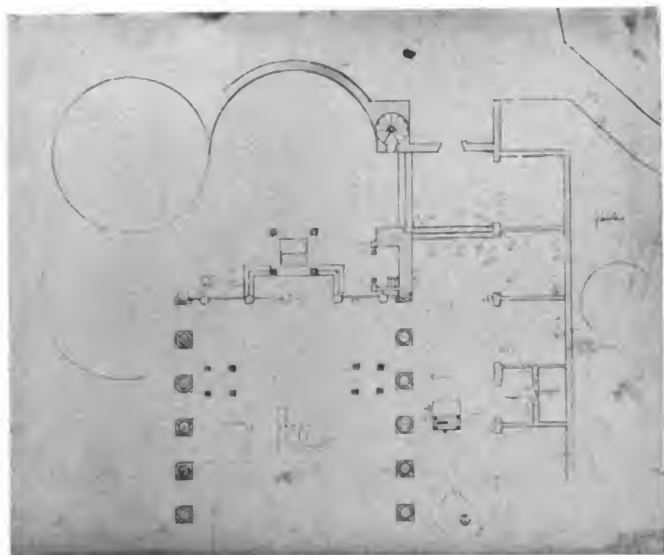
As we have already indicated, the construction of the Sixtine and Pauline chapels necessitated the rearrangement of parts of the nave colonnades and the widening of the intercolumniations in front of the chapel entrances. The transformation of the evenly spaced colonnades took place

<sup>1</sup> Apparently Pinelli's works were executed during the reign of Clement VIII (1592-1605); see A. M. SANTARELLI, *Memorie...* (MS in the archives of the Chapter).

<sup>2</sup> The campanile, shown to the south in De Angelis' engraving, was apparently planned by Paul V as part of the construction of the south palace but was never even started.

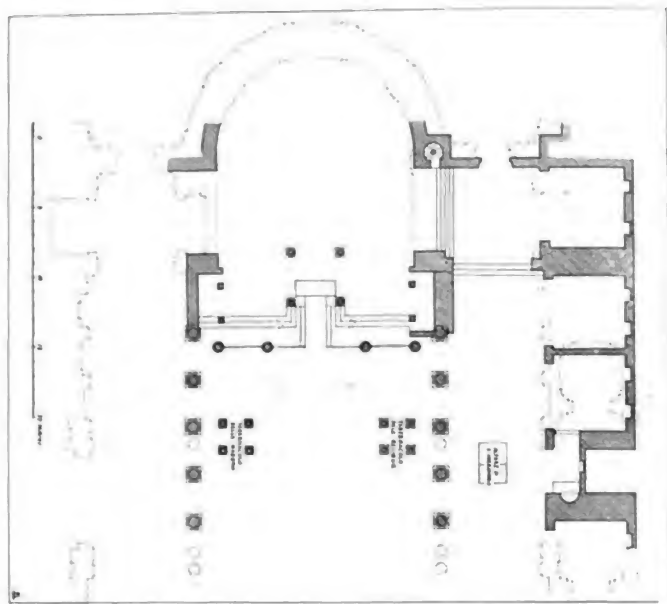
<sup>3</sup> BIAGETTI, *op. cit.*, 1937, p. 102 ff.; DE BRUYNE, *op. cit.*, p. 284.

in three distinct stages. Firstly, between 1581 and 1587 Fontana widened the intercolumniation on the axis of the Sixtine chapel by removing two of the original columns and replacing them with other shafts of red granite placed close to the adjacent columns in the row, creating two pairs of coupled shafts with a much wider space between them than the ordinary intercolumniation. This enlarged opening was spanned by a long horizontal lintel, or flat arch of brickwork. Fontana mentioned it specially “*il vano fra l'uno e l'altro è palmi ventinove con l'architrave in piano*”<sup>1</sup>. Secondly, in 1610 Ponzio remodeled the colonnade on the other side of the nave closely following Fontana's ideas, except that Ponzio used grey granite shafts instead of red and built a lofty arch over the



(Uffizi, dis. arch. 4215 r.)

Fig. 28a. S. Maria Maggiore, attributed to De Rocchi, Plan of chancel and west end of aisles, XVI cent.



(Drawing: Corbett)

Fig. 28b. S. Maria Maggiore, Plan of chancel and west end of aisles superimposed on present day plan

widened intercolumniation instead of being content with a lintel<sup>2</sup>. The nave remained like this for 120 years, with an arch on the left and a lintel on the right (fig. 25), until Fuga at last remodeled Fontana's opening to make it match Ponzio's. The principal features of the western end of the nave and of the transept, before Fuga's alterations reduced them to the present state, appear in De Angelis' illustrations. We also have an accurate plan from Fuga himself, showing an early state of his operations when several of the changes which he subsequently made were not yet contemplated (fig. 24). Another carefully measured plan, probably by B. de Rocchi, from before 1573 is accurate enough to be superimposed on a modern survey (figs. 28a, b)<sup>3</sup>. Before 1743, the transept floor lay about 1.80 m. above the nave and was preceded, if De Angelis' and Fuga's plans (figs. 24, 29) are reliable, by ten steps. A wide tread on which the *pergula* formerly stood<sup>4</sup> separated the lowest step from the others. Above the third step, the flight divided to pass on each side of the *fenestella confessionis*, which opened beneath the high altar. De Angelis' engraving (fig. 30) shows the *fenestella* and the steps, but omits the altar and ciborium in order to give a clear view of the apse<sup>5</sup>.

On either side of the high altar, just in front of the triumphal arch, a wall sealed the last intercolumniation of the nave colonnade; the last intercolumniation on the east end was sealed

<sup>1</sup> FONTANA, *Della trasportazione dell'Obelisco...*, *op. cit.*, c. 39<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Inscription above the arch: PAVLUS V PONT. MAX. AN. MDCX PONTIFIC. V. (FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, XI, p. 57).

<sup>3</sup> SCHWAGER, *op. cit.*, p. 328, fig. 237.

<sup>4</sup> See below, p. 31.

<sup>5</sup> Altar and ciborium appear on De Angelis' plate 93.



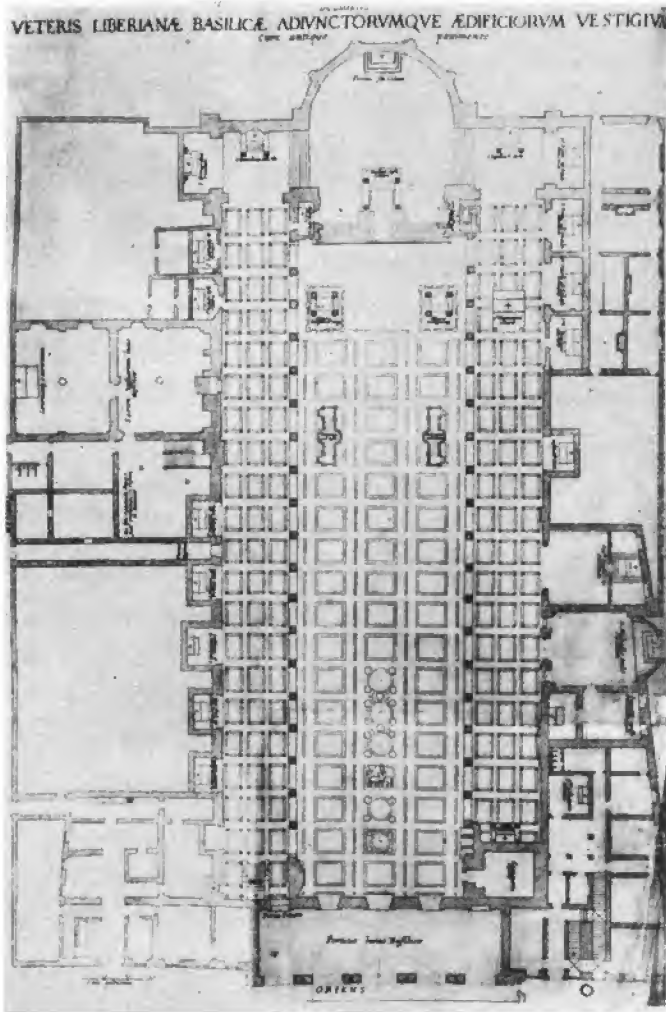


Fig. 29. S. Maria Maggiore, De Angelis,  
Plan prior to 1590

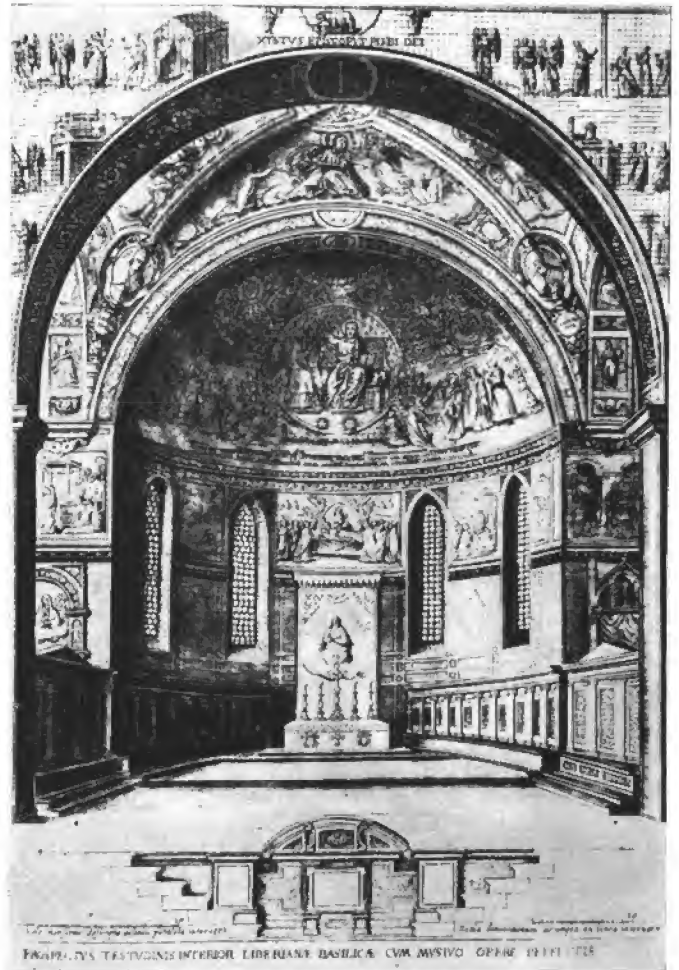


Fig. 30. S. Maria Maggiore, De Angelis,  
Transept and apse, 1621

by a similar wall. On the right hand side, in front of the wall at the west end, stood a small tribune for the choir and an organ in a gallery above it. Formerly there had been a similar tribune and organ on the left side. But in 1573, the organ was removed and the tribune below it was blocked up by the tomb and monument of Nicholas IV, whose remains were transferred at this time from their original grave in the south transept<sup>1</sup>. Beyond the triumphal arch lay the choir, the center of the transept being separated from the wings by partition walls, against which stood seats for the clergy, extending the semicircle of canons' stalls in the apse. The partitions and seats were inserted by S. Carlo Borromeo<sup>2</sup> while he was archpriest (1564-1572) to isolate the choir from the transept wings, the wings having become mere vestibules since the creation of the west doorways in 1474. The center of the apse curve was occupied by a papal throne, usually concealed behind a temporary altar. Of the pre-Renaissance throne nothing remains unless its reredos may be recognized in a fine cosmatesque panel, decorated with a lamb above an altar, which is now built into the wall beside the southern entrance to Fuga's south east palazzo<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> PANVINIO (*Vat. lat.* 6781, f. 151) noted the grave in the pavement of the south transept: «... ante portam in solo sepulti sunt Nicolaus IIII et Petrus de Columna» (BIASIOTTI, *Mél. Ec. Franç.* 1915, p. 34). Presumably the tomb was originally in a relatively secluded place, but when the west doors were opened, in 1474, the wing of the transept where it lay became a passageway. Nevertheless, the tomb remained there until Cardinal Montalto (afterwards Sixtus V) had it transferred to the left side of the choir (UGONIO, *Stazioni*, 1588, c. 68<sup>r-v</sup>). The year of its discovery and removal, 1573, is noted in the Archives of the Basilica (BIASIOTTI, *Boll. d'Arte*, 1915, p. 147, note).

<sup>2</sup> BIANCHINI, *Vallicelliana*, T 86; BIASIOTTI, *op. cit.*, 1918, p. 252 f., n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> BIASIOTTI, «Di alcune opere scultoree... in S. Maria Maggiore...», *Rassegna d'arte* 18 (1918), p. 42 ff. fig. 2.



## 4. THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

The great wooden ceiling of the nave was completed under Alexander VI in the last decade of the fifteenth century<sup>1</sup>. As Roderigo Borgia, Alexander VI was archpriest of the basilica from 1483 to 1492. In that office he succeeded Cardinal Guillaume d'Estouteville, who had charge of the church for nearly forty years (1445-1483). Of d'Estouteville's many gifts to the basilica we have already mentioned the western doorways and the upper part of the campanile. He was also responsible for the aisle vaulting, as it appears in de Angelis' engravings (fig. 27) before Fuga added the gilded paneling, and for a chapel dedicated to Saint Michael which opened off the north aisle, nearly opposite the eighth intercolumniation of the nave. The walls of the chapel were not at right angles to the basilica (as most plans show them) but were set obliquely, perpendicular to the rear wall; the rear wall alignment was dictated by a long external wall standing to the north of the church, not parallel with the nave axis. The obliquity may be traceable to the alignment of an adjacent road which still existed in the sixteenth century with a row of houses between it and the basilica (figs. 3, 7). De Angelis' plan (fig. 29) shows that the chapel of Saint Michael had a three-faceted apse, with half columns and pilasters at the corners, imitating the apse of Nicholas IV. One side wall of this chapel and the groined cross vault still exist. The cardinal's arms are carved on the marble vaulting boss and the panels of the vault are decorated with paintings attributed to Benozzo Gozzoli<sup>2</sup>. Other vaulting bosses, carved with his arms, prove that d'Estouteville also supplied the stone vaults of the transept which had to be removed in 1933 when it was found that their thrusts were endangering the triumphal arch and its mosaics<sup>3</sup>.

With the opening of the western doorways in 1474, the transept wings became virtually part of the aisles; hence the floor level of the transept wings had to be lowered and a flight of steps was inserted ascending from the new level of the wings to that of the apse, as shown in De Angelis' engravings (figs. 27, 30). Nevertheless, the tomb of Nicholas IV, which lay in the south wing, was allowed to remain there until 1573<sup>4</sup>. In the middle bay of the transept, projecting from the thirteenth century apse and terminating at the triumphal arch, the medieval pavement of the transept remained at its original high level as a platform, raised six steps above the level of the nave (figs. 29, 30).

D'Estouteville's most impressive gift to the basilica was undoubtedly the ciborium of the high altar. It stood at the front of the transept platform, directly over the low tabernacle of the confessio. Four porphyry columns sustained semicircular arches, above which rose a richly sculptured canopy. The ciborium was finished in 1461; Mino da Fiesole executed some of the sculpture. When it was dismantled in the eighteenth century the various sculptured panels were distributed about the church, the four main ones being set up beneath the windows in the apse wall, where they still remain<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> It is unknown when the ceiling was started, but it is worth noting that Vat. lat. 11257, f. 185<sup>v</sup> (see above, p. 3), as early as ca. 1480 shows a coffered ceiling, though different in design from the present one. BIASIOTTI, *Rivista del Collegio Araldico*, 1915, p. 516, notes the original colours of the ceiling: « *Il fondo del soffitto e del fregio in origine era di 'buon azzuro' con tocchi di rosso e turchino alternato, fra i dentelli dei cassettoni. Al tempo di Benedetto XIV furono sostituiti questi colori da una mezza tinta, quale tuttora si vede* ». See also IDEM, *Mél. Ec. Franç.*, 1915, p. 37, note.

<sup>2</sup> BIASIOTTI, « *Affreschi di Benozzo Gozzoli in S. Maria Maggiore in Roma* », *Boll. d'Arte* 7 (1912), p. 76 ff.

<sup>3</sup> BIAGETTI, *op. cit.*, 1931, No. 5, p. 26 ff., No. 6, p. 27 ff.; ALBERTELLA, *op. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 29, n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> BIASIOTTI, *op. cit.*, *Rassegna d'Arte* 18 (1918), p. 42 ff., fig. 8 ff.

## 5. MEDIEVAL

We have no knowledge of the high altar before d'Estouteville's time, but we assume that it stood in the same place and that the confessio illustrated by De Angelis (fig. 30), with its barred *fenestella* flanked by flights of porphyry steps, dates from an earlier period, although it was evidently remodeled during the Renaissance. The arrangement of a *fenestella confessionis* facing down the nave at the base of an altar occurs frequently in the High Middle Ages in Rome but the pattern goes back to Carolingian times and, beyond, to the changes effected by Gregory the Great in raising an altar above the shrine of Saint Peter<sup>1</sup>. At S. Maria Maggiore, ten porphyry steps led up to the raised transept floor, which lay 1.78 m. (8 *palmi*) above the nave floor. When Fuga was lowering the transept floor level, in 1748, the remains of the curved wall of the original apse were discovered immediately below the pavement. After excavating 6½ *palmi* the workmen struck a pavement (presumably inside the apse) and then, 1½ *palmi* farther down, they found another pavement which lay at the same level as the main nave floor<sup>2</sup>.

The transept and apse date from the reign of Nicholas IV, as recorded in the mosaic inscription at the base of the half dome; the fissure between nave and transept as well as the difference in the brickwork are clearly visible on the roof terraces above the aisles<sup>3</sup>. Torriti's mosaics adorned the apse, while the walls of the transept were decorated with frescoes, the upper part of which were preserved throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth century redecorations by being hidden behind d'Estouteville's vaulting (fig. 30).

The *pergula*, in its last state at any rate, consisted of a row of four porphyry columns crossing the nave at the foot of the steps which led to the transept platform<sup>4</sup>. Rocchi's plan (fig. 28a) seems to show their location accurately, though it is inexact with regard to the number of steps. Fuga's plan of the pavements (fig. 21) seems to depict the steps accurately, although Fuga omitted the *pergula*<sup>5</sup>; but it must have stood to the west of the original position of the Sciarra-Colonna pavement panel (B), which Fuga indicated by a dotted line about 0.80 m. west of the eighteenth century chancel balustrade (still extant in its outer portions). The *pergula* columns must, therefore, have been aligned about one meter to the east of the terminal shafts in the nave colonnades. The *pergula* also appears on Peruzzi's plan (fig. 10). We have no view of it in elevation, but the columns of the *pergula*, while too widely spaced, apparently supported a marble architrave, such as the one donated by Paschal I<sup>6</sup>. In front of the *pergula*, on either side of the place where the nineteenth century confessio lies — that is to say, just beyond the entrances to the Sixtine and Pauline chapels until Fuga's remodeling — stood two tabernacles, each consisting of a large relic chamber raised on four columns above a small altar (fig. 27). Both appear, from the style of their decoration, to date from the thirteenth century. The upper chamber had Gothic arcading between spiral corner

<sup>1</sup> S. Giorgio in Velabro (see above, Vol. I, p. 250, 263); S. Marco (see above, Vol. II, p. 238); S. Prassede (see below, p. 252); St. Peter's (WARD PERKINS and TOYNBEE, *The Shrine of Saint Peter*, London, 1956, p. 215, fig. 22).

<sup>2</sup> Letter from Canon Strozzi dated 30 December, 1747. BIANCHINI, *Vallcelliana* T 86, f. 12 (as cited by BIASIOTTI, *Boll. d'Arte*, 1915, p. 146, note): « *Ascolti adesso quanto si è osservato nel loro scavamento. In primo luogo si è incontrato il muro di una tribuna vecchia, il quale rasentava il pavimento e di qua e di là andava a terminare appiè del famoso arco di Sisto III ... Dopo il muro della tribuna vecchia nello scavare s'incontrò il masso di un secondo pavimento distante dal superiore palmi 6½ e andando più sotto palmi 1½ se ne trovò un altro che appunto restava a livello del pavimento del rimanente della chiesa...* ».

<sup>3</sup> SCHUCHERT, *op. cit.*, pp. 105, 112, figs. 27, 29, 30.

<sup>4</sup> « ... *peristilus quattuor columnarum et porphydo cum cancellis marmoreis* » (PANVINIO, Vat. lat. 6781, f. 151; BIASIOTTI, *Mél. Ec. Franç.*, 1915, p. 34).

<sup>5</sup> The omission is understandable because the plan is a project for the remodeling of the pavement and chancel rails before his final, and more extensive, remodeling of the choir had been envisaged.

<sup>6</sup> See above, dig. 817-824.

columns, and culminated in triangular gables with crockets and fleur-de-lys pinnacles<sup>1</sup>. The right hand tabernacle was like the other except that its crowning features were classical rather than Gothic. A dedicatory inscription gave the date 1256 and the names of the donors, Giacomo and Vinia Capocci<sup>2</sup>.

A medieval pulpit was removed from the nave in 1587; it stood on the south side, about two meters from the colonnade and three-quarters of the way along the nave from the entrance to the triumphal arch. An inscription recorded its erection by Alexander III (1159-81). There had formerly been two such pulpits facing each other on opposite sides of the nave (fig. 29)<sup>3</sup>. If we can rely on the plan in this detail, it seems to show that the pulpits were not part of a *schola cantorum* (as at S. Clemente), since the steps which led up to each pulpit started at the base from the direction of the aisles. If the pulpits had been part of a *schola* enclosure the steps would have turned in the opposite direction, towards the middle of the church.

During a long period preceding d'Estouteville's activities, little building was undertaken. The roof was renewed in 1434 and the middle stories of the campanile were built about 1375, but we have no record of other building activity during the century and a half which elapsed between the time of Nicholas IV and the appointment of d'Estouteville as archpriest. Under Nicholas IV and shortly after, the church received its mosaic-encrusted façade, transept and apse. These were the culminating achievements of the fertile period, during which the basilica must have been enriched with many works of art including, as we have seen, the porch of Eugene III, the pavement, the two reliquary ciboria, the pulpits, and probably a rich cosmatesque altar frontal in the chapel of the *Presepio*, which in 1587 was transferred to the center of the Sistine chapel, where it still exists.

## E. ANALYSIS

### I. Foundation Walls

A burial vault beneath the pavement of the north aisle, just in front of the entrance to the Sistine Chapel, is bounded on the north side by the substructure of the original aisle wall. The temporary removal of a small panel of plaster made it possible to examine the masonry (fig. 31); it is *opus listatum* consisting mostly of brick but with an occasional course of *tuffelli*. The average thickness of the mortar beds is 3.1 cm. A small, roughly built relieving arch was found in the sector of the wall examined, but its purpose was not ascertainable. Possibly an ancient conduit passes beneath the wall at that point; one remembers that in 1743 Bianchini noted conduits crossing the nave, though not in this place. On the opposite side of the north aisle, another burial vault, corresponding with the westernmost intercolumniation of the nave, allowed the foundation wall of the north colonnade to be examined. It, too, was found to be of *opus listatum*.

<sup>1</sup> DE ANGELIS, *op. cit.*, p. 82 ff. In front of the upper chamber, there was originally a small open gallery from which the relics were exposed on great occasions; but this gallery was subsequently remodeled, and made to support a second reliquary donated by Paul V, which seemed thus to be attached, rather uncomfortably, to the front of the Gothic tabernacle. This second reliquary seems to have been designed to house the icon of the Virgin and Child, now venerated in the Pauline chapel, which the basilica has possessed from time immemorial and which by 1449 was already in, or in front of, the Gothic tabernacle (RUCCELLAI, *op. cit.*, [PEROSA ed.], p. 69; see also BIASIOTTI, *Mél. Ec. Franç.*, 1915, p. 19, n. 1).

<sup>2</sup> DE ANGELIS, *op. cit.*, p. 56. A careful drawing of this tabernacle by J. Talman belongs to the Society of Antiquaries of London. When the tabernacle was dismantled in the eighteenth century, a mosaic panel from one side was removed to the church at Vico, where it is still preserved. The rest of the monument found its way to England and was last seen in a London antique shop in 1852 (LETHABY, *Mediaeval Art*, London, 1904, p. 283); its present whereabouts are unknown.

<sup>3</sup> « *Pulpita sive ambores marmoreos duos elegantissimis tabulis incrustatos ... Pulpita in medio ecclesiae lapidea variis marmoribus porphyreticis viridibus Lacedemoniis ornata pro epistola et evangelio decantandis, Alexander III* ». (PANVINIO, *De praecipuis Basilicis*, 1570, p. 236, 237). But UGONIO indicated that only one of them was to be seen in 1587 (*Stazioni*, 1588, f. 67).

On the south side of the church, a vault in the northwest corner of the south aisle gives access to the point where the foundation wall of the south colonnade joins another wall at right angles; this latter wall, crossing the aisle, is the foundation of the original west wall of the basilica, before the transept was built (fig. 32)<sup>1</sup>. Again the construction is in *opus listatum* in which single *tufelli* courses alternate regularly with double brick courses. The mortar beds average 3.1 cm. in thickness



(Photo: Sansaini)

Fig. 31. S. Maria Maggiore, Foundation of north wall and entrance to Cappella Sistina



(Photo: Sansaini)

Fig. 32. S. Maria Maggiore, Foundations of south colonnade (right hand) and of end wall of south aisle

and a unit of two brick courses, one tufa course and the three intervening mortar beds has an average height of 26.3 cm. The *tufelli* are from 8.5 to 10 cm. in height. The mortar beds are flush with the wall face and slightly concave<sup>2</sup>.

Two other burial vaults, near the west end of the south aisle, provide a means of examining a further stretch of the south colonnade foundation wall and confirm that it is built of *opus listatum* with the characteristics already detailed (plate II).

The foundations of the original apse and the lower part of its superstructure were noted by Strozzi in 1747, when the pavement of the choir inside the medieval transept was being lowered to the present level<sup>3</sup>. Because of the lowering of the floor level, what was left of the ancient superstructure was almost completely removed at that time; but the foundation wall and one course of the superstructure were rediscovered in 1933, beneath the central part of the choir (pl. I; figs. 33, 34). In plan the apse was a slightly stilted semi-circle, the focal point being set 1½ m. behind the front of the triumphal arch. This arch with its mosaics was originally the apse frontal; it became an independent arch only when the apse behind it was demolished in the thirteenth century to give place to the transept. What is now the intrados was formerly the forward edge of the apse vault, as is shown by a slight tilt in the surface; by the fact that the mosaic pattern is not set in the middle of the intrados; by the sharp termination of the mosaic on the west side in contrast to the curve of the east side where the tesserae sweep round and join the mosaics of the frontal; finally, by the traces of the demolished apse vault which in 1931 were seen on the back of the arch inside the medieval transept (fig. 36). The apse (figs. 33, 34) had an internal radius of 6.55 m. and the foundation wall is 1.35 m. thick<sup>4</sup>. It is built of *opus listatum* similar to that noted elsewhere, two courses of brick alternating with one of *tufelli*. From details recorded by Schuchert and

<sup>1</sup> This wall is also noted by SCHUCHERT (*op. cit.*, p. 134) who states incorrectly that it is of pure brickwork.

<sup>2</sup> See also below, p. 59 f., Supplementary Note.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 31, n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> The details are minutely described by SCHUCHERT, *op. cit.*, p. 123 ff. BIAGETTI's description of the discovery is found in *Rendic. Pont. Accad.* 9 (1934), p. 33 ff.



(Photo: Pont. Comm. di Arch. Sacra)

Fig. 33. S. Maria Maggiore, Foundation wall of apse seen from the west; excavated in 1931



(Photo: Pont. Comm. di Arch. Sacra)

Fig. 34. S. Maria Maggiore, Foundation wall of apse seen from the east; excavated in 1931

Biagetti it appears that a unit of three courses rises 0.27 m. and that the masonry closely resembles that of the colonnade stylobate. The apse foundation wall rises to a level 0.63 m. below the present pavement of the choir; above that level one course of the superstructure survives, 0.97 m. thick and set back 0.08 m. from the outer wall face and 0.30 m. from the interior. The sole course of this superstructure to survive is of tufa<sup>1</sup>. Thus it appears probable that the apse wall was built in *opus listatum*. Near the junction of the apse and the nave, on the left hand side as one observes it from the interior, Schuchert noted several courses of irregular, unfaced brickwork superimposed on the setback of the foundation wall. He interpreted them as part of an early superstructure, thus evolving the theory that the apse dates from two distinct periods, the foundations being more ancient than the superstructure<sup>2</sup>.

We consider it more likely, however, that the brickwork in question is merely the footing of the revetment with which Fuga lined the choir.

Below floor level, the opening of the triumphal arch is spanned by a chord wall of *opus listatum*,



(Photo: Pont. Comm. di Arch. Sacra)

Fig. 35. S. Maria Maggiore, Span wall of apse; excavated in 1930

<sup>1</sup> SCHUCHERT, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 134 ff.





(Photo: Pont. Comm. di Arch. Sacra)

Fig. 36. S. Maria Maggiore, Triumphal arch from rear, as seen in 1931

0.58 m. in thickness, above which appear the remains of a thinner wall (fig. 35)<sup>1</sup>. The latter cannot be the footing of a step since we know from other sources that the nave floor and the apse floor were originally at one level<sup>2</sup>, but it might be the footing of a screen or chancel rail which originally separated the apse from the body of the basilica.

No one in modern times has traced the foundation walls of the basilica down to the bottom. Obviously, the descent of the hillside makes them very much deeper at the west end of the church than they are at the east.

In his excavation for the foundations of the present altar canopy, Fuga reached rock at a depth of nearly 13 m. below the nave floor whereas the excavations of 1931-32, beside the original apse foundation wall, only plumbed 3 m.<sup>3</sup>



(Photo: Anderson)

Fig. 37. S. Maria Maggiore, Brickwork of upper part of façade wall

## II. Perimeter Walls

### I. AISLE WALLS

The structure of the aisle walls cannot be examined at any point. The only place where an outside wall face is to be seen is in the courtyard between the Sforza and Cesi chapels, where the former chapel of S. Catherine projects. Removal of the plaster revealed that this structure is of brick, with thin mortar beds averaging 1.4 cm. in thickness, characteristic of late medieval construction. A small blocked window, high up in the wall above the chapel roof, seems to be of the same period.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 132.

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 36 f.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 10, dig. 1931-32; also SCHUCHERT, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

## 2. EAST WALL

The upper part of the east wall, that is the façade wall, appears to date from the thirteenth century, and therefore to be contemporary with the mosaic revetment of the facade. The brickwork (fig. 37) is typical of the period, with its small, very regularly coursed bricks and thin, convex mortar beds and joints, in which each unit is outlined by a trowel stroke. The technique is quite distinct from the *falsa cortina* which distinguishes brickwork of a somewhat earlier period (though no doubt there was a long period when both styles were used; the reason for the change would be interesting to discover). But while the upper part of the east wall is medieval, the lower part must date from the original building because it was on the inner face of this wall that Panvinio read the last remaining fragment of Sixtus III's original dedicatory inscription<sup>1</sup>. Presumably it decorated the end wall of the nave, resembling the nearly contemporary inscription which still exists at S. Sabina. Part of the wall is probably still extant, concealed by the rich marble and plaster revetments of the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries.

In 1741, while Gregory XIII's portico was being demolished to make way for the present one, a pair of fluted marble columns came to light disposed on either side of the central doorway<sup>2</sup>. One of the columns still exists and was rediscovered in 1949. The surviving shaft is on the north side of the doorway and stands on a block of stone which may be a column base, although the moldings have perished. The capital has disappeared (if it ever existed) and the massive travertine architrave which the shaft supports now rests on a cushion of brickwork. The center part of the architrave has been replaced, or reinforced, by a segmental brick arch, apparently an eighteenth century addition. The position of the other column, on the south side of the door, is indicated by a circular patch of discoloration on the soffit of the architrave<sup>3</sup>. The surviving shaft is 4.75 m. long and 0.64 m. in diameter at the base; it is made of grey Carrara marble and has 26 flutes. The base block is 0.38 m. high and the space between the top of the shaft and the underside of the architrave, where the capital ought to be, is 0.29 to 0.30 m. high. The architrave is 0.87 m. high and some 0.50 m. thick; it has no moldings and the greater part of the fascia has been chiseled away. The distance from the center of the discolored patch to the center line of the surviving column is 3.72 m. These data are not enough, in our opinion, to sustain the theory<sup>4</sup> that the façade of the church was originally an open colonnade, such as we know to have existed in other fourth and fifth century churches in Rome<sup>5</sup>. The disparity between the level of this architrave and those of the main nave colonnades argues strongly against such a reconstruction and we prefer to interpret the fragments in question as the remains of a door frame<sup>6</sup>.

## 3. THE APSE

As mentioned above, a single course of the superstructure of the original apse was seen during the excavation of 1933. The curved wall was 0.97 m. thick and rested on the foundation wall at a level 0.63 m. below the present choir pavement. In the eighteenth century the same curved wall

<sup>1</sup> Vat. Lat. 6781, f. 151<sup>r</sup>, as quoted above, p. 46, n. 5; see also BIASIOTTI, *Mél. Ec. Franç.*, 1915, p. 23, and above, dig. 432-440.

<sup>2</sup> BIANCHINI, Vallicelliana, T 75, fol. 443<sup>r-v</sup>, as quoted by BIASIOTTI, *op. cit.*, 1918, p. 251.

<sup>3</sup> The authorities who rediscovered these features have now replaced the missing column shaft, capitals, etc., by models of plaster of Paris, an unhappy and misleading reconstruction.

<sup>4</sup> PRANDI, *op. cit.*, p. 237 ff.

<sup>5</sup> G. MATTHIAE, « Basiliche paleocristiane con ingresso a polifora », *Boll. d'Arte* 42 (1957), p. 107 ff. See also S. Clemente (above, Vol. I, p. 126 f.); S. Giovanni e Paolo (above, Vol. I, pp. 289, 298); S. Pietro in Vincoli (Vol. III); S. Vitale (Vol. IV).

<sup>6</sup> See below, p. 46; see also WELLEN, *op. cit.*, p. 137, n. 75.

stood nearly two meters high, concealed inside the raised platform of the thirteenth century transept, but when Fuga reduced the choir pavement to its present level, the portion of the apse wall which stood above the desired level had to be removed<sup>1</sup>. Strozzi reports that when Fuga first removed the old pavement he immediately saw the top course of what was left of the ancient apse wall. Then, digging down, the workmen came to a pavement which was 1.45 m. below the first one, and finally, after excavating another 0.33 m. in depth, they reached a second ancient pavement which was level with the main floor of the church. Hence the floor of the choir inside the thirteenth century transept was 1.78 m. above the present nave floor level and the old apse wall rose almost to that height. Likewise it is obvious that at some time preceding the thirteenth century the level of the apse, which originally corresponded to that of the nave, had been raised 1½ palmi (ca. 34 cm.), that is, two or three steps. Unfortunately Strozzi tells us no more of the wall than that it curved around to join the piers of the triumphal arch. It is important to note that he says nothing of any opening or embrasure<sup>2</sup>. What may be another reference to the apse wall occurs in the report of an excavation made in 1659 when the relics of Saint Jerome were being sought. To the left of the high altar, between it and the tomb of Nicholas IV, at a depth of 0.07 m. below the transept pavement, the excavators discovered an ancient wall with painted plaster revetment on which a simple leaf frieze was depicted. The painted wall was 1.11 m. high and stood on top of another wall which projected about 0.22 m. in the direction of the main doorway: in other words there was a setback in the wall face, 22 cm. wide, at a depth of about 1.20 m. below the transept floor. When they continued the excavation, the searchers after Saint Jerome's body came to the ancient pavement of the church 1.78 m. below the transept, a depth which corresponds exactly with that noted by Strozzi<sup>3</sup>.

### III. Colonnades

We have already described the changes that were made in the nave colonnades in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the middle of the sixteenth century, Peruzzi saw 40 columns in two unbroken rows, with more or less equal intercolumniations; 34 of them were Proconnesian marble and 6, as Bianchini records, were of *cipollino*<sup>4</sup>. Peruzzi's sketch plan (fig. 10) bears the note "*colonne 20 di marmo cipollino e di saligno*". Since Fuga left the majority of the shafts erect, while remodeling them, the original positions remain unchanged<sup>5</sup>. In general, the interaxial measurements vary between 3.29 m. and 3.46 m. with many of them constant at 3.33 m., or 11⅓ R. ft. But the middle intercolumniation of the south side is much narrower, the interaxial measurement being only 3.07 m. The anomaly must have existed from the outset, since the window above has

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 31, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> This factor argues against the older theory, that there was formerly an ambulatory outside the apse, communicating with the inner part of the apse by arcades (*B. A. C.*, 1867, p. 72; 1880, p. 149; also *L. P.* II, p. 67, n. 30).

<sup>3</sup> *Cod. Chig.*, 557, f. 209; see BIASIOTTI, *Mél. Ec. Franç.*, 1915, p. 31, note: «...Essendosi seguitato a cavare verso la tribuna, fu scoperto sotto il pavimento un 3° di palmo, un muro antico, dipinto in cima con un fregio a traverso, ma di pittura assai triviale, come di verdura, all'altezza di mezzo palmo, et dipoi seguiva tutto il muro, parimente incollato, che dimostrava essere stato dipinto; ma li colori consumati dalla terra, che vi appoggiava. Cinque palmi sotto il sud° muro si ritrovò un'altro muro di mattoni, che sebene andava sotto il primo, usciva fuori più di esso, quasi un palmo verso la porta grande, et fatto il tasto si ritrovò muro massiccio. Et volendosi andar più sotto... vi fu ritrovato il pavimento antico della Chiesa che veniva ad essere quasi otto palmi sotto, et era intarsiato di marmo, porfido, giallo, porta santa, et altre pietre...».

<sup>4</sup> «Essendovene sei di cipollino...» see above, p. 26, note 1. MELLINI, *Vat. lat.*, 11905, f. 131, describes the shafts as being of varied material: «venti colonne per banda grosse pal. 12 d'ordine ionico riportate parte sono di granito, altre di marmo Frigio, altre di Saligno, altre di bigio».

<sup>5</sup> BIANCHINI writes «... si sono tutte fusate e ripulite senza però muoverle dal suo luogo» (*Vallicelliana*, T 75, f. 441; BIASIOTTI, *op. cit.*, 1918, p. 253).



the same defect; it may be due merely to the builders having started simultaneously from both ends of the church.

Whereas Peruzzi found 40 columns, we now see places for 44 if we include the columns which Fuga removed from behind the monuments of Nicholas IV and Clement IX. The four extra columns are false ones, which Fuga inserted at the extremities of the colonnades in places where there had formerly been solid walls. These walls, which blocked the four terminal intercolumniations, probably had the appearance of long *antae* ending in half columns; nevertheless, although the shafts were half enclosed in masonry, they must have been easily identifiable as independent units since all ancient descriptions distinguish them properly as columns. The *antae* walls may well have been inserted to provide a counterthrust to the outward pressure which was exerted by the relieving arches in the walls above the main trabeation<sup>1</sup>. They may well be Romanesque additions and certainly are not earlier than the ninth century<sup>2</sup>.

Before Fuga, the only important change to the original colonnades was the respacing effected by Fontana and Ponzio at the entrances to the Sixtine and Pauline Chapels; in each case, the architect removed a pair of the original shafts and substituted granite shafts spaced much further apart<sup>3</sup>.

While Fuga's careful reworking of the column shafts may have deprived us of useful evidence concerning chancel screens and other contiguous features, it is still possible to see on the front of many shafts the outline of a neatly sealed up cramp hole which looks like the attachment for a lamp bracket. They were observed by Bianchini who also remarked that some of the holes had fragments of iron stuck in them<sup>4</sup>. Of greater importance, perhaps, are the scars of a transenna which once closed the spaces between the three Proconnesian shafts to the right of the entrance to the Pauline chapel. The transenna was 1.50 m. high and may have been about 20 cm. thick. Since no transenna appears in this place on the sixteenth century plans (figs. 10, 28a), and there has been nothing since that date to justify the scars, it is possible that they may be the last remaining trace of an Early Christian chancel screen, demarcating the flank of a presbytery which occupied the entire breadth of the nave. The fact that no corresponding scars are seen on the north side of the nave may be explained by the supposition that these shafts were originally somewhat stouter, and that they lost more of their surface while being "*fusate e ripulite*" by Fuga.

In the course of Fuga's work, all the original capitals of the nave colonnades disappeared without leaving a trace. Nevertheless, a drawing of ca. 1480, to be discussed later (fig. 50), shows that they were of the Ionic order, and both Panvinio and Mellini confirm this<sup>5</sup>.

#### IV. Pavements

The level of an early threshold stone at the main doorway indicates that the original nave floor was 7.75 m. below the summit of the nave colonnades<sup>6</sup>. As the present measurement from the floor to the soffit of the architrave in the colonnades is 7.70 m. it appears that the eighteenth century pavement (which incorporates panels of the Romanesque floor) is about 5 cm. thick and lies directly over the original floor.

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 48.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 26.

<sup>4</sup> BIANCHINI, Vallicelliana T 75, f. 442; BIASIOTTI, *op. cit.*, 1918, p. 254.

<sup>5</sup> « ... *magnis columnis cum capitulis jonicis sustentate* » (BIASIOTTI, *Mél. Ec. Franç.*, 1915, p. 22, quoting PANVINIO, Vat. lat. 6781, f. 151); MELLINI, Vat. lat. 11905, f. 231, as quoted above, p. 37, n. 4.

<sup>6</sup> PRANDI, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

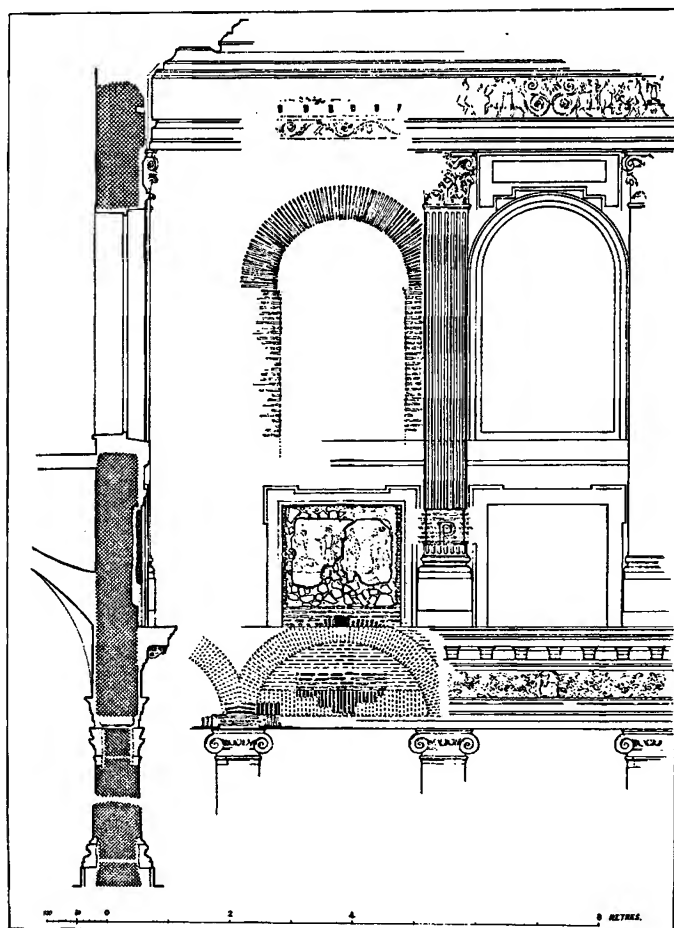
While Fuga was lowering the pavement of the choir, Strozzi identified two ancient floor levels in the original apse, one of them at the same level as the nave floor, 8 palmi below the choir level inside the thirteenth century transept, and another  $1\frac{1}{2}$  palmi higher<sup>1</sup>. The latter is probably the apse floor as it existed at the time of its demolition in the thirteenth century, while the lower floor must represent an earlier period, presumably the original one. The brief excavation of 1659<sup>2</sup> revealed a pavement, 8 *palmi* below the medieval transept floor level, in the southern portion of the choir; it was inlaid with various marbles, including porphyry, *giallo antico* and *porta santa*. The excavators in this case seem to have missed the pavement which lay  $1\frac{1}{2}$  palmi higher up.

## V. The Trabeation

It will be recalled that the trabeation is formed by an architrave, a frieze decorated with a tendril design in mosaic, and a cornice surmounted by brackets. Cornice and architrave are of plaster and sixteenth century workmanship; the frieze in its basic design appears to be of fifth century date.

In 1934, Biagetti temporarily removed small portions of the plaster architrave and cornice and revealed that the upper walls of the nave are supported over the intervals between the columns not by an entablature, but by a series of large elliptical relieving arches filled in with tympana walls which give only the effect of a continuous trabeation (figs. 38, 42a). The arrangement dates from the origin of the building and there can be no doubt about the fact that there was never an arcaded nave. The relieving arches are built with sesquipedals, about 0.40 m. in length. The mortar between the bricks seems to have been painted white, and each arch brick was emphasized with red paint (fig. 42a). The paint proves beyond doubt that there was a period, perhaps only a few years in duration, when the nave was seen as a plain brick structure with only the minimum of adornment. The tympanum wall below the arch is built of ordinary brickwork, not painted.

Twelve courses rise 0.81 m., the equivalent of 4 to  $4\frac{1}{2}$  courses per R. ft. The mortar pointing is rather carelessly executed, flush with the brick face and slightly concave (fig. 39)<sup>3</sup>. At the base, some 20 cm. above the abacus of the present Ionic capital, the wall rests on a horizontal band of sesquipedals, set vertically, suggesting a flat brick arch in a sense, but structurally of no value since the



(Drawing: Corbett)

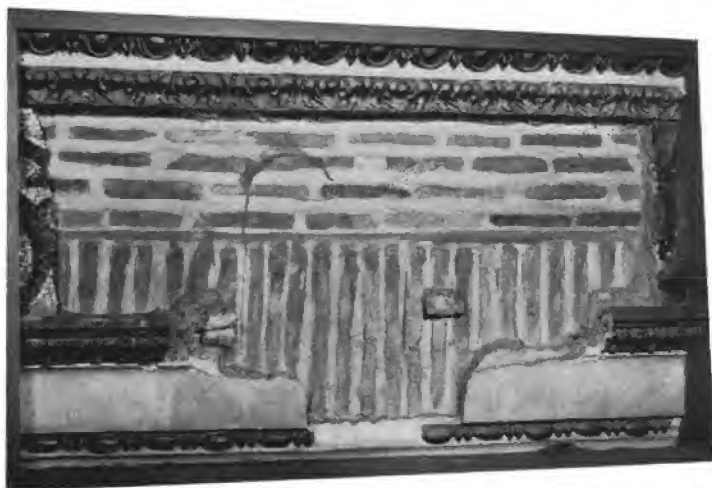
Fig. 38. S. Maria Maggiore, Trabeation and clerestory

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 31, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 37, n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> These observations and the photographs which illustrate them are not taken from the actual structure, which is no longer visible, but from a set of precise, colored plaster casts which Biagetti had made. They are kept in the store rooms of the Vatican Pinacoteca.

bricks have neither taper nor inclination. These vertical bricks are emphasised with red paint in the same way as those of the elliptical arches above. Since the flat arches have no strength in themselves, the weight of the diaphragm is now carried by iron bars which rest on the Ionic capitals. The space between the iron bars and the underside of the painted flat arches is filled in with small yellow bricks, slightly inclined (fig. 40); even so, their small size in relation to the length of the span gives them no value as an arch and the tympanum is really supported on the



(Photo: Arch. Mus. Vat.)

Fig. 39. S. Maria Maggiore, Nave architrave, painted brickwork (from plaster cast)



(Photo: Arch. Mus. Vat.)

Fig. 40. S. Maria Maggiore, Nave architrave, springing of relieving arches, flat brick arches and eighteenth century patchwork (from plaster cast)

iron bars alone, plus the cohesion derived from the tensile strength of the mortar<sup>1</sup>. We assume that the bands of vertical sesquipedals were originally supported by wooden beams<sup>2</sup>, and it is likely that the iron bars and the short yellow bricks were inserted by Fuga to replace these timber members which he probably found in a state of decay. These vertical brickbands and beams, however, shortly after having been painted, were covered by a simulated entablature including the fifth century mosaic frieze which still survives with but minor repairs.

## VI. The Clerestorey Walls

Fig. 38 sets out all the data known to us concerning the nave side walls, uniting information from several places in a single drawing. The Corinthian pilasters which line the clerestorey received their present form at the end of the sixteenth century, under Cardinal Pinelli, but they were not a new feature then. Pilasters, though possibly of somewhat different design, were present in the original structure. In 1938, when a small panel of plaster revetment was removed from the fourth pilaster on the north side (fig. 41), observers noted that the brick core of the pilaster stood forward 0.10 m. in front of the general wall face and was constructed integrally with the rest of the wall<sup>3</sup>. The front of the core was pointed in the ordinary way, but bricks and mortar in the sides of the



(Photo: Arch. Mus. Vat.)

Fig. 41. S. Maria Maggiore, Pilaster of clerestorey denuded of sixteenth century revetment (from plaster cast)

<sup>1</sup> When the iron corrodes a piece of the tympanum will fall out, but the relieving arches will continue to support the clerestorey wall.

<sup>2</sup> Sixtus III's builders used the same device at the Lateran Baptistery.

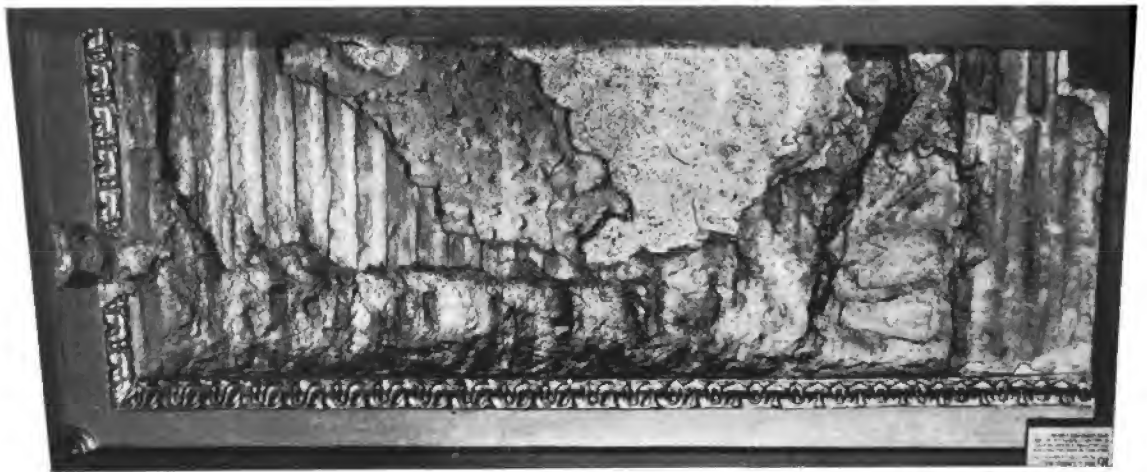
<sup>3</sup> BIAGETTI, *op. cit.*, 1946/47; KRAUTHEIMER, *op. cit.*, 1942, p. 379.



(Photo: Arch. Mus. Vat.)

Fig. 42a. S. Maria Maggiore, Wall behind mosaic panel; south side of nave (from plaster cast)

shaft were rough-hacked, indicating that the pilaster had formerly been broader. While the present shafts measure 0.68 m. from side to side of the fluted plaster shaft, the original brick pilasters were 0.74 m. in width. This is evident from the area of broken brickwork on either side, where the original projection was shaved away to make the pilaster narrower. Plaster revetment must have made the original pilasters slightly wider than 0.74 m. Nevertheless, there was certainly a stage in the history of the church when the pilasters had no revetment since Biagetti saw traces of original painted



(Photo: Arch. Mus. Vat.)

Fig. 42b. S. Maria Maggiore, Wall behind mosaic panel; south side of nave

decoration adhering directly to the naked brickwork. The portion of masonry which was exposed in 1938 retains the upper part of a large letter "P", brushed on in dark brown paint, presumably the top of a ✠<sup>1</sup>.

In the course of the repairs undertaken in the 1930's, it turned out that some of the mosaic panels had been dismantled at some earlier time (probably during Pinelli's restorations<sup>2</sup>) and set up again, not necessarily in their original places<sup>3</sup>, with the missing parts supplied in painted plaster (figs. 38, 42a, 42b)<sup>4</sup>. At the base of the mosaic panels, in the center, the elliptical arches were

<sup>1</sup> It was faithfully reproduced in the plaster cast on which our fig. 41 is based.

<sup>2</sup> As suggested by DE BRUVNE, *op. cit.*, 1938, p. 281 ff.

<sup>3</sup> The panels are not all in historical order.

<sup>4</sup> Modern restorations have supplied a great deal of mosaic which was formerly missing, but Wilpert's illustrations enable us to distinguish the new from the old.



seen to be interrupted by large holes approximately 20 cm. wide. They might mark the place from which projecting brackets belonging to a cornice had been removed. To be sure of this, however, it would be necessary to examine a wide area of the wall in order to determine the frequency with which such holes appear. Originally the nave probably had a simulated trabeation, since without a cornice there would be nothing for the pilasters to stand on. Clarification of this and many other problems will only be possible, however, when the nave walls can be systematically explored, a task which would entail the temporary removal of more of the sixteenth century decoration than is likely to be permitted at present.

When he detached the mosaic panels from their sixteenth century beds, Biagetti found the reverse face imprinted with the marks of the brick coursing of the original setting (fig. 43)<sup>1</sup>. Thus



(Photo: Arch. Mus. Vat.)

Fig. 43. S. Maria Maggiore, Imprint of brickwork, rear of mosaic panel (from plaster cast)

it becomes certain that the brickwork against which the panels were originally set had the same modulus as noted elsewhere: 12 courses in a height of 0.81 m., or roughly four in a R. ft. (figs. 42a, b). The wall was pointed with long horizontal strokes, rather as if a piece of board with a rounded edge had been rubbed along each mortar-bed before the mortar hardened, while the vertical joints between the bricks are barely identifiable.

The arched clerestory windows rise above the mosaic panels. By the sixteenth century, alternate windows had been blocked with bricks, but the outlines of nearly all the windows can be seen on the exterior (figs. 44a-d). The windows vary in width from 2.10 to 2.23 meters except for the

central opening on the south side which is only 1.90 m. wide. The exact height of the original openings cannot be measured because the sills are modern, but it must have been about 3½ m. The diameter of the semicircular arches is about 0.15 m. greater than the distance between the vertical jambs, making a setback at the springing. This setback is further accentuated by the projection of the two uppermost brick courses of each jamb, creating a little shelf 10 cm. wide on each side of the window at the springing of the arch. The arches are faced with bipedals of varying length, set rather inaccurately. The brickwork of the piers between the windows, and of the walls above the window arches, is similar to that already noted in the tympana of the nave arcades: 12 courses rise 0.80 to 0.90 m. (i.e., there are 4 courses to the R. ft.). The mortar has all weathered away and the type of pointing can no longer be seen. This original brickwork continues almost to the level of the eaves and is replaced with more recent material only at the point where the roof timbers protrude. In the westernmost window of the south clerestory, the arch seems to have been started, abandoned, and started again a few centimeters to the east. A fissure runs up from the abortive arch to the top of the wall, giving the impression that the short piece of wall to the west is of earlier date than the remainder of the clerestory (fig. 44c). Coursing and style of bricklaying are identical, however, on both sides of the fissure and there is nothing else in the church to suggest two building periods. The explanation of the anomaly is probably to be found in the sequence of the original building operations. Apparently the lowest bricks of this window arch were built, together with the original arch of the apse, before the nave side walls. Similarly, to the north the

<sup>1</sup> BIAGETTI, *op. cit.*, 1937, p. 105 ff., fig. 2.



Fig. 44a. S. Maria Maggiore, South flank, sixth window with thirteenth century blocking



Fig. 44b. S. Maria Maggiore, South flank, ninth window with ninth century blocking



Fig. 44c. S. Maria Maggiore, South flank, last window

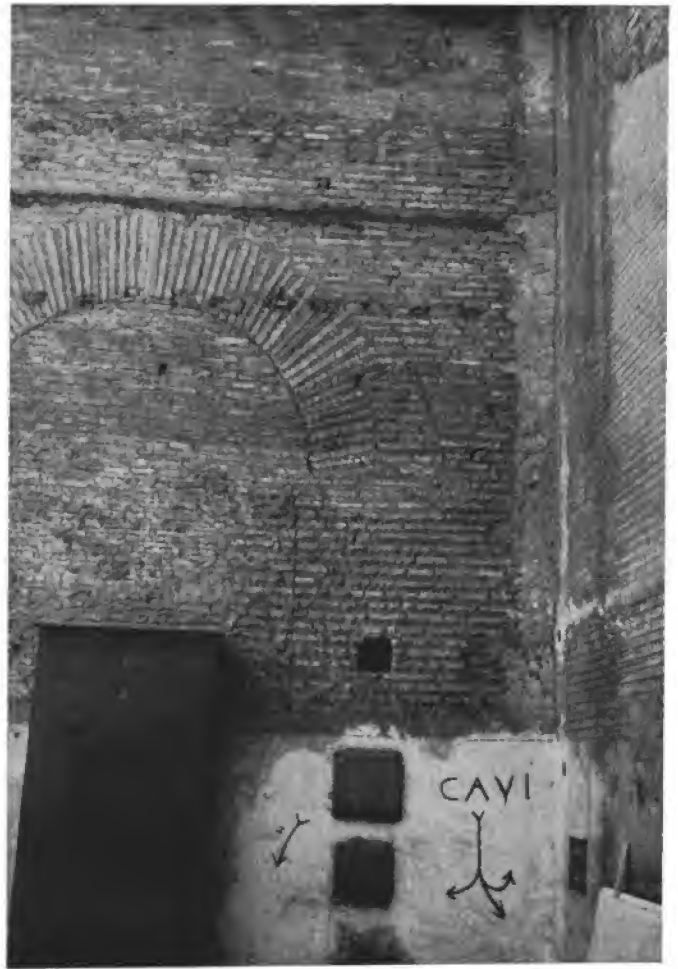


Fig. 44d. S. Maria Maggiore, North flank, last window





(Photo: Arch. Mus. Vat.)

Fig. 45. S. Maria Maggiore, Stucco frieze, west end, south side of nave

spur adjoining the apse arch was apparently built to a level of nine courses above the springing of the window arch before this latter was started (fig. 44*d*). Only then did the builders continue with the north clerestorey wall, leaving the south wall to the last. When they finally reached the westernmost window of the south clerestorey, the part of it which had been prepared by the builders of the west wall was found to be so placed that the window would be abnormally wide, but instead of pulling the arch bricks out, the bricklayers ignored them and built the correct arch against them. The irregularity of spacing near the middle of the south colonnade may be the result of the same procedure.

When portions of the wooden sixteenth century "Borgia" frieze of Alexander VI, which crowns the Corinthian pilasters and borders the coffered ceiling, were removed in 1939, traces of an earlier entablature were discovered on both sides of the nave. Behind the sixteenth century ovolo, *cymatium* and the upper fascia of the architrave, the remains of an earlier stucco frieze came to light, adhering to the brickwork of the nave wall. At the western extremity of the south nave wall (fig. 45) this frieze appears as a tendril or *rinceau*, enriched with foliage modeled in high relief. Although little of it survives, we can see that the stem undulates in bold and even curves while the branching volute sweeps smoothly around to terminate in some missing feature, probably a rosette. Another portion of the same frieze, which was uncovered near the middle of the north nave wall, is decidedly different in design. Here the tendril is attenuated and uneven while the foliage is merely sketched in and looks more like a frill than a leaf (fig. 46). At least this part of the frieze thus seems to be



(Photo: Arch. Mus. Vat.)

Fig. 46. S. Maria Maggiore, Stucco frieze, north side of nave (from plaster cast)

restored and to imitate the original in a different style and with diminished skill<sup>1</sup>. In the two exposed fragments, the brickwork at the back of the modeled stucco is coated with a thin layer of rougher plaster which provides a ground for the decorated surface. There ought to be architrave moldings below the frieze, but they have disappeared. On the other hand, the cornice which projected above the frieze is clearly represented by a series of deep rectangular sockets, 0.09 m. high, 0.06 m. wide and 0.38 m. apart, formed in the brickwork, 0.13 m. above the top of the frieze. Evidently these are mortices from which a horizontal row of wooden brackets projected to support the armature of a plaster cornice. Since it needed reinforcement, the overhang must have been considerable, at least 25 cm. It is clear that this cornice did not pass across the west wall of the nave over the triumphal arch mosaics. This is proved by the existence of mosaic work on the wall above the arch at a higher level than the stucco frieze of the side walls<sup>2</sup>. The wall face surmounting the arch of the original apse was built in the same technique of construction as the clerestory walls. This was ascertained in the 1930's when the *sinopie* underlying the mosaics were also uncovered (fig. 47)<sup>3</sup>.



(Photo: Arch. Mus. Vat.)

Fig. 47. S. Maria Maggiore, Triumphal arch, south spandrel, detail of brickwork and sinopia

<sup>1</sup> As noted by BERTELLI, *op. cit.*, 1957, p. 41, note.

<sup>2</sup> The tesserae at the right hand edge of fig. 45 are those which depict the roof of a gabled building to the left of the Annunciation scene in the triumphal arch mosaics.

<sup>3</sup> See also BIAGETTI, *op. cit.*, 1931.

## F. RECONSTRUCTION

Since we have shown<sup>1</sup> that the columns and arches which appear in early seventeenth century drawings to the left of the portico of Gregory XIII must be later in date than the former portico of Eugene III, they cannot be taken as evidence for the existence of an early colonnaded atrium in front of the basilica. Indeed, there is very little evidence that an atrium ever existed except the reference to a *quadriporticus* in the *Liber Pontificalis* under Leo III<sup>2</sup>.

The overall length of the nave, including the thickness of its walls but excluding the apse, was 73½ m. or 250 R. ft. The overall breadth of the basilica, including nave, aisles and side walls, was about 35 m. or approximately 120 R. ft. The breadth of the nave between the center lines of the colonnades was set out as 60 R. ft., while in height the nave walls had the same dimension. The width of the apse resulted from making it 10 R. ft. narrower than the internal width of the nave (fig. 48).

The façade of the original basilica must have risen where the end wall of the nave stands today, but we have no visible traces of it unless they exist in the threshold stone, the column shaft and base, and the remains of a lintel stone which came to light in 1949, surrounding the central doorway<sup>3</sup>. These meager elements have been injudiciously reconstructed in plaster of Paris to give the impression that two Ionic columns were found, and we have to be careful not to overvalue what actually exists. The stones that were discovered may be no more than the remains of a door frame, perhaps a rough framework which was concealed by more carefully finished revetment. The theory that the shaft and architrave block are the surviving elements of an open colonnaded façade, of the type we know at S. Pietro in Vincoli, SS. Giovanni e Paolo or S. Vitale<sup>4</sup>, can scarcely be accepted, since the proportions of this sort of colonnade would be completely out of harmony with the main colonnades of the basilica. Whereas the intercolumniation of this hypothetical colonnade is greater than that of the nave (3.72 m. as against 3.33 m.), the shafts are only 0.60 m. in diameter as against 0.80 or 0.90 m., and are a mere 4.75 m. in height instead of 6.50 m. The architrave of the façade would thus have been nearly two meters lower than those of the nave. With so great a disparity in proportion, the two colonnades would have been utterly incongruous.

While no substantial trace of the original east wall has been discovered, we suppose that it still exists in the lower part of the structure, concealed on the interior by the decorations of Cardinal Pinelli and on the exterior by Fuga's porch. In fact, the original masonry must rise to a level somewhat higher than that of the nave architrave since Panvinio was able to see the remains of Sixtus III's inscription, before it was concealed or destroyed by Pinelli's interior revetment, as well as marble panels ("*tabulae lapideae*") above the doors<sup>5</sup>. It is correctly assumed that the inscription ran from one side of the nave to the other above the doorways (thus resembling the nearly

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 17.

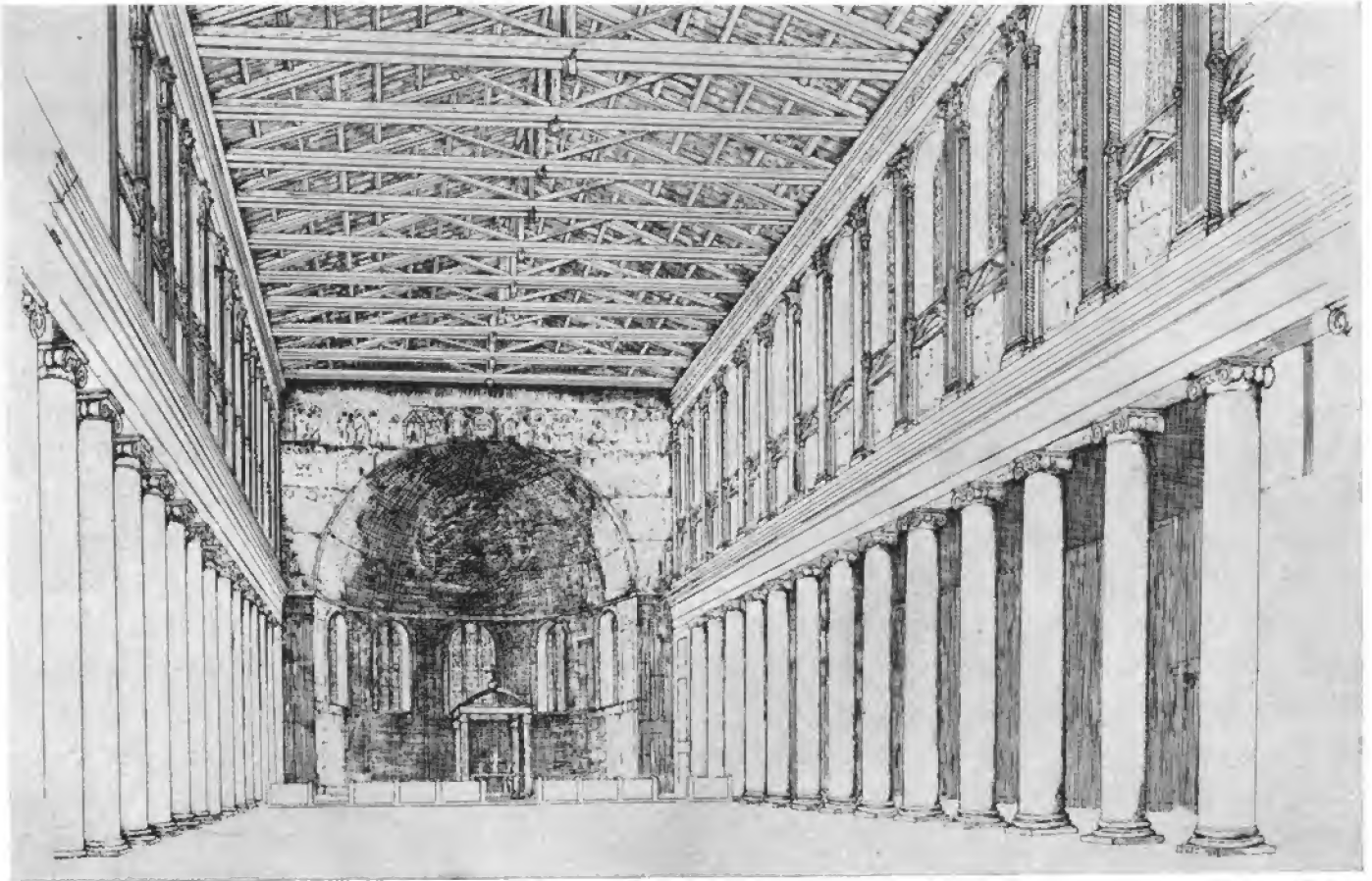
<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 6, dig. 795-816. The vaulting mentioned was only in the apse, not in the quadriporticus; the particle « in » (« ...etiam et cameram eiusdem ecclesiae et in quadriportica... »), is misleading and absent from one group of manuscripts (cf. L. P. II, p. 2, for variants).

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 36 and n. 3.

<sup>4</sup> See below, p. 55 and n. 4.

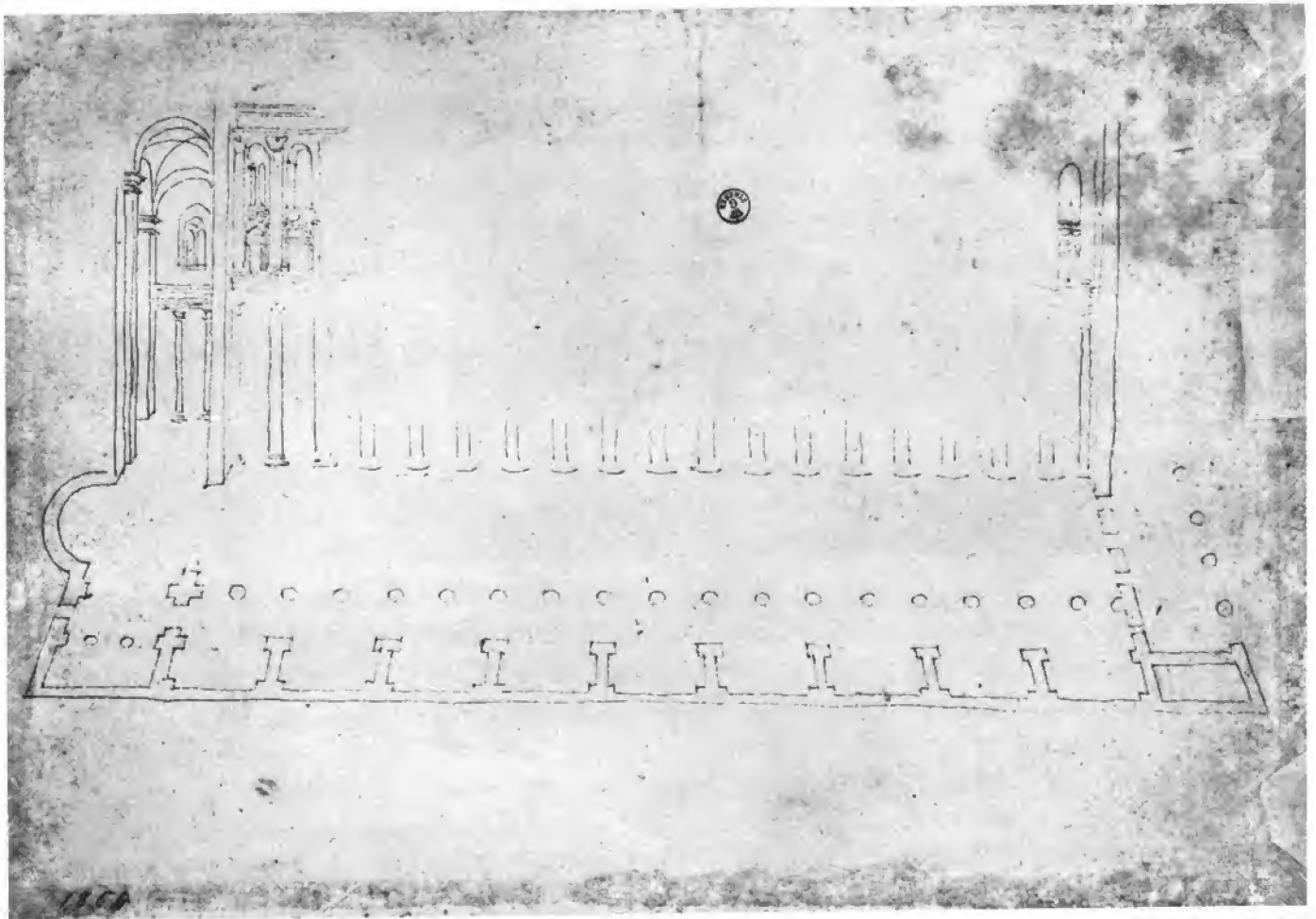
<sup>5</sup> PANVINIO, Vat. lat. 6781, f. 151<sup>r</sup>. « *Aedes fuit lastricata ut sanctus Hadrianus. In aula interius ubi supra portas ubi desunt tabulae lapideae, sunt picture satis elegantes; sunt... antiquo zophoro diruto hi versus: Virgo Maria tibi Xystus novat...* » The *tabulae lapideae* mentioned by Panvinio above the doorways seem to have been fragments of *opus sectile*; he notes that in this respect the decoration of S. Maria Maggiore resembled S. Adriano, and UGONIO, dealing with S. Adriano (Barb. lat. 2160, f. 116<sup>v</sup>), wrote: « *era anticamente tutta incrostata di pietra come si vede nella facciata sopra la tribuna ancora i vestigi* ». LANCIANI has reproduced a drawing of the ancient incrustation at S. Adriano in *Ruins and Excavations*, London, 1897, p. 266. See also A. BARTOLI, *Curia Senatus*, Rome, 1966, p. 58.





(Drawing: Corbett)

Fig. 48. S. Maria Maggiore, Reconstruction of original building, interior of nave and apse (canopy of altar presumably later)



(Uffizi, dis. arch. 1864)

Fig. 49. S. Maria Maggiore, Anonymous, Plan and elevation, project for remodeling, late fifteenth century

contemporary inscription which still exists at S. Sabina). It is harder to envisage the upper parts of the entrance wall. One would like to reconstruct these upper parts as continuing the entablature and pilaster order of the adjoining nave walls, the pilasters framing five windows corresponding to the width of the nave. As we have noted, Panvinio's description of the wall — prior to Pinelli's remodeling, but of course after the medieval rebuilding of the entire upper half — makes note of the *tabulae lapideae* above the doors and the remnants of the Sixtus III dedicatory inscription. This latter, with reference to five martyrs (characterized by their instruments of martyrdom) offering their crowns (“*premia*”) to the Virgin<sup>1</sup>, is very likely to have appeared below a figural representation. Such a representation could only have been placed below or between the windows — provided, of course, that there were five distinct windows rather than a quintuple window arcade like those originally existing at SS. Giovanni e Paolo and S. Sabina. Since neither solution allows for a pilaster order on the facade wall, an attempt has also been made to see the Sixtus inscription as a medieval copy replacing an original inscription and representation either on the same entrance wall<sup>2</sup> or in the apse vault, the latter perhaps including the figure of the donor<sup>3</sup>. However this argument is, to us, not very convincing either, the more so since medieval copies of Early Christian inscriptions in Rome are so far unknown to us. Thus we prefer to leave the reconstruction of the entrance wall in abeyance.

The original external aisle walls of S. Maria Maggiore have been destroyed but the location of the north wall is known from the piece of foundation wall which was seen in a tomb at the entrance to the Sistine Chapel (fig. 31). Some courses of the superstructure may still exist behind the eighteenth century revetments in a few places where openings to side chapels have not destroyed them. The only remaining portion of aisle wall visible today is on the south side of the basilica, in the courtyard between the Sforza and Cesi Chapels; at the level where this wall can be studied it is evidently of late medieval date (pl. I). On the other hand the existing colonnades and clerestorey walls are substantially the original ones, and can be easily reconstructed based on the surviving elements, as observed in the 1930's, and on the three elevation drawings which antedate Pinelli's restoration in the late sixteenth century: Sallustio Peruzzi's sketch of about 1550 (fig. 10) and two late fifteenth century drawings in the Uffizi and the Vatican respectively, the latter with measurements in *piedi* (figs. 49, 50)<sup>4</sup>. Before the remodelings undertaken in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, twenty equally spaced columns rose on each side of the nave — seventeen with shafts of Proconnesian marble, three of cipollino. True, Peruzzi's plan as well as the drawing Uffizi 1864 show but nineteen intercolumniations, the first and last shafts on each side being engaged in long fin-like *antae*. This must, however, be a relatively late modification because it is clear that there were twenty-one intercolumniations in the early ninth century, when Paschal I supplied forty-two hanging lamps and the same number of curtains “*per arcus maiores...*”<sup>5</sup>. The cipollino shafts were either the third, fourth and fifth, or the fourth, fifth and sixth from the east end. The state of the column shafts, to say nothing of the mosaics, proves that unlike many Roman churches, S. Maria Maggiore has never been seriously damaged by fire. However, Bianchini observed that the shafts varied in length and thickness, that the bases were of various heights and sizes, and that the Ionic capitals were much damaged<sup>6</sup>. Apparently, then, shafts and bases were spoils of different provenance and the remark regarding the damaged state

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 5, dig. 432-440.

<sup>2</sup> KÜNZLE, *op. cit.*, *Rendic. Pont. Accad.* (1960/61), p. 9 f.

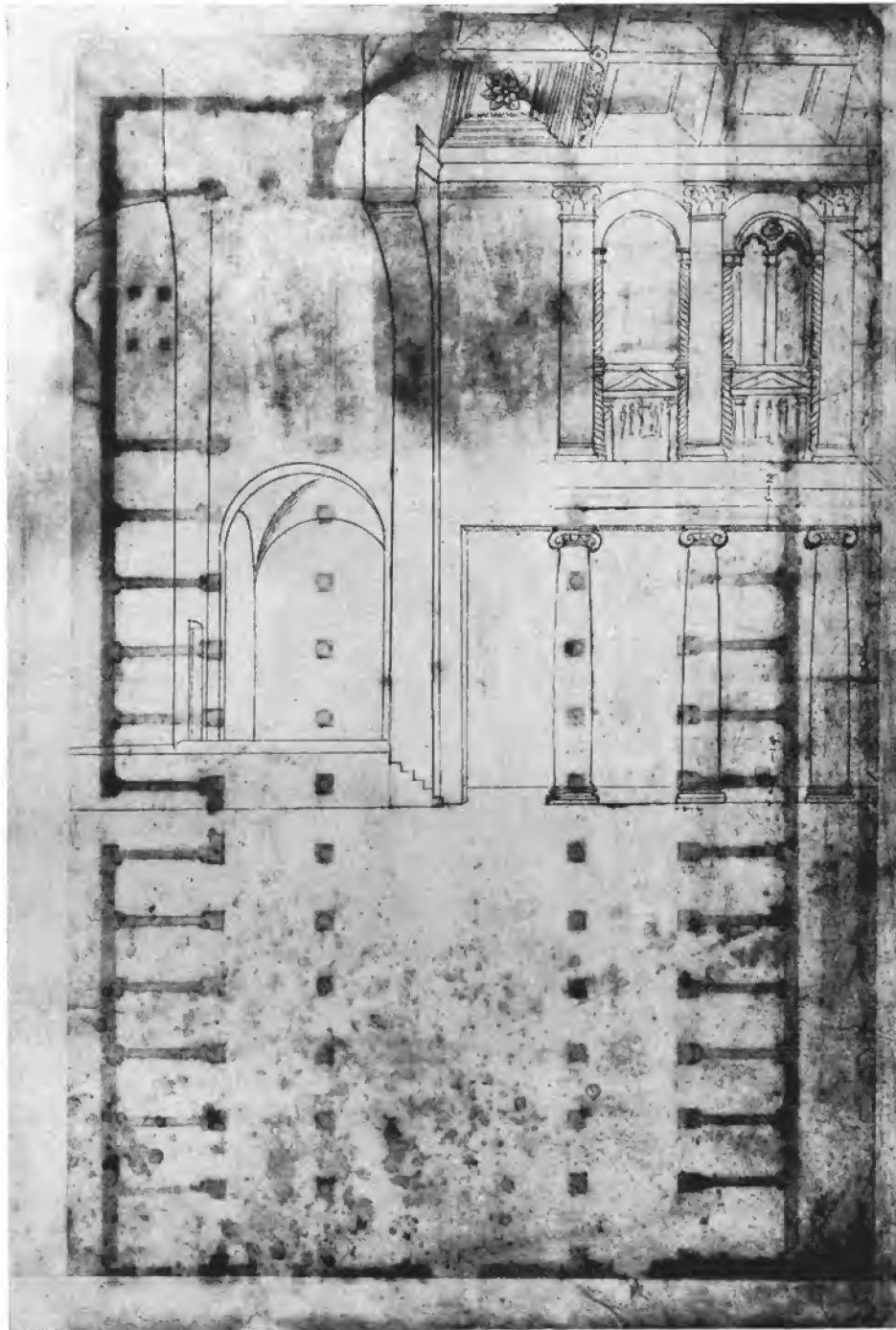
<sup>3</sup> WELLEN, *op. cit.*, p. 120 ff.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 37 f.

<sup>5</sup> *L. P.* II, p. 61, «*arcos*» in this context presumably stands for «intercolumniations».

<sup>6</sup> BIASIOTTI, *op. cit.*, 1918, p. 253 ff.

of the capitals suggests that they too were Roman ancient capitals which had already been corroded by age; after all, they would suffer very little damage while they were in the church (the fifth century capitals at S. Stefano Rotondo, for example, are still nearly perfect). While it is known, then, that the original capitals were Ionic, we have no other information about them. Indeed, Fuga's



(Vat. lat. 11257, fol. 185<sup>v</sup>)

Fig. 50. S. Maria Maggiore, Anonymous, Elevation of nave and section of transept, ca. 1480

replacements were copied from the capitals which Ponzio placed at the entrance of the Capella Paolina<sup>1</sup>.

Above the colonnades the clerestorey walls actually rest on elliptical relieving arches but these were hidden, *ab initio*, by tympana with flat brick arches and wooden beams, giving the impression of trabeated colonnades. In the original design, the beams and arches were concealed, prob-

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 25.



ably by stucco entablatures, perhaps resembling the ancient stucco frieze which still exists at the summit of the clerestorey wall (fig. 45). The height of these entablatures is given in the Vatican drawing (fig. 50) as 5 piedi 10 oncie (1.67 m.). This dimension corresponds closely with the height of the present moldings, probably because Cardinal Pinelli's architect designed his new cornice



(Photo: Anderson)

Fig. 51. S. Maria Maggiore, Nave, entablature, detail of frieze

to correspond with those which already existed. One cannot, however, be certain that the entablatures seen in the Vatican and Uffizi drawings date in all details from the Early Christian period; indeed, while the *rinceau* of the mosaic frieze on the present entablature is presumably of fifth century date, it shows signs of thirteenth century repairs (fig. 51).

Above the entablatures of the lower order, the vertical pilasters divided the clerestorey walls into bays corresponding to the intercolumniations below (figs. 41, 53). Since Pinelli's time, the pilasters have been of Corinthian design with fluted shafts, measuring 0.69 m. in breadth at the base and

protruding 0.11 m. from the wall face. Instead of standing directly on the cornice, the pilasters are raised on paneled dadoes, 0.80 m. high. Before Pinelli's time the pilasters were also Corinthian, but taller and wider, with no dadoes, and it is not certain that they were fluted. Both Vat. lat. 11257 and Uffizi 1864 show the bases resting directly on the cornice. The greater height allowed greater width, more than 0.74 m., as attested to by the breadth of the original brick core before it was whittled down to its present size. Whatever the date of the revetment may be, there can be no doubt that, from the outset, pilasters articulated the upper walls since the brickwork of the pilaster core is unquestionably integral with that of the clerestorey wall.

The arched clerestorey windows open between the pilasters; each window measures 2.0 to 2.20 m. wide and not less than 3.40 m. high to the apex. Originally there were twenty-one windows on each side of the nave but alternate openings are now sealed up. The piers between the windows vary in width from 1.10 to 1.20 m., a little more than half the breadth of the openings. Mosaic pictures occupy the spaces between the window sills and the lower entablature. However, the present rectangular picture frames which enclose each panel date only from the time of Pinelli. Previously, the panels were framed by small *aediculae* with pilasters at the sides and miniature pediments above, as seen in the three drawings already mentioned. Indeed, the sketch drawn by Peruzzi beside his plan shows, in the pencil underdrawing, that the pediments were of alternating triangular and segmental form (fig. 52). The tabernacles must be original features because the mosaics themselves are shaped with chamfered top corners to allow for the protrusion of the pilaster capitals. In most of the panels this detail has been obscured by modern restoration, but the evidence is decisive in three cases: Jacob and Laban dividing their flocks, Jacob meeting Esau, and the Assault on Haj. Wilpert's illustrations, made before restoration<sup>1</sup>, distinctly show the chamfered margins.

Between the small pilasters of the tabernacles and the great pilasters of the clerestorey walls, both the Vatican and Uffizi drawings show — obscure in the latter but clearly depicted in the

<sup>1</sup> WILPERT, *Mosaiken*, I, pls. 13/1, 13/2, 26.

former — spirally fluted colonettes, the spirals ascending clockwise on the right side of the mosaic panel and counter-clockwise on the left. Above, at the level of the windows, the same feature is repeated but with the flutes spiraling in the opposite direction. We assume that these features were of modeled stucco (fig. 53).

At the top of the nave walls, above the windows, the Corinthian pilasters were crowned by an entablature, some fragments of which survive. The architrave moldings are lost but portions of the frieze remain; they show a foliate tendril executed in molded stucco (fig. 45). Parts of the frieze seem to have been restored at a later date (fig. 46)<sup>1</sup>. Above the frieze, a row of small mortise holes in the brickwork suggest wooden brackets to support a projecting stucco cornice. The total height of this entablature was probably less than a meter, that is, only half the height of the "Borgia" frieze which now hides it.

Before the decorations of the Early Christian nave were completed, there seems to have been a period, perhaps lasting only a few years, when the walls were temporarily decorated with painted work, which emphasized the structural elements of the elliptical relieving arches and the flat arches of the tympana, each brick being picked out in red paint against a white background (figs. 39, 40). A crescent shaped brush stroke, discovered by chance at the point where these details were uncovered, seems to indicate the center of the nave. This is the place where, on either side of the nave, a lamb medallion in mosaic now interrupts the *rincaux* of the frieze. It seems possible that these medallions survive from the earliest period and that the brush stroke was put on the wall in order to show the mosaicist where he was to work. The temporary painted decoration of the walls also occurs on the pilasters of the upper order, where the letter P appears. We assume that it is the upper part of a ✠ monogram (figs. 38, 41).

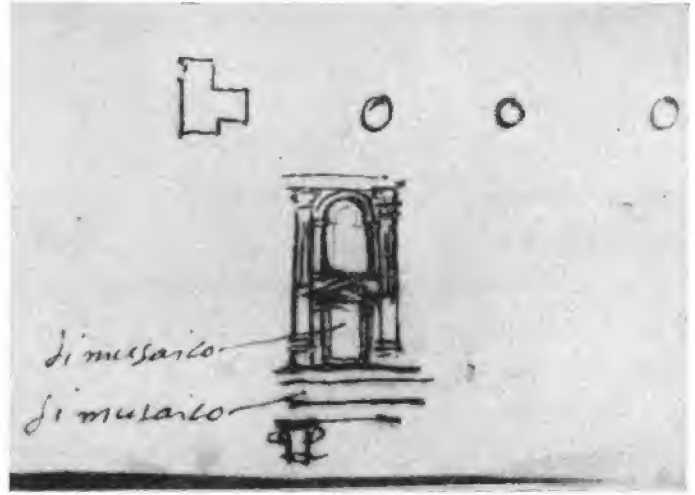


Fig. 52. S. Maria Maggiore, Sallustio Peruzzi, Elevation of clerestorey, detail, 1550

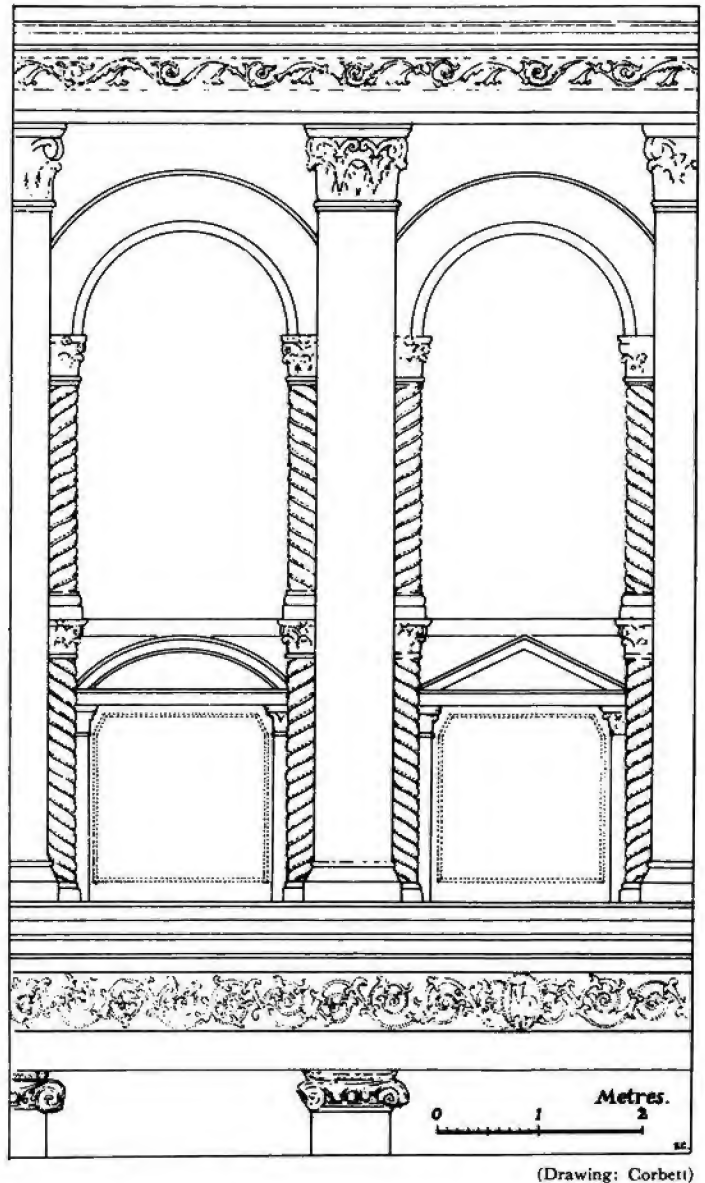


Fig. 53. S. Maria Maggiore, Reconstruction, elevation of clerestorey

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 44 f. and p. 45, n. 1.

The western end wall of the nave was the frontal of the apse, and it still survives in the shape of the triumphal arch, complete with its mosaics, the dedicatory inscription of Sixtus III, and the *sinopie* which temporarily preceded the final decoration. The original decoration of the lower zone of the wall is unknown. The apse itself had a radius of 7 m., struck from a center which lies 1.30 m. behind the plane of the frontal. It is possible that the curved wall was decorated with paintings; traces of paintings were seen on a wall in a place which seems to have been near the left hand shoulder of the apse<sup>1</sup>. On the other hand, one would expect the apse of such an important church to have been revetted in marble. The pavement within the area of the apse lay originally at the same level as the nave. From the excavations of 1659, it seems to have been *opus alexandrinum* using pieces of porphyry, *giallo antico* and *porta santa* marbles.

John the Deacon states that, in the twelfth century, the papal throne stood at the center of the apse wall and that there were five windows. He also records that the apse was decorated in mosaic with animals, fishes and birds, apparently among *rinceaux*<sup>2</sup>. He is unclear as to whether the mosaic was on the apse vault or on the pavement; however the "*pisces ... in floribus*" can only have been on the ninth century pavement<sup>3</sup>, since the fifth century floor disappeared when under Paschal I the level "*inter chorum et altare*" was raised<sup>4</sup>.

While we have no information about the interior arrangements of the choir in the original building, the *Liber Pontificalis* throws some light on its layout at the beginning of the ninth century. Leo III (795-816) supplied a ciborium with a silver cross and four curtains for the high altar<sup>5</sup>. His successor, Paschal I (817-824), made more important changes. Finding that the papal throne was placed inconveniently near to the part of the church where the women congregated, he had it transferred to a more elevated position<sup>6</sup>. Probably this is best explained by supposing that the women stood in the aisle and that the throne was beside the high altar, but close to the terminal intercolumniation of the nave colonnade; Paschal would have overcome the difficulty by transferring the throne to the apse, placing it beneath the middle window, where John the Deacon saw it about two centuries later. We assume that the pavement noted by Strozzi<sup>7</sup>, 1½ palmi above the original pavement of the apse, is the raised floor which Paschal supplied at this time; "*pavimentumque altaris erigens pretiosissimis marmoribus stravit*"<sup>8</sup>.

Having transferred the throne to the apse, Paschal installed a *pergula* composed of six porphyry columns supporting a lintel of white marble: "*erexit sane sex inibi ante confessionem sacri altaris purpureo colore columnas, quas super et candidi marmoris trabem posuit...*". Four of the columns were still there in the sixteenth century when Rocchi and Peruzzi made their drawings (figs. 28a, 10) although they may not have been precisely in their original positions. Curtains were provided for the *pergula*: a large curtain for the wider central opening; six curtains, perhaps to be hung on the column shafts; and four others, which must have been for the four lateral intercolumniations: "*Obtulit etiam in trabem maiorem ... velum maiorem de fundato ... Fecit enim ... in ipsam trabem vela de quadrapulo numero VI et de imizilo vela numero IIII*"<sup>9</sup>. The six silver *canthara*, which Paschal supplied, may have been set

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 37, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> « *In abside ... est cathedra pontificalis in medio sub vitrea quae quinque sunt in abside. Haec absida nimis pulchra de musivo est effecta. Nam videntur a pluribus pisces ibi in floribus, et bestiae cum avibus, inter chorum et altare* » (*Liber de Ecclesia Lateranensi*, cap. XIV [MIGNE, P. L. 194, col. 1557, and LAUER, *Le Palais de Latran*, p. 404]; see also BIASIOTTI, *op. cit.*, 1935, II, p. 5 ff).

<sup>3</sup> WELLEN, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

<sup>4</sup> See above p. 7, dig. 817-824.

<sup>5</sup> L. P. II, p. 2.

<sup>6</sup> L. P. II, p. 60.

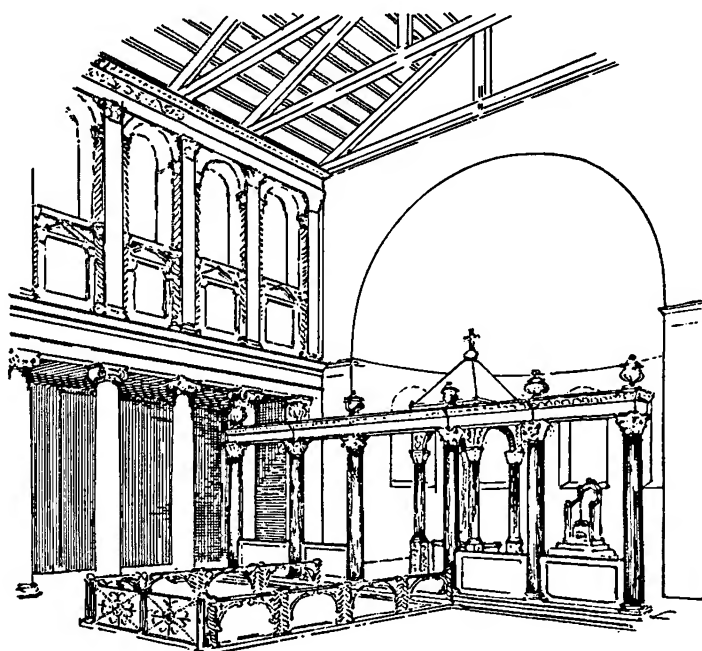
<sup>7</sup> See above, p. 37.

<sup>8</sup> See above, p. 7, dig. 817-824.

<sup>9</sup> L. P. II, p. 61.

on the marble lintel, one above each column, while the *gabathae* of pure gold, studded with jewels, which burned day and night before the altar, may be understood as bracket lamps attached to the columns: “*obtulit ubi supra gabathas ex auro purissimo cum diversis gemmis numero VI*”<sup>1</sup>.

Less easily understood is Paschal's gift of eight silver arches and sixteen silver pillars, which the *Liber Pontificalis* mentions immediately before noting the silver main gates at the “vestibule” of the altar: “*obtulit ... arcus ex argento numero VIII cum columnis XVI, pens. lib. CCXVIII et unc. VIII. Fecit etiam ante vestibulum altaris rugas maiores ex argento, pens. lib. LXXVIII*”<sup>2</sup>. We imagine that these features composed a fenced precinct in front of the altar, comparable in some ways with the early *scholae cantorum* which we know at S. Marco and S. Pietro in Vincoli, but made of metal instead of masonry. A hypothetical reconstruction of the western part of the basilica in the time of Paschal I is given in fig. 54.



(Drawing: Corbett)

Fig. 54. S. Maria Maggiore, Chancel, reconstruction as of the time of Paschal I

## G. CHRONOLOGY

Hardly any other Early Christian church, and certainly none of comparable importance, is as well preserved as S. Maria Maggiore in its original structure, and as well known with regard to its original decoration. On the other hand, in no other church have the dates of construction and decoration been more hotly debated. The controversy is caused by two factors. First, the documentary sources for the foundation of the church embody contradictions, real or imaginary, regarding the date. Second, art historians and archeologists in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries found the classical flavor of the building and its mosaics incompatible with the concept of Early Christian or post-classical art and architecture that was generally held at that time.

During the past twenty-five years, the documentary sources have been collected and analysed by Schuchert, Cecchelli and, recently, Künzle, but the interpretations differ widely. The *Liber Pontificalis*, compiled in its final version at the end of the sixth century or a little later, attributes to Pope Liberius (352-366) the construction of a basilica which bore his name, next to the Market of Livia “*... juxta macellum Liviae*”<sup>3</sup>. The text does not specify whether this *Basilica Liberii* served secular or sacred functions; but since the *Liber Pontificalis* deals primarily with ecclesiastical matters<sup>4</sup>, it was in all likelihood a church. The name occurs again immediately after Liberius' death, in the autumn of the year 366. At that time, the *Basilica Liberii* was the scene of a bloody massacre when disorders arose between the supporters of the newly elected Pope Damasus and those of the

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* p. 60.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 61.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 5, dig. 352-366.

<sup>4</sup> FERRUA, *op. cit.*, and CECHELLI, *op. cit.*, p. 36 f., hold that the *basilica Sicinini* was a secular basilica and perhaps taken over by Pope Liberius as a Christian *conventiculum*; see above, p. 5, dig. 366.



pretender Ursinus. Other sources of the same period mention a similar massacre in the *Basilica Sicinini*, "where the Christians have a meeting place"<sup>1</sup>. Since the circumstances are similar, it has been suggested that both names refer to the same building, *Sicininum* being the name of the quarter or street in which Liberius' basilica stood. It is not unlikely that this *Sicininum* lay not far from S. Maria Maggiore since a house *in Sicininum* was among the estates donated by Sixtus III which, as far as they were inside the city, were apparently on the Esquiline. It is thus plausible to identify the *Basilica Liberii* with the *Basilica Sicinini*; however, the possibility of two massacres and two different basilicas can not be eliminated<sup>2</sup>. In any event, the *Basilica Sicinini* which the Ursinians had seized was restored to Damasus by imperial rescript<sup>3</sup>. An additional source of confusion is the assertion in the sixth century *Gesta Liberii* (a treatise with political overtones) that Liberius built an apse in the Fifth Region<sup>4</sup>. It is true, as Schuchert says<sup>5</sup>, that the *Macellum Liviae* lies in the Fifth Region. But S. Maria Maggiore is in the Fourth, and in any case, we are inclined to agree with Künzle that the *Gesta Liberii* are unreliable as a source for the fourth century.

The identity or non-identity of the Liberian and Sicinian Basilicas is, however, immaterial insofar as S. Maria Maggiore is concerned. Of decisive importance, on the other hand, is the passage in the biography of Sixtus III in the *Liber Pontificalis* which attributes to that pope, and thus to the years 432-440, the construction of "the Basilica of Saint Mary which in olden times was called the Basilica of Liberius near the Market of Livia"<sup>6</sup>. Taken at its face value, this passage has led scholars to conclude that the structure of S. Maria Maggiore is identical with the mid-fourth century basilica of Liberius<sup>7</sup>, or that it is the same except that the apse (found in 1933) was added by Sixtus to the Liberian nave or by Liberius to a pre-existing nave<sup>8</sup>. These hypotheses seemed to be supported by the classical elements of the nave, such as the colonnades, which were supposed to be of Pentelic marble, the trabeated order and the pilasters of the clerestorey. The mosaics with Sixtus III's dedicatory inscription were explained by the proponents of the Liberian origin of the basilica as having been added by Sixtus either wholly or in part. The vague term "*fecit*", which the writer of the *Liber Pontificalis* uses of Sixtus' activity at S. Maria Maggiore seemed to support this view. Some authorities assigned the whole of the mosaic decoration to Sixtus III; others believed that the panels on the side walls dated from the time of Liberius. Finally, it was suggested that the side panels had been transferred by Sixtus III from an older building<sup>9</sup>.

*Prima facie*, it is not very likely that Liberius had built and decorated a structure as large and lavish as S. Maria Maggiore. Four of the fourteen years of his pontificate were spent in exile, and the last eight years, after his release, were passed in constant friction between himself and the antipope Felix II<sup>10</sup>. Indeed, in the course of the past half century, other opinions have been offered regarding the date of S. Maria Maggiore. Schuchert, who discovered the original apse in 1933, assigned the nave to Sixtus III but attributed the newly found apse to an earlier building, possibly

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 5, dig. 366.

<sup>2</sup> The former view is taken by DE ROSSI (« La basilica profana di Giunio Basso sull'Esquilino », *B. A. C.* [1871], p. 19) and others as listed by SCHUCHERT, *op. cit.*, p. 34 f., and more recently by CECHELLI, *op. cit.*, p. 38; the latter view is taken by SCHUCHERT, *ibid.*, p. 35 ff. and KÜNZLE, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> *Epistulae Imperatorum...*, ed. GÜNTHER, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

<sup>4</sup> MIGNE, *P. L.* 8, col. 1397.

<sup>5</sup> *op. cit.*, p. 48.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 5, dig. 432-440.

<sup>7</sup> Most recently, KÜNZLE, *op. cit.*, *passim*. Regarding earlier defenders of a Liberian date (e. g. P. TOESCA, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, I, Turin, 1927, p. 170 f.), see SCHUCHERT, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

<sup>8</sup> For the former view, see e. g. KRAUS, *Geschichte der christlichen Kunst*, I, Freiburg, 1896, pp. 414 ff., 454 ff., and others as cited by SCHUCHERT, *op. cit.*, p. 7 f.; the latter view is represented by WILPERT, *Mosaiken*, I, p. 116 and by BIAGETTI, *op. cit.*, 1948.

<sup>9</sup> BIAGETTI, *op. cit.*, 1937, p. 113; 1939, p. 18.

<sup>10</sup> CASPAR, *Geschichte des Papsttums*, I, Tübingen, 1930, p. 169 ff.



that of Liberius<sup>1</sup>. On the other hand, a majority of scholars concluded that the nave and the early apse together represented an integral construction built *ex novo* under Sixtus III and decorated by him, a conclusion which Biasiotti had been gradually approaching from 1915 onwards<sup>2</sup>. True, to reach this position it was necessary to assume that the compiler of the *Liber Pontificalis* erroneously interpolated into the biography of Sixtus III the passage which identifies S. Maria Maggiore with the basilica built by Liberius *juxta Macellum Liviae*. But such interpolations are too frequent in medieval documents to call for special comment. One had to assume, too, that the real Liberian basilica had vanished and that its site (whether below S. Maria Maggiore or elsewhere) could not be identified; but it would not be the only building in Rome to have disappeared without a trace.

The archaeological data likewise lead to the conclusion that the structure of S. Maria Maggiore, including the nave, the triumphal arch and the contiguous apse, comprise an integral building of fifth century date (excepting of course, the transept and the present apse, which were added in the late thirteenth century). More specifically, a date in the first third of the fifth century can be suggested for the original core on the basis of the pointing of the brickwork in the clerestory walls, the proportions of the clerestory windows, and other technical features. The brickwork, with its thick mortar beds, often twice as high as the bricks, finds its closest parallel in the upper walls of SS. Giovanni e Paolo (ca. 410), S. Sabina (422-432 or a little later), S. Lorenzo in Lucina and the inner core of the Lateran Baptistery, the latter two being constructions of Sixtus III (432-440)<sup>3</sup>. Likewise, the relative width of windows and window piers finds its counterpart in the same buildings. The ratio is 7 : 4 Roman feet at S. Maria Maggiore, roughly 8 : 4 feet at S. Sabina and perhaps an exceptional 10½ : 3 feet at S. Lorenzo in Lucina, while the corresponding figures in fourth century churches average 7 or 8 : 5½ feet at S. Clemente, 6 : 10⅓ at S. Sebastiano and 7½ : 6 at S. Paolo f.l.m. It should be equally remembered that the nave facade of S. Maria Maggiore opened in doors, as did those at S. Lorenzo in Lucina, S. Sabina and S. Pietro in Vincoli in its second stage (church B), while churches built between 390 and 420 opened in arcades, as witness SS. Giovanni e Paolo, S. Pietro in Vincoli (church A) and S. Vitale<sup>4</sup>. Finally, S. Maria Maggiore and the Sixtine parts of the Lateran Baptistery share a structural characteristic which is rare in the Early Christian architecture of Rome: timber architraves protected from the weight of a heavy superstructure by hidden relieving arches. At S. Maria Maggiore these timber architraves form the main trabeation of the nave colonnades; at the Lateran Baptistery they occur above the upper order of columns. The date of the *opus listatum* foundation walls is harder to determine than that of the brick clerestory walls since the former material does not provide reliable evidence for a chronological sequence. The size of the *tuffelli*, the thickness of the mortar beds and the number of courses in a given height change hardly at all from the third to the fifth century, from the Severan foundations in the *Castra Nova Equitum Singularium* beneath the Lateran to the walls of S. Lorenzo in Lucina. Nor does the fact that samples of mortar taken from the foundations and from the clerestory walls of S. Maria Maggiore have identical chemical compositions necessarily prove that the two parts of the building are contemporary<sup>5</sup>. Nevertheless, it would be unlikely for the foundations and superstructure to be separated by any notable span of time and, in the absence

<sup>1</sup> SCHUCHERT, *op. cit.*, pp. 135 ff., 145.

<sup>2</sup> See particularly, BIASIOTTI, *op. cit.*, *Boll. d'Arte*, 1915, p. 115 ff. and *op. cit.*, 1938, p. 351 ff. The same view is held recently by DEICHMANN *Frühchristliche Kirchen*, p. 62 and CECHELLI, *op. cit.*, pp. 38 ff., 51 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See above, Vol. I, p. 129 f.; Vol. II, p. 180; Vol. IV; and Vol. V.

<sup>4</sup> See above, Vol. I, p. 293; II, p. 180; below, p. 214 f.; and Vol. IV. Cf. also KRAUTHEIMER, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture (Pelican History of Art)*, Harmondsworth, 1965, p. 129 and 332, n. 8.

<sup>5</sup> BIASIOTTI, *op. cit.*, *Boll. d'Arte*, 1915, p. 136.

of evidence to the contrary, we assume that they belong to a single building program. The use of *listatum* below and brickwork above ground does not indicate different periods; it can be explained quite simply as an economy measure. The combination occurs in the Severan *Castra Nova Equitum Singularium* and in the Constantinian walls of the Lateran basilica, and it continues far into the fifth century, for instance at S. Lorenzo in Lucina, a building of Sixtus III.

To sum up: even when allowances for the unreliability of technical features in assessing the age of a building have been made, it seems undeniable that the structural elements indicate for S. Maria Maggiore a date between 400 and 430 or 440, though not necessarily limited to the pontificate of Sixtus III to whom the *Liber Pontificalis* attributes the foundation of the church. Indeed construction may have begun under one of his predecessors, whether Innocent I (401-417), Boniface I (418-422), or Celestine I (422-432). Even the mosaic decoration may have been started before Sixtus III ascended to the See of Saint Peter. His dedicatory inscription on the triumphal arch seems to have been inserted on the mosaic, possibly with the intention of appropriating for him work previously completed; nor does the iconography of that mosaic presuppose the decisions taken at Ephesus in 431<sup>1</sup>. On the other hand, scholarly consensus at present appears to incline towards dating the nave mosaics even somewhat earlier than those on the triumphal arch. But none of this is entirely conclusive: the inscription on the triumphal arch could as well have been inserted as an afterthought into a mosaic executed under Sixtus himself, and the differences in style between that mosaic and those in the nave might be due to the use of different models or the employment of different workshops.

When Sixtus III died in 440, the structure including its mosaic and stucco decoration was certainly finished. The long dedicatory inscription read on the interior façade was certainly his<sup>2</sup>, and the donations offered by him to the basilica and recorded by the *Liber Pontificalis* are of the kind traditionally made by the ruler to a church founded or consecrated on his initiation<sup>3</sup>. Construction nevertheless could have begun quite some time prior to his pontificate. Indeed, it may have been completed and work on the decoration begun between 425 and 430, but this point in the work may as well have been reached at the very beginning of Sixtus' pontificate in 432. In either case it is our view that the building of the basilica from the foundations to the clerestory walls represents a uniform and integral construction, falling into the first third of the fifth century and terminated by the time of Sixtus III.

If then, as we believe, S. Maria Maggiore was built between 400 and 430 and completed shortly before or under Sixtus III, the question arises whether the fifth century structure replaced an older basilica built on the same site by Liberius. This is a possibility<sup>4</sup>; but the discoveries which were made in 1743 beneath the floor of the present building make it unlikely. The street which cuts diagonally across the nave and aisles and the black-and-white mosaic pavement to the east of this street (near the present façade) limit the area for an earlier basilica to the western part of the church. Bianchini saw no trace of a monumental building in this part of the site, but in view of the great height of the artificial terrace on which the apse stands, it is obviously possible that deep excavation might bring to light remains which were not seen, or which were incorrectly interpreted in the eighteenth century. It is also possible that the foundation walls of the present church are the foun-

<sup>1</sup> BERTELLI, *op. cit.*, 1962, pp. 48 and 112 f., notes 24, 25, with reference to P. TOESCA, *Storia dell'Arte* (as quoted above, p. 54, n. 7), p. 231, note 28. The older, pro-Ephesus view is represented, for instance, by WILPERT, «La proclamazione Efesina e i mosaici... di S. Maria Maggiore», *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia* 7 (1931), p. 197 ff. and still by WELLEN, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 5, dig. 432-440. The doubts proffered by KÜNZLE, *Rendic. Pont. Accad.* 33 (1961), p. 9 f. and WELLEN, *op. cit.*, p. 120 ff. regarding the authenticity of the inscription seem to us unconvincing.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 5, dig. 432-440.

<sup>4</sup> See, for instance, DEICHMANN, *Frühchristliche Kirchen*, p. 62.

dations of a structure erected by Liberius, of which the upper parts have entirely vanished. Neither of these hypotheses, however, carries much conviction.

In our opinion, it is much more likely that the sixth century compiler of the *Liber Pontificalis* erroneously interpolated into the biography of Sixtus III the words “*quae ab antiquis Liberii cognominabatur juxta Macellum Liviae*”, taking the passage verbatim from the biography of Pope Liberius<sup>1</sup>. The position of the *Macellum Liviae* is known. It extended along the southwest edge of the modern Piazza Vittorio Emanuele, some 250 meters southeast of the façade of S. Maria Maggiore. The wording of the passage in the biography of Liberius suggests, however, that the *Basilica Liberii* was closer to the market of Livia than is S. Maria Maggiore. In ordinary usage *juxta* means *nearby* or *adjoining*, and it seems unlikely that it would be used with reference to two buildings which were 250 meters apart, as were S. Maria Maggiore and *Macellum Liviae*<sup>2</sup>. We would prefer to seek the *Basilica Liberii* close to the *macellum*, somewhere near the northwest edge of Piazza Vittorio Emanuele. Would it be worthwhile to look for it below or near S. Vito in Macello?

In the four centuries which followed the completion of the church under Sixtus III, the documents relating to S. Maria Maggiore deal with relics and nomenclature, rather than with structure. Presumably the church was consecrated to the *theotokos* in confirmation of the dogma which had been accepted at Ephesus in 431, and it remained simply *basilica sanctae Mariae* until the middle of the seventh century. At that time it may have received a relic of the manger, the *praesepe*, or of the Grotto of the Nativity at Bethlehem, or perhaps a *memoria* of the *praesepe* (with or without a relic) was set up in the church<sup>3</sup>. Whatever the reason may have been, from the time of Theodore I (642-649) the church appears consistently in the *Liber Pontificalis* as *ecclesia sanctae Dei genetricis ad praesepe*, or *beatae* (or *sanctae*) *Mariae ad praesepe*. The use of this name in a marble copy of the sixth century donation of Flavia Xantippa, preserved in the church, is presumably a ninth century interpolation. Beginning with the biography of Gregory III, it becomes clear that the relic and *memoria* of the *praesepe* occupied a separate oratory with its own altar surmounting a *confessio*. The location of this shrine is not indicated in early sources, nor is it recognizable in the copy of the oratory of the *praesepe* which Gregory IV (827-844) set up at S. Maria in Trastevere. It is not unlikely, however, that the seventh or eighth century *praesepe* chapel at S. Maria Maggiore occupied the site which we know from Rocchi's sixteenth century plan (fig. 28a), whence it was transported to its present place, in the Sistine Chapel, by Domenico Fontana in 1588.

The name “*basilica sanctae Mariae maior*” occurs for the first time in the *Epitome* (Salisburgense) *de locis sanctorum*<sup>4</sup>, and is contemporary with the first appearance of the designation *ad praesepe*, but at first it does not seem to have been officially accepted. It first penetrates the *Liber Pontificalis* in the late ninth century, but still in circumlocution, and it does not appear in its simple form until the biography of Gregory VII (1073-1085).

The admirable quality of the original construction seems to have made major repair work unnecessary for three centuries. The first repairs to the roof were noted in the pontificate of Gregory III (731-741); under Hadrian I (772-795) a major campaign of restoration followed, all but two of the main roof beams being renewed. Possibly some of the stucco and mosaic decoration was restored at the same time, for we would like to assign to the reign of Hadrian I not only certain restorations of the mosaic panels on the right hand wall but also the repair of the stucco rin-

<sup>1</sup> DUCHESNE, in his edition of the *Liber Pontificalis* (I, p. 232), inserted a misleading comma between *cognominabatur* and *iuxta* (see above, p. 5, dig. 432-440). In our opinion, *iuxta macellum Liviae* cannot refer to S. Maria Maggiore, but only to *basilica Liberii cognominabatur*.

<sup>2</sup> See also the arguments used by CECHELLI, *op. cit.*, p. 37 ff., and the opposite view, as held by KÜNZLE, *op. cit.*, 1961, *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> GRISAR (*Analecta*, 1899, p. 577 ff.) assigns the establishment of the *praesepe* to the reign of Sixtus III, but his argument is not convincing.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 6, dig. 635-642.

*ceaux* frieze, observed in the central part of the same wall at the summit of the clerestorey pilasters<sup>1</sup>. Possibly the blocking of the third window from the west end in the south clerestorey dates from the same period; the undulating brickwork and the short brick voussoirs of the three small arched openings suggest a Carolingian date. When these structural restorations had been effected, the popes of the early ninth century turned their attention to the internal furniture of the church. Hadrian himself provided lighting fixtures and altar vessels. His successor, Leo III, gave textiles lavishly, supplying forty-two curtains to correspond with the number of intercolumniations in the nave colonnades, other curtains for the entrance doors, curtains for the main altar and others for the altar in the *praesepe* chapel. Leo also redecorated the chancel, providing an altar canopy, silver arches (perhaps flanking the entrance to the chancel) and silver doors for the chancel screens. Paschal I remodeled the chancel and raised the pavement in the apse two or three steps above the level of the nave. We have presented the reconstruction of his work in the foregoing pages. His donations included the redecoration of the high altar and *confessio*, new lighting fixtures for the chancel and new hangings for the apse walls. At the same time lamps and curtains were provided for the nave, including three sets of fourteen curtains, totaling forty-two, again corresponding to the number of intercolumniations.

After the Carolingian campaign of repair and redecoration, no major donations and building activities are recorded until the Romanesque period. The first event in this phase was the building of the narthex under Eugene III. Nicholas IV added the transept, apse and mosaic façade. These works, and the later changes to the basilica during the fifteenth, sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, have been described earlier in this chapter. They are well dated and need no further discussion.

## H. HISTORICAL POSITION

In the history of both church foundations and church design in Rome the building of S. Maria Maggiore seems to mark an important point. Heretofore, churches had been founded and endowed frequently by the emperor and his family on Imperial estates: the Lateran basilica; S. Croce in Gerusalemme; St. Peter's; S. Lorenzo f. l. m. and the other *coemeteria subteglata* outside the city walls (except perhaps S. Sebastiano)<sup>2</sup>. Independent both because of their location outside and on the very edge of the city and of their rich endowments, including the ex-Imperial sites which they occupied, they were in the fourth and fifth centuries apparently directly administered by the Roman bishop acting through a delegate; thus, under Pope Innocent I, the presbyters Leopardus and Paulinus are apparently in charge of maintaining the cemetery basilicas at S. Lorenzo f. l. m. and S. Agnese<sup>3</sup>. Or else, churches were founded and endowed inside the city by private persons replacing old or establishing new *tituli*: SS. Giovanni e Paolo, founded by Pammachius; S. Pudenziana, the foundation of the presbyters Maximus, Leopardus and Ilicius; S. Sabina, built by Peter of Illyria; S. Vitale, endowed through a legacy of the widow Vestina<sup>4</sup>. A pope, perhaps in his private capacity, or a pope's family, might well figure among these donors: Pope Mark for S. Marco; Julius I for S. Maria in Trastevere; Damasus, or his father, for S. Lorenzo in Damaso; or, far back, Sylvester for the *titulus Equitii*<sup>5</sup>. Once endowed, however, these churches, since they were *tituli*,

<sup>1</sup> BERTELLI, who first noted these restorations, assigned them to the ninth century (*op. cit.*, p. 40 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> See above, Vol. I, p. 192; II, p. 133 ff.; and Vol. IV.

<sup>3</sup> *L. P.* I, p. 222.

<sup>4</sup> See above, I, p. 268; below, p. 277 ff.; and Vol. IV.

<sup>5</sup> See above, Vol. II, pp. 145 ff., 216 ff.; below, p. 121 ff.

came under the administration of the *titulus*, that is the parish and its clergy, although the construction itself might take place under the supervision of a papal delegate: witness S. Vitale, where the founder was, after all, no longer alive.

S. Maria Maggiore, on the other hand, was established it seems neither as a *titulus* nor as a private foundation of a pope. Whether or not founded by him, it was endowed by Sixtus III in his official capacity as the bishop of Rome. As such he donated exactly the kind of property traditionally assigned to churches of their foundation by the emperor and his family in the fourth century. To be sure, the endowment was on a smaller scale: some estates near Rome and houses near the basilica itself<sup>1</sup>. But the pope clearly intended to take the place of the emperor as a donor. Correspondingly, the church was apparently from the outset, and remained, under direct papal administration.

The classical purity of the architecture of S. Maria Maggiore has frequently been noted, and it has been partly if not primarily responsible for the reluctance of some scholars to accept the hypothesis that it was built in the reign of Sixtus III. Nevertheless, the classicizing tendency is not unique in S. Maria Maggiore; it appears in other structures of Sixtine and post-Sixtine date. The Lateran Baptistery as remodeled by Sixtus III; the decoration of S. Paolo f. l. m. under Leo I (440-461); the oratory of S. Croce in the Lateran designed by Hilarus (461-468); and S. Stefano Rotondo, founded by Simplicius I (468-483) — all reflect the same spirit. The phenomenon of this classical style in architecture may be viewed either as a late outgrowth of the "Theodosian Renaissance" which in the figurative arts had spread since about 360 but came to an end about 420; or it may be linked with the defeat of the pagan Roman aristocracy in 395 and the papacy's growing awareness of its role as the heir of classical culture in the West<sup>2</sup>. Whatever the explanation, the architect of S. Maria Maggiore succeeded in creating a building which was consistently classical and, at the same time, imbued with the new Christian vitality. Among the Early Christian buildings of Rome, S. Maria Maggiore stands supreme for its splendor and grace and is representative of classical taste in the fifth century.

### SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE

In order to isolate the floor of the nave and aisles of S. Maria Maggiore from humidity, the tomb chambers below the church were cleared out and connected with each other in 1966. This makes it possible to walk freely below most of the church.

In the course of this work a number of Roman constructions dating from the first to the third century A.D. were traced. They are being studied and will be published by Professor Filippo Magi. None of them appear to be those seen by Bianchini in 1734<sup>3</sup>.

Likewise, further information came to light regarding the foundation walls of the basilica which are our concern. Those of the nave colonnades seen only at intervals in 1936 (pl. I) have been traced on the aisle faces along the entire length; and that of the right hand colonnade has been freed of plaster for a length of roughly 7 m. below the thirteenth and fourteenth intercolumnation. Likewise the terminating foundation walls at the west end of both aisles, known to us only in the northeast corner of the left hand aisle (pl. I), can now be traced,

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 5, dig. 432-440.

<sup>2</sup> KRAUTHEIMER, « The Architecture of Sixtus III: A Fifth-Century Renaissance? », *De Artibus Opuscula XL: Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky*, New York, 1961, p. 291 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 14, n. 1.



the one to the right in part, that to the left in its full length. The building technique differs nowhere from that observed by us: a highly regular *opus listatum* in which single courses of *tufelli* alternate with double courses of brick, the modulus totaling 0.25 m. (figs. 31, 32). In addition to these data it can now be observed that all walls are treated alike on both faces, and their footing and strength can be studied. The *opus listatum* facing of the right hand nave colonnade, at a depth of — 4.25 m. below nave level, sits on a footing *a sacco* with a setback of 0.11 to 0.12 m, while in the foundation wall of the left hand colonnade the *opus listatum* facing continues to at least — 5.00 m. The difference is due, no doubt, to the slope of the hill. The foundation walls of the nave each are 1.18 m. (4 R. ft.) thick, those of the terminating foundation walls of the aisles only 0.96 m. ( $3\frac{1}{3}$  R. ft.). Given the distances of the main foundation walls, 17.88 m., and of the colonnades, 17.45 m., both from center to center, it appears that the columns were placed close to the inner edge of the foundation walls.

## S. MARIA IN TEMPULO<sup>1</sup>

(R. Krautheimer, S. Corbett) \*

The origins of the *monasterium Tempuli* and of its oratory are obscure. The convent is first mentioned in the catalogue of churches and oratories in Rome which Leo III in 806 presented with gifts – large and small – depending on their importance. The oratory at that time was dedicated to Saint Agatha and, judging from the smallness of the papal donation – one silver lamp weighing two pounds<sup>2</sup> – it was but a small structure. By the tenth century the convent was under the patronage of the Virgin as the “*monasterium Sanctae Mariae quod vocatur Tempuli*” and gradually the dedication of the oratory, originally to Saint Agatha, changed to the designation, first of the oratory, then of the church, to St. Mary, “*ecclesia Sanctae Mariae in Tempoli*”<sup>3</sup>. The convent was never prosperous, as a number of documents from the tenth to the twelfth century attest. In 905 a bull of Sergius III confirmed the donation to the nuns of a tract of land at Casaferrata in the Campagna, apparently near Aquae Salviae<sup>4</sup>. A document of 977 mentions a vegetable garden at the *Massa Juliana* inside Rome as their property<sup>5</sup>. In the eleventh century they were involved in a law suit with the nuns of S. Maria de Maxima (S. Ambrogio) regarding property of unknown extent and location<sup>6</sup>. A century later the *procurator* of S. Anastasio at Aquae Salviae contests the confines of their property at Casaferrata<sup>7</sup>. In the last decade of the twelfth century they have to fight the archpresbyter of SS. Nereo ed Achilleo for possession of a garden at their very doorstep<sup>8</sup>. Finally, in 1221 the convent is abandoned and the whole congregation, its archive, property and privileges are transferred to S. Sisto Vecchio<sup>9</sup>. In their possession was an icon of the Virgin. Recently restored it is once again the property of the congregation, which now occupies a building and the church of S. Maria del Rosario on Monte Mario<sup>10</sup>. On both stylistic and hagiographic grounds the icon has been assigned a date either in the seventh or, less likely, in the late ninth century; on the other hand, some scholars have interpreted it as a twelfth or thirteenth century copy of an earlier original. Whatever the date, it appears to be derived from a famous icon

\* Research assistant, Walter Cahn.

<sup>1</sup> *Bibliography*. The historical data have been collected and for the first time thoroughly examined by Fr. VL. J. KOUDELKA, O. P., « Le Monasterium Tempuli et la fondation dominicaine de San Sisto », *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 31 (1961), p. 5 ff. From the earlier bibliography we list: MARTINELLI, *Imago B. Mariae Virginis... apud ven. SS. Sixti et Dominici moniales*, Rome, 1635; TORRIGIO, *Historia della Veneranda Immagine di Maria Vergine... nella Chiesa del monastero... di Santi Sisto e Domenico...*, Rome, 1641; MAMACHI, *Annalium Ordinis Praedicatorum*, I, Appendix, Rome, 1756, col. 5 ff.; KEHR, *It. Pont.*, I, 1906, p. 121 f.; HÜLSEN, *Chiese*, 1927, p. 367 f.; ZUCCHI, « Il monasterium Tempuli », *R. A. C.* 14 (1937), p. 353 ff.; ARMELLINI-CECCHIELLI, *Chiese*, 1942, pp. 1230, 1378.

<sup>2</sup> *L. P.* II, p. 24: « ...simulque et in oratorio sanctae Agathae martyris qui ponitur in monasterio Tempuli fecit canistrum ex argento, pens. lib. II... ».

<sup>3</sup> KOUDELKA, *op. cit.*, p. 28 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10 ff., based on TORRIGIO, MARTINELLI and MAMACHI, *op. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> KEHR, *It. Pont.*, I, 121, no. 1; KOUDELKA, *op. cit.*, p. 8, the date of 967, given in the *Regestum Sublacense* (ALLODI-LEVI, *Il regesto sublacense*, Rome, 1885, p. 168 f.).

<sup>6</sup> KOUDELKA, *ibid.*, citing documents of 1032-1045, 1047-1048 and 1054-1057.

<sup>7</sup> KEHR, *loc. cit.*, nos. 2-4.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 5.

<sup>9</sup> KOUDELKA, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

<sup>10</sup> BERTELLI, « L'immagine del Monasterium Tempuli... », *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 31 (1961), p. 82 ff.

in Constantinople, the fifth or sixth century *Hagiosoritissa* in the church of St. Mary in the Blachernae<sup>1</sup>. If the date in the first third of the seventh century should prove correct, the origin of the icon may possibly coincide with the foundation of the convent.

The remains of the church are incorporated in a barn-like structure (at present a sculptor's workshop) in the Parco di Porta Capena, or Passeggiata Archeologica. It is a confused amalgamation of buildings dating from several periods. More or less square in plan it measures about 15 by 16 m. (fig. 55)<sup>2</sup>. The interior is divided into four compartments, lettered A to D on the



(Photo: Sansaini)

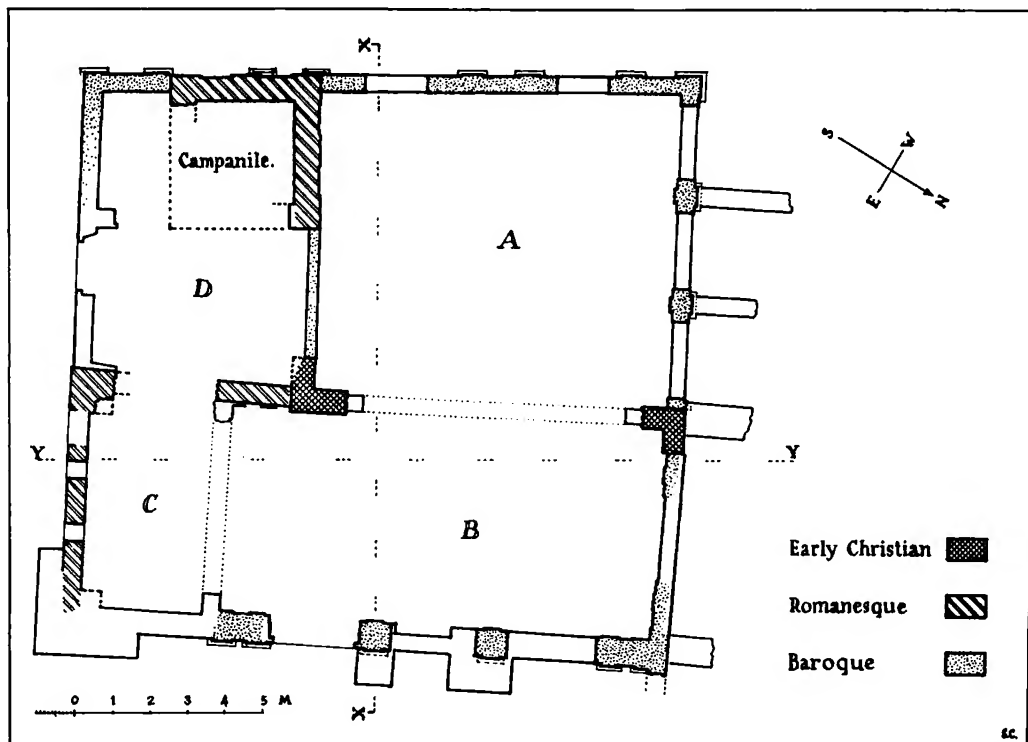
Fig. 55. S. Maria in Tempulo, View from the southwest

plan (fig. 56). A and B result from the walling up of the arcades of two vaulted loggias which date from the seventeenth century, to judge by the style of their rubbed brick architectural ornament. Originally, they seem to have belonged to an ornamental building in the gardens of a villa. Though hidden by trees, it seems to show on the Tempesta map of 1593. The only feature to indicate the former presence of a church is a small campanile which must have been incorporated in the loggia building for the sake of its picturesque antiquity. It is of the usual Romanesque type, consisting of a series of arcaded stories, each story accentuated by a brick cornice with marble modillions (fig. 57). Three stories survive; the lowest has two blind arches in each side, the middle one has two open arches and the top one has triple arches. It is likely that there was originally a fourth story with marble columns; if so, the campanile closely resembled that of S. Pudenziana, though on a smaller scale (fig. 240). The masonry is carefully executed, using ancient bricks of good red color, the horizontal mortar beds with the *falsa cortina* pointing which is customary in Rome from the late eleventh through the thirteenth century. The highest cornice is now only about ten meters above ground level; but the height of the basement, which is less than roughly three meters above the ground, proves that a considerable depth of soil has accumulated. Only two sides of the campanile

<sup>1</sup> BERTELLI, *op. cit.*, inclines on good grounds to a date in the first third of the seventh century. The twelfth or thirteenth century date is suggested by Lavagnino (IBID., p. 98, note 45).

<sup>2</sup> As the reader will notice, our analysis of the structure differs from that incorporated into the paper of Fr. KOUDELKA, *op. cit.*, p. 25 ff.

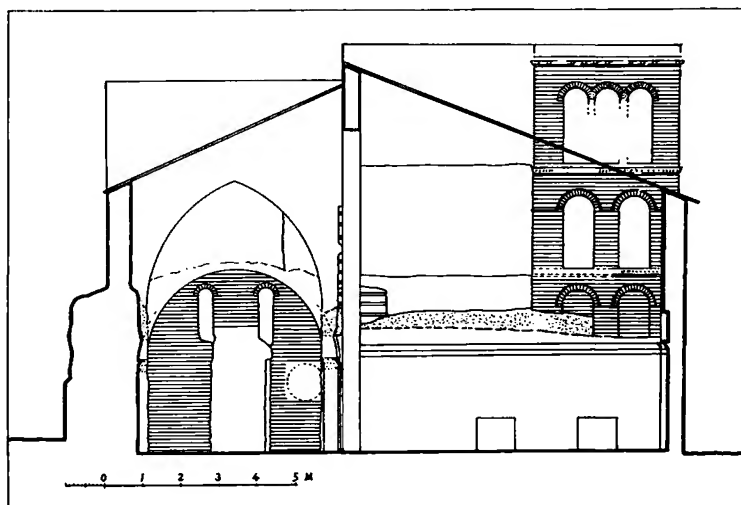
Fig. 56. S. Maria in Tempulo, Groundplan



(Drawing: Corbett)

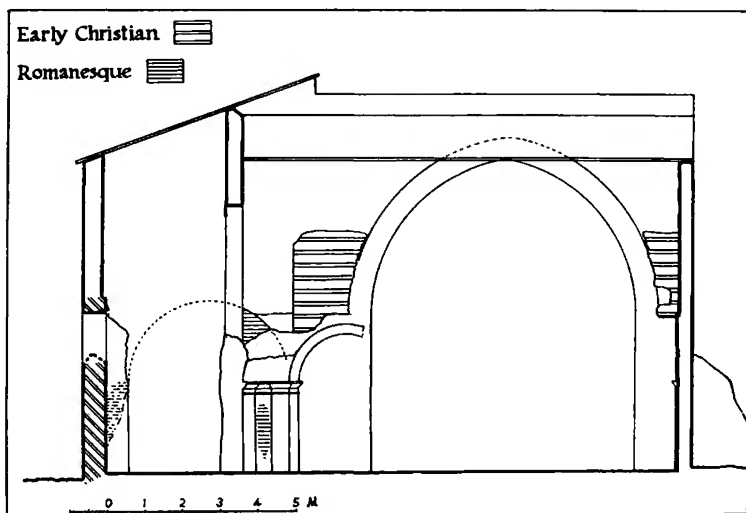
survive; the south and east walls have been removed and the remaining walls constitute the northwest corner of compartment D.

A short distance to the east of the campanile we find the remains of other Romanesque walls in the east side of compartment D and the south side of C (fig. 56). Like the campanile, these walls are built of good brickwork (16 courses to the meter, five to the Roman foot) in level courses and are pointed with *falsa cortina*. They are the surviving sides of a square, vaulted chamber which covered the whole area of compartment C and extended over part of B. The walls are 0.55 m. thick, and the outline of the vault, now cut back, is seen in each wall. The southern wall contains two small arched windows, 0.35 m. wide, 1.20 m. high and 1.20 m. apart. At a lower level the outline of a round window is seen in the south face of the wall and below it there seem to be traces of the attachment of another vault. The campanile no doubt belonged to a church, but the Romanesque structure incorporated in compartment C was not necessarily part of it. The twin windows seem to be too



(Drawing: Corbett)

Fig. 57. S. Maria in Tempulo, Cross section X-X



(Drawing: Corbett)

Fig. 58. S. Maria in Tempulo, Cross section Y-Y

small for anything but a minute chapel and it would be difficult to collate the two structures in a credible church plan. More probably, the walls in compartment C belonged to some annex which stood close to the church.

The builders of the loggia seem to have been careful to preserve the ancient structures which they found. Two fragments of masonry, even older than the Romanesque features which we have described, exist in the wall between compartments A and B (fig. 58). They are not seen near the ground, but only above the level where the vaulted loggia ceilings formerly existed. The masonry is an irregular *opus listatum* wherein single courses of *tufelli* alternate with brickwork, as many as nine brick courses together. Seven courses of brick and seven of mortar are 0.48 m. high (between 4 and 4½ courses to the R. ft.). The coursing is level and the workmanship seems fairly accurate. Where it survives, the mortar face is seen to have been troweled obliquely, the lower edge of each bed being set about half a centimeter behind the brickface of the course below it; a characteristic often noted in Roman masonry of the sixth century (S. Marco, SS. Quirico e Giulitta)<sup>1</sup>. It is probable that the two fragments which survive were connected in a continuous wall until they were broken through in the construction of the tall, pointed archway which now connects compartments A and B. The archway is clearly later than the loggia buildings, and probably dates from the eighteenth or early nineteenth century. Each fragment of *opus listatum* forms a right angle in plan, as though it had been the corner of a room, but since they face in opposite directions they cannot easily be two corners of a single chamber. Once again it would be rash, with the scant available data, to locate them in the plan of a church, though it is likely that useful results could be obtained from excavation. Here we can only record the presence of Early Christian masonry on a site where the remains of a Romanesque church are also found.

The nunnery to which the church belonged was abandoned in 1221, because it was too decrepit to be maintained. Presumably the whole structure, including both Romanesque and Early Christian masonry, soon fell into ruins. In the seventeenth century, apparently, these ruins were incorporated in some sort of farm or garden building, with arcaded loggias. Later still, the arcades were walled up, part of the campanile was removed, its pointed archways were built, and the building took the form which it has today.

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<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. II, p. 234 and below, vol. IV; also S. CORBETT, «The Church of SS. Quirico et Giulitta in Rome», *Papers Brit. School* 28 (1960), p. 33 ff., esp. p. 42.



## S. MARIA IN TRASTEVERE

(R. Krautheimer, S. Corbett) \*

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### B. ANCIENT DESCRIPTIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

#### I. DESCRIPTIONS

Only three descriptions known to me at present refer to the building prior to the twelfth century: *L.P.* II, p. 81; DE ROSSI, *op. cit.*, *B.A.C.* (1866), p. 76; and MALLERINI, *op. cit.*

#### II. ILLUSTRATIONS <sup>2</sup>

None are known which refer to the early church.

### C. DATES

- 218—222 Pope Calixtus is credited with having founded a basilica across the Tiber: "*Hic fecit basilicam trans Tiberim*" (*L.P.* I, p. 141).
- 337—352 According to the Liberian catalogue, Pope Julius founds a basilica across the Tiber, near a site or structures associated with the name Calixtus, perhaps the *titulus Calisti* with which the church is later identified: <sup>3</sup> "*... basilicam trans Tiberim regione XIII iuxta Callistum*" (*L.P.* I, p. 9). The *Liber Pontificalis* in its final form records the foundation more cursorily: "*Fecit basilicas II, una in urbe iuxta forum et altera trans Tiberim*" (*L.P.* I, p. 205).
- 366 In the preface to the *Libellus precum*, a *basilica Julii* is mentioned twice: once, in reference to its invasion by the antipope Felix II in 358, as "*basilica Julii trans Tiberim*" and hence our church;

\* Research assistant, WALTER CAHN.

<sup>1</sup> Complete bibliography through 1933 is to be found in CECHELLI, *S. Maria in Trastevere* (see below), the major part dealing almost exclusively with the twelfth century church and its fate. We select here only a few publications which also take into consideration the earlier church.

<sup>2</sup> For a list of copies after the mosaics in the present church, see WAETZOLDT, *Kopien*, p. 51 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. 66, digs. 772-795, 795-816.

- and a second time in 366 as “*basilica Iuli*”, without reference to its location in Trastevere, as the site of the election of Ursinus and of an attack on his supporters by the faction of Pope Damasus (*Epistulae imperatorum pontificum...*, ed. GÜNTHER, *CSEL* 35, Vienna, 1895, p. 2, and *L.P.* I, p. 206, note 5).
- 422—432 Pope Celestine rededicates the church after the sack of Rome by Alaric, during which the building apparently caught fire (“*Hic dedicavit basilicam Iuli ... post ignem Geticum*”, *L.P.*, I, p. 230), and donates numerous gifts, among them ten heavy silver crowns: “*coronas argenteas X pens. sing. lib. X*” (*L.P.* I, p. 230).
- 499 The presbyters Paulinus, Marcellinus, and Septiminus represent the “*titulus Iuli*” at the Roman synod of 499 (*M.G.H., Auct. antiq.*, XII, p. 411 ff.).
- 595 Petrus, presbyter “*tituli sancti Iulii et Callisti*”, signs the minutes of the synod of 595, this being the first time the name of Calixtus is incorporated into the title of the church<sup>1</sup> (*M.G.H., Epistolae*, I, p. 367).
- 772—795 Pope Hadrian I thoroughly restores “*titulum sanctae Dei genetricis semperque virginis Mariae quae vocatur Calisti trans Tiberim, noviter in integro ex omni restauravit parte*” (*L.P.* I, p. 509), the first time that the dedication to the Virgin is documented<sup>2</sup>. He also donates five silver *canistra* (*ibid.*, p. 511).
- 795—816 Pope Leo III makes numerous donations to the church – variously referred to as “*titulus Calisti*” or “*titulus sanctae Dei genetricis quae appellatur Calisti*” – including a silver ciborium, a golden crown for the altar, and numerous textiles, including one “*super altare post absidam*” (*L.P.* II, pp. 9, 11, 16, 19 and 26).
- IX-X cent. An insertion into the seventh century *Epitome de locis sanctis martyrum* refers, for the first time, to an icon of the Virgin in “*sca. maria transtiberis*”: “*Basilicam quae app. sca. maria transtiberis ibi est imago scae mariae quae per se facta est*” (DE ROSSI, *Roma Sotterranea* I, p. 143)<sup>3</sup>.
- IX-XI cent. (?) Donations of landed property are made to the church, according to an inscription uncovered during the nineteenth century reconstruction but known already to the sixteenth century Spanish compiler of Chig. IV 167, f. 269 (Vatican Library; CECHELLI, *op. cit.*, [1933], p. 139 ff).
- 827—844 Pope Gregory IV sets up in the basilica a *praesepe* modeled after that in S. Maria Maggiore (“*in ea sanctum fecit Praesepeum, ad similitudinem Praesepeii sanctae Dei genetricis quae appellatur Maioris*”) and donates an icon of Mary as well as many liturgical vessels and vestments (*L.P.* II, p. 78-79). He also reorganizes and in part rebuilds the chancel area of the church; below the apse, which faces west, he builds a crypt (“*... clandestinum antrum in occidentali plaga eiusdem aeclesiae, hoc est in ambitu abside*”) and transfers there the bodies of Saints Calistus, Cornelius and Calepodius which had been lying “behind” the congregation in the south part of the church (“*in meridiana plaga aeclesiae tumulata postergum populi*”). Since in the old church the altar was placed low down, nearly in the middle of the nave and thus inconvenient (“*Nam prius altare in humili loco situm fuerat, pene in media testudine, circa quod plebs utriusque sexus conveniens, pontifex cum clero plebi confuse inmixto sacra misteria celebrabat*”, *L.P.* II, p. 80), Gregory constructs an elevated sanctuary over the crypt, accessible via stairs and carrying an altar, with an ample chancel area in front: “*Supra que confessionem respicientem ad ortum solis miri odoris (operis?) celaturarum ornata compagine coaptavit infra consurgentes siquidem bases altaris ... elato scilicet priori, erexit inter consurgentes pulchri operis gradus. Ante quod presbiterium ampli ambitus ... construxit*” *L.P.* II, p. 80).
- The apse is decorated “*miris lapidibus*” (either revetment or pavement) and the altar provided with textiles. To the north of the altar is placed a *matroneum* (*L.P.* II, p. 80). Later gifts by Gregory include light fixtures, altar vessels, censers, and an image of the Virgin for the altar (*L.P.* II, p. 80 f.).
- 847—855 Pope Leo IV restores the apse of the basilica: “*Ad vero in ecclesia beatae Dei genetricis ... trans Tiberim, absidam, quae pre nimia vetustate ruitura manebat ... restauravit*” (*L.P.* II, p. 120).
- 855—858 Pope Benedict III totally reconstructs the apse, which was in a ruined state, and embellishes the windows of the church (or the apse?) with stained glass windows and mosaics. He also repairs the roofs of the portico, baptistery and sanctuary: “*... in ecclesia beatae ... Mariae ...*

<sup>1</sup> See below, digs. 772-795, 795-816.

<sup>2</sup> See below, dig. IX-X cent.

<sup>3</sup> The church mentioned in the *Notitia ecclesiarum urbis romae* as «*scm calistum pp et mart ... et in altero in superiori domo scs iulius pp et mart*» is apparently a catacomb church on the Via Aurelia (DE ROSSI, *Roma Sotterranea* I, p. 140).

*trans Tyberim, absidam maiorem ipsius ecclesiae, que in ruinis posita, noviter atque fundamentis faciens, ad meliorem erexit statum; fenestras vero vitreis coloribus ornavit et pictura musivo decoravit; necnon et porticum atque baptisterium cum secretario, omnia et in omnibus sarta tecta noviter renovavit*” (L.P. II, p. 147). He further donates two textiles, including one for the major altar decorated with the Assumption of the Virgin (L.P. II, p. 145).

1091 A sizable earthquake is recorded in a necrology of S. Maria in Trastevere on January 27 and 28: “Anno D. MXCI, [ind. XIII] in hac quippe die noctisque silentio transtiberim et Rome ingens terre motus fuit” (EGIDI, *op. cit.*, p. 88).

1139—1181 The church is reconstructed in its entirety under Pope Innocent II (1130-1143): “... ecclesiam beate Dei genetricis Marie tituli Calixti totam innovavit et construxit” (L.P. II, p. 384; CECHELLI, *op. cit.*, [1933], p. 36), and his successors, primarily Eugene III (1145-1150) and Alexander III (1159-1181). Begun before 1141 according to the *necrologium* of the church<sup>1</sup> and completed perhaps in 1148<sup>2</sup>, the rebuilding was carried out in part with materials pilfered from the Baths of Caracalla (HÜLSEN-JORDAN, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Altertum*, Berlin, I, 3, 1906, p. 191, n. 24). The new church was apparently not consecrated before the pontificate of Alexander III (S. KUTTNER and A. GARCÍA Y GARCÍA, «A New Eyewitness Account of the Fourth Lateran Council», *Traditio* 20 [1964], p. 115 ff., esp. p. 143 ff.). In the context of this *Corpus*, the later history of the building is of no interest, except for the following:

1865—1869 In remodeling the twelfth century church and resetting its pavement, remains of the older structures are excavated by Vespignani and briefly described by De Rossi. The survey drawings made by Vespignani have not turned up yet (DE ROSSI, *op. cit.*, 1866).

<sup>1</sup> EGIDI, *op. cit.*, *passim* and, in excerpt, CECHELLI, *op. cit.*, [1933], p. 137 ff.: «Anno dominice incarnationis MCXLI ... quando edificabatur ecclesia ...; Dedicatio basilice ... per manum Alexander pontificis ...; Anno dominice incarnationis MCXLIII ... d. papa Innocentius II hob. (obiit) ... qui eccl. S. Maria Transtiberim a fundamentis renovavit...».

A second consecration, for reasons unexplained, took place under Innocent III, 1198-1216: «... d. Innocentius papa III consecravit eccl. S. Maria Transtiberim...» (EGIDI and CECHELLI, *loc. cit.*).

<sup>2</sup> The epitaph of Innocent II in the portico of the church — but perhaps not composed before the end of the thirteenth or indeed the fourteenth century (FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni* II, 1873, p. 338; L. P. II, p. 385, note 2; CECHELLI, *op. cit.*, [1933], pp. 36, 143) — gives the date 1148 for the completion of the building.

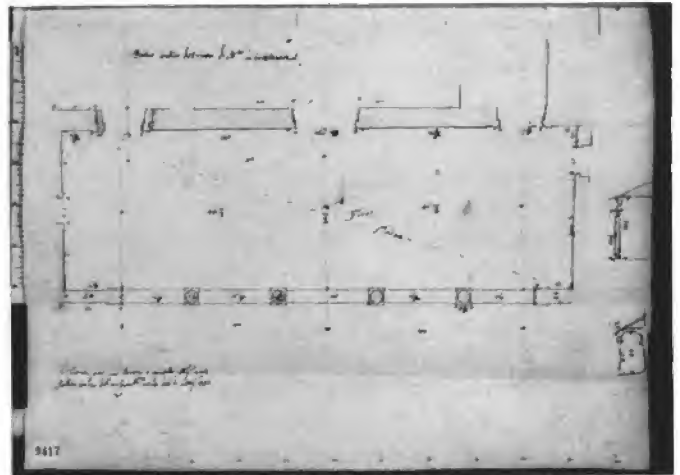
#### D. GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The church of S. Maria in Trastevere as it stands today is essentially still the structure erected by Pope Innocent II. Its axis runs west and east. The nave is flanked by two aisles and supported by eleven columns on either side carrying architraves; the transept is raised high above nave level and terminated by a semicircular apse. A campanile rises over the right hand aisle, just behind the façade. The walls are built of brick, the mortar finished in *falsa cortina*; the columns, capitals and architraves are Roman spoils different in material, size, and presumably provenance. Outstanding additions of later date are the covering with mosaics of the apse and rear wall of the transept in the last decade of the thirteenth century; the blocking of the nave windows, originally one per intercolumniation, and the opening instead of three large windows on either side in the seventeenth century; the construction of the present narthex, built in 1702 and designed by Carlo Fontana (figs. 59, 60)<sup>1</sup>; and, between 1865 and 1869 under Pope Pius IX, the restoration of the nave, including a new coffered ceiling, a pilaster order on the clerestorey walls in



(Windsor Royal Library, Albani Collection)

Fig. 59. S. Maria in Trastevere, Carlo Fontana, Façade and narthex, prior to 1702



(Windsor Royal Library, Albani Collection)

Fig. 60. S. Maria in Trastevere, Carlo Fontana, Plan of narthex and sections of narthex, prior to 1702

imitation of S. Maria Maggiore, the repair of the cosmatesque pavement, the closing of the seventeenth century windows and the substitution of a set of neo-Romanesque round-headed windows – all designed by Vespignani. In the present structures, then, nothing antedating the twelfth century survives above ground.

Nevertheless, the documentary evidence leaves no doubt that a church building, a “*basilica*”, occupied the site as early as the second quarter of the fourth century. This apparently adjoined a *domus ecclesiae* of presumably earlier date, the *titulus Callisti*. Neither the size nor the plan of this fourth century basilica are known. Likewise, it is unknown whether it underwent any changes in the course of the restoration “*noviter in integro ex omni ... parte*” undertaken by Pope Hadrian I<sup>2</sup>. The entries in the biographies of Popes Leo III and Gregory IV do indicate, however, that at their times the nave terminated in an apse<sup>3</sup> and that the altar rose “below, nearly in the middle of

<sup>1</sup> FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, II, p. 361, n. 119. The twelfth century narthex is shown in Fra Santi's woodcut (*Cose maravigliose*, 1588, c. 20) and on many maps of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, such as the Tempesta map of 1593. A measured survey, including plan, elevation and a survey report, are preserved among Carlo Fontana's drawings in the Royal Library at Windsor (vol. 172, nos. 9414, 9417, 9418), our figs. 59, 60.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 66, dig. 772-795.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 66, dig. 795-816. In referring to the «*altare post absidam*», the biographer possibly views the building while standing in the apse.

the nave" — "*... in humili loco ... pene in media testudine ...*" — in the space assigned to the congregation<sup>1</sup>. When, under Gregory IV, the structure was remodeled, the level of the apse was raised, the altar was placed there, and a *confessio* was laid out underneath, opening eastward, between the steps ascending to the new level of the apse. Also, the apse was decorated with beautiful stone, but it remains unclear whether this refers to the revetment of its walls or to a pavement<sup>2</sup>. At the foot of the apse a chancel was laid out, supplemented by a *matroneum* to the north, either a women's enclosure or possibly the site where across a chancel screen the clergy would accept the women's gifts<sup>3</sup>. Finally, a "copy" of the chapel which at S. Maria Maggiore housed the manger of Christ was installed inside or adjoining the church in Trastevere<sup>4</sup>. The remodeling continued under Leo IV, when the old apse was repaired<sup>5</sup>, and under his successor, Benedict II, who rebuilt the apse from the foundations, provided it with stained glass windows and a mosaic decoration, and restored the portico, the baptistery (first mentioned at this point) and the sacristy (*secretarium*)<sup>6</sup>.

The sequence of buildings and rebuildings of the church prior to the twelfth century is reflected to some degree in the many pieces of decorative sculpture which appear to have come from it. Now preserved in the narthex and in the passage leading from the narthex into the right hand aisle, these pieces — chancel screens and fragments of ciboria — were found during the remodeling and the related excavations undertaken under Pius IX<sup>7</sup>. To be sure, some of the finds may well be spoils brought to S. Maria in Trastevere from elsewhere to be reused. But the majority are likely to have been made for the pre-Romanesque church in its successive building phases. At least one screen, with intersecting diamond shapes and squares in open-work imitating a metal *cancellum*, would seem to date from the fourth century (fig. 61). Another, decorated with intertwining triangles and circles, might likewise belong to the first church (fig. 62); but it might as well date from a later rebuilding, possibly even that of the ninth century and extending over the pontificates of Gregory IV, Leo IV, and Benedict II. This certainly is the period to which the screens decorated with interlace work enclosing birds standing, leaves and sunwheels or crosses (figs. 63, 64) belong, as well as two arches from a small ciborium (figs. 66a, b). A last group offers a harder problem: the two slabs with acanthus design (figs. 67, 68), despite slight differences in design, obviously belong to a "classicizing" current of early medieval art. Indeed, they recall the ornament of the Clitumnus temple and the church of S. Salvatore at Spoleto, buildings assigned, probably correctly, to the late eighth rather than the fifth century<sup>8</sup>; the same holds of another fragment (fig. 65) with similar acanthus leaves, spiral tendrils and poppy buds, all framed by classicizing profiles and a lesbian cyma<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 66, dig. 827-844.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 66, dig. 827-844.

<sup>3</sup> Regarding the *matroneum* part of the chancel, see MATHEWS, « An early Roman chancel arrangement... », *R. A. C.* 38 (1962), p. 73 ff.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 66, dig. 827-844 and BERTELLI, *op. cit.*, p. 18 ff. If the Chapel of the Manger in the twelfth century occupied the original site, though on a higher level, the ninth century *praesepe* was attached to the left flank of the church (BERTELLI, *op. cit.*, p. 97, n. 13, quoting a manuscript history of the church by Hieronymus de Avila, dated 1597, in the Archive of S. Maria in Trastevere).

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 66, dig. 847-855.

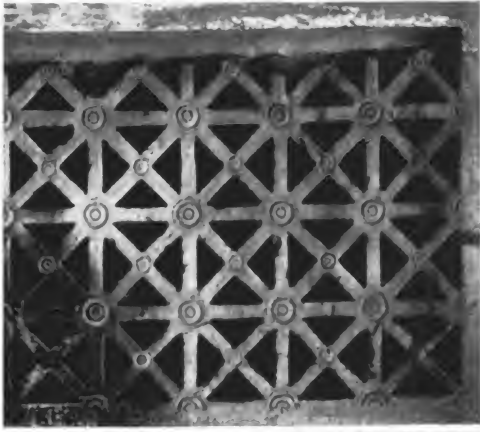
<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 66, dig. 855-858.

<sup>7</sup> See above, p. 67, dig. 1865-1869.

<sup>8</sup> The eighth century date for the Spoleto buildings was first proposed by DEICHMANN (« Die Entstehungszeit von Salvatorkirche und Clitumnustempel bei Spoleto », *Röm. Mitt.* 58 [1943], p. 106 ff.) and appears to be confirmed by the results of a small dig undertaken by WARD PERKINS (« The Church of San Salvatore at Spoleto », *Papers Brit. School* 17 [1949], p. 72 ff.). The fifth century date, first proposed by DE ROSSI « Spicilegio d'archeologia nell'Umbria. Parte seconda », *B. A. C.* ser. II, 2 (1871), p. 131 ff., and frequently thereafter (see WARD PERKINS, *op. cit.*, p. 73, for bibliography) is maintained by SALMI, *La basilica di San Salvatore di Spoleto*, Florence, 1951, p. 31 ff.

<sup>9</sup> For the dating of these pieces, at times different from that proposed here, and for other pieces not discussed by us, see also MAZZANTI, « La scultura ornamentale... nei bassi tempi », *Archivio storico dell'arte*, ser. II, 2 (1896), p. 33 ff., p. 161 ff.; CECHELLI, *op. cit.*, esp. p. 78 f.; and KAUTZSCH, « Die römische Schmuckkunst vom 6. bis zum 10. Jahrhundert », *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 3 (1939), p. 1 ff., in particular, p. 7 ff.





(Photo: Gab. Fot. Naz.)

Fig. 61. S. Maria in Trastevere, Narthex, chancel screen, fourth century (?)



(Photo: Gab. Fot. Naz.)

Fig. 62. S. Maria in Trastevere, Narthex, chancel screen, eighth century (?)



(Photo: Gab. Fot. Naz.)

Fig. 63-64. S. Maria in Trastevere, Narthex, chancel screens, ninth century (?)



Fig. 65. S. Maria in Trastevere, Chancel screen, late eighth century



(Photo: Gab. Fot. Naz.)

Fig. 66a-66b. S. Maria in Trastevere, Narthex, fragment of ciborium, ninth century



(Photo: Anderson)

Fig. 67-68. S. Maria in Trastevere, chancel screens, late eighth century

However, in all likelihood, walls and pavements of the ninth and possibly of the fourth century structures themselves survive below the floor of the twelfth century church. They were seen in the 1860's, and supposedly surveyed by Vespignani. De Rossi, in a few short notices, lists the finding of a chancel, presumably that of Gregory IV, and of two pulpits; the raised level and the ascending steps of the ninth century apse below the twelfth century triumphal arch; the substructure of the ninth century apse level; and earlier remnants, possibly of the fourth century basilica, including portions of an older apse; of "adjoining structures"; and of a pavement in *opus sectile*, composed of "geometric figures in marble of various colors" and comparable according to De Rossi to a *cubiculum* in the Callixtus catacomb and to "good Roman pavements". Indeed, as he describes the floor, it recalls fourth century pavements of a geometric type in *opus sectile*, such as those found at S. Marco in Rome, below S. Sabina, in the Basilica of Maxentius, and in related late Roman buildings<sup>1</sup>.

A systematic re-excavation is likely to yield important results and we hope to be able to undertake it some day.

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<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. II, p. 230 ff., 245, and below, Vol. IV.

## S. MARIA IN VIA LATA

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(R. Krautheimer, S. Corbett) \*

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### B. ANCIENT DESCRIPTIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

#### I. ANCIENT DESCRIPTIONS <sup>1</sup>.

ARINGHI, *op. cit.*, Lib. IV, cap. XLVI.

MARTINELLI, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

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\* Research assistant, WALTER CAHN.

<sup>1</sup> We list only those referring to the subterranean rooms, and among these only those dating prior to 1907.

## II. ANCIENT ILLUSTRATIONS.

The surviving illustrations from before 1750 depict either the medieval church<sup>1</sup> or that of 1491<sup>2</sup> or the Roman arch which crossed Via Lata near the apse of the mediaeval church<sup>3</sup>. The first illustrations to show the rooms of the diaconia are:

- 1756 PIRANESI, ground plan of the Saepta Julia, engraving (*Le antichità di Roma*, IV, pl. 47).  
 1762 PIRANESI, Imaginative view of the ruins "in hypogaeis templi Mariae in Via Lata", engraving; *Il Campo Marzio dell'antica Roma*, Rome, 1762, pl. 25.

## C. DATES

- 795—816 Leo III gives to the diaconia in the Via Lata dedicated to the Virgin two precious textiles and a silver crown "in diaconia in via Lata fecit vestes II de tyreo ... in diaconia eiusdem Dei genetricis ... in Via Lata ... coronam ex argento" (L.P. II, pp. 12, 19).  
 827—844 Gregory IV donates two precious cloths to the diaconia of the Virgin Mary in the Via Lata ("vestem de stauraci ... eodem modo vestem de fundoto") (L.P. II, pp. 76, 77).  
 845 Under Sergius II, on Nov. 22, 845, S. Maria in Via Lata is inundated by floods: "... fluvius ... Tiberis alveum suum egressus est et ... ingressus est ad beatam semperque virginem Dei genetricem quae posita est in via Lata..." (L.P. II, pp. 91, 92).  
 853 Epitaph of one Gregorius "Temporibus quarti ... ter bino anno ... Leonis", found in 1658 while laying the foundations of the new portico of the church and reported in "un manoscritto Chigiano" (FEA, *op. cit.*, pp. CVII, CIX f.; CAVAZZI, *op. cit.*, p. 132).  
 855—858 Under Benedict III, either September 29, 855, or January 6, 856, the diaconia is flooded once more: "... fluvius ... Tyberis alveum suum egressus est et ... expandit in super platheam qui vocatur via Lata et ingressus est in basilica sanctae ... Mariae quae ibi et intumuit aqua qui etiam porte ipsius ecclesie non viderentur..." (L.P. II, p. 145).  
 858—867 Under Nicholas I, on October 30, 860, the diaconia is again flooded. This report of the *Liber Pontificalis* uses the same formula as the previous one (L.P. II, p. 153).  
 1049 Leo IX, accompanied by many bishops and cardinals, deposits numerous relics within the main altar of the upper church according to a parchment found *in situ* in 1491 (*Stephani Infessura Diaria Rerum Romanarum suorum temporum* [Fonti per la storia d'Italia] ed. Tommasini, Rome, 1890, p. 268). The parchment was seen again in 1593 and 1639 (CAVAZZI, *op. cit.*, p. 80, n. 2).  
 1491 Work begins on the destruction of the older church and the building of the new structure, which was dedicated in 1506. The work of demolition started with the Roman triumphal arch (*arcus novus Diocletiani*) which spanned Via Lata at that point: "Die vigesima tertia augusti coeptum fuit opus S. Mariae in Via Lata, videlicet destruere dictam ecclesiam et aliam novam aedificare cum destructione arcus triumphalis supra quem in aliqua parte erat aedificata". INFESSURA, *loc. cit.*; see also CAVAZZI, *op. cit.*, p. 105 f. and NASH, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, I, London, 1961, p. 120).  
 1594 The mason Agostino Gasoli is commissioned to effect repairs and alterations in the lower church. The contract stipulates raising of the pavement level, waterproofing, widening of the entrance arch and other construction (Archives of the Church, *Lib. Instrum. ab. a. 1590 ad a. 1596*, no. 109, f. 114, quoted in full by CAVAZZI, *op. cit.*, 1908, p. 379). This restoration was apparently undertaken after a visit of Clement VIII in 1593, who ordered "ad oratorium SS. Pauli et Lucae ineatur ratio qua exhauriatur aqua quae in oratorium penetrat et prohibeatur ne in posterum influat" (*Acta visitationis multarum ecclesiarum Urbis*, Bibl. Vallicelliana, I 59, p. 71; CAVAZZI, *op. cit.*, 1908, p. 198).  
 1636—1643 Restoration of apse and high altar by the heirs of Giov. Battista d'Aste (MARTINELLI, *op. cit.*, p. 160; see also inscriptions in the apse, commemorating Giov. Batt. d'Aste and his wife Clarissa, dated 1643 [FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, VIII, p. 381]).

<sup>1</sup> Strozzi map, Florence, Bib. Laurenziana, Red. 77 (DE ROSSI, *Piante*, pl. IV).

<sup>2</sup> For instance: TEMPESTA, *Map of Rome*, 1593, view from west; plan of Piazza del Collegio Romano and Church (Vatican Library, *Chig. P VIII*, 13 f.); ground plan of the church with the surrounding site, pen and ink, 1661 (Archives of the church; Sjöqvist, *op. cit.*, p. 79, fig. 24); ROBERT DE COTTE, plan of church, 1712 (Paris, Bibl. Nat., Cab. des Estampes, Vf. 7- fol., no. 1057).

<sup>3</sup> For example: section of a composite capital inscribed «*apud s. Maria in via lata*», location unknown, pen drawing, ca. 1510 (London, Soane Museum, Codex Coner, f. 120 [ASHBY, «Drawings Attributed to Andreas Coner», *Papers Brit. School* 2 (1904), p. 60]); J. SAN-SOVINO, drawing of an Ionic capital inscribed «*capitello di Sa maria in via lata*», pen and ink (Uffizi, dis. arch. 4327<sup>r</sup> [BARTOLI, *Monumenti*, IV, CCCLVI, fig. 622] prior to 1527).

- 1650—1654 Restoration of nave by the canons and Cardinal Antonio Barberini, who was titular cardinal 1642-1653: “ *quod Templum Diaconiae quondam suae // picturis in laqueari // ... ornaverit ... capitulum memor posuit MDCLIII...* ” (FORCELLA, *ibid.*; see also MARTINELLI, *op. cit.*, p. 175 f.: “ ... *La nave di mezzo con soffitto et organo è stata dal Signor Card. Antonio Barberino... rinovata con ornamenti di stucco, d'oro e di pitture* ” and CAVAZZI, *op. cit.*, 1908, p. 129 f.). The work was partly financed by Francesco d'Aste.
- 1658—1662<sup>1</sup> Construction of the façade of the church by Pietro da Cortona, under Alexander VII, according to the inscription which is still on the exterior.
- 1661 The lower church is restored, made accessible by a new stairway and better lit by opening a number of windows, according to an inscription within the entrance:
- ALEXANDRO VII PONT MAXIMO  
LOCVS ANTIQVA VENERATIONE SACER ET NOBILIS  
IN QVO PAVLVM APOSTOLVM DIV MORATVM  
.  
.  
.  
CONGESTV TERRAE OLIM DEPRESSVS ATQ. INACCESSVS  
FACILE SCALARVM DESCENSV  
IMMISOQVE FENESTRIS LVMINE  
PERVIVS FACTVS  
PERPVRGATVS EXORNATVSQVE  
PRO FIDELIVM CVLTVI RESTITVTVS EST  
ANNO SAL. MDCLXI (FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, VIII, p. 401).
- 1863 Repair of church, supervised by the architect Salvatore Bianchi (CAVAZZI, *op. cit.*, 1908, p. 158).
- 1905 Excavations in the lower church undertaken by CAVAZZI (*op. cit.*, 1905, and 1908, p. 197 ff.).

<sup>1</sup> For the beginning of construction in or before 1658, see above, digest 853.



## D. GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The church of S. Maria in Via Lata (fig. 72) stands beside the Via del Corso, the ancient Via Lata, at its intersection with a side street which leads to the Piazza del Collegio Romano. The side street is now confusingly named "Via Lata". The present building is preceded by Pietro da Cortona's splendid façade with narthex and *Loggia di Benedizione*, all dating from 1658-1662. The interior decoration, though in part dating from some twenty years before the façade, is also of characteristic seventeenth century style<sup>1</sup>, but the structure itself dates from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Begun in 1491, and apparently completed in 1506, it takes the place of an earlier church which was consecrated in 1049. Of the eleventh century building nothing remains except a crypt chapel and a few foundation walls, but we know that the orientation was opposite to that of the present church, the apse facing east and thus turning its back on the Corso, as was also the case in the medieval church of S. Marcello nearby. Indeed, a document of 1498 records that the apse and high altar of S. Maria were built on or against a Roman arch, perhaps the *arcus novus Domitiani* which spanned the Corso until 1491<sup>2</sup>. The medieval church replaced a still earlier oratory which formed part of a diaconia. The date of foundation of the diaconia and its oratory is unknown; but murals recently uncovered on its walls suggest that both go back at least to the early seventh century<sup>3</sup>. Documentary references to the diaconia first occur in the pontificate of Leo III (795-816), who enriched it on two occasions, presenting textiles and a silver *corona* of a size appropriate for a respectable diaconia<sup>4</sup>. In the pontificates of Sergius II (844-847), Benedict III (855-858), and Nicholas I (858-876), the *Liber Pontificalis* records that the Tiber flooded the oratory and twice was so deep that the doorways of S. Maria in Via Lata were completely submerged<sup>5</sup>. Hence the church of that time must have stood considerably lower than the present one, and it is evidently to be identified with the group of six vaulted chambers, of classical date but with Early Christian decorations, which lie underneath the present church. These rooms are accessible from the upper church and were repaired in 1593 and 1661<sup>6</sup>. Before 1491, two of the chambers were used as a crypt in the eleventh century church, while at least three others have wall paintings which go back to the seventh century. The classical building of which these rooms originally formed part dates principally from the beginning of the third century, but it incorporates elements of a first century structure.

## E. ANALYSIS

### I. THE ROMAN BUILDINGS

The original building appears to have been a *porticus* beside the Via Lata, consisting of four rows of massively built travertine piers, square on plan, supporting concrete cross vaults (fig. 69). The interval between the two inner rows was twice that of the outer rows, creating something like the plan of a basilica with a wide central nave flanked by narrower aisles. Many of the ele-

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 73 f., digs. 1636-1643, 1650-1654, 1658-1662.

<sup>2</sup> « ... *Sive soli et loci... ubi alias erat fundatum quoddam arcus antiquum super quo erat tribuna seu altare maius eius ecclesie cum duabus cretibus iuxta et prope dictam ecclesiam...* » (CAVAZZI, *op. cit.*, 1908, p. 106, n. 2; see also COLINI, *op. cit.*, and NASH, *Dictionary*, p. 120).

<sup>3</sup> BERTELLI, *op. cit.*, p. 201 f.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 73, dig. 795-816.

<sup>5</sup> *L. P.* II, 153. See p. 73, digs. 844-847, 855-858, 858-867.

<sup>6</sup> See pp. 73, 74, digs. 1594 and 1661.

ments on which Piranesi based his reconstruction<sup>1</sup> are still seen in the cellars and ground floor rooms of Palazzo Doria, notably in the store rooms which extend beneath the *antecamera del baldacchino*. To the south, the *porticus* probably reached no farther than the Vicolo Doria which seems likely to mark the line of an ancient side street. The enormous length imagined for this *porticus* by Piranesi, and followed until 1934 by most topographers, and its identification with the *Saepta Julia*, depended on the erroneous collocation of a fragment of the Severan Marble Plan depicting the *Saepta Julia*. The error has now been corrected by Gatti<sup>2</sup>.

The floor level of the *porticus* is indicated by the level of the ancient Via Lata, the pavement of which has been found some 5.30 m. below the present street<sup>3</sup>. The original vaulting of the *por-*

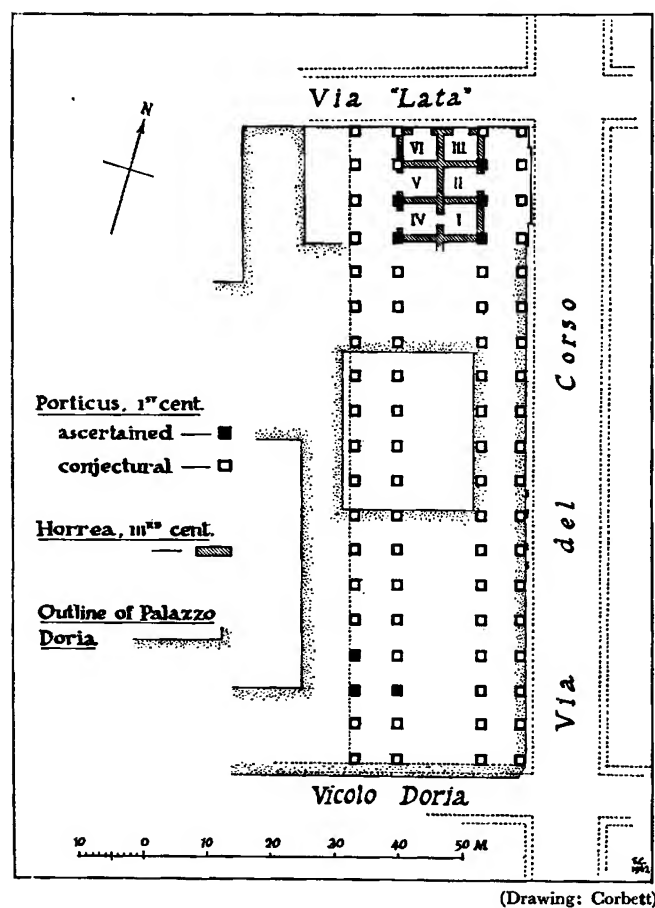
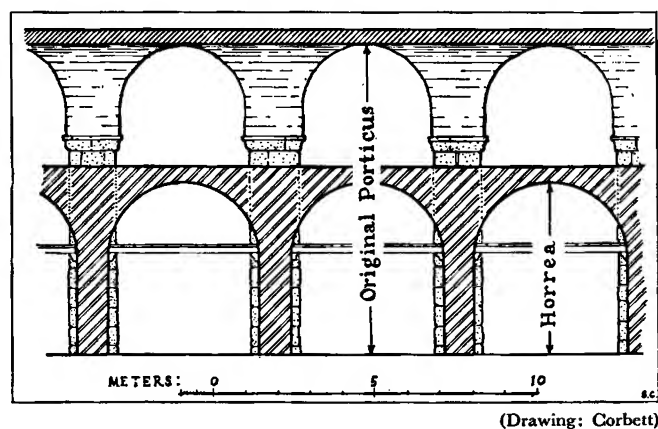


Fig. 69. S. Maria in Via Lata, Plan of *porticus* below Palazzo Doria

Fig. 70. S. Maria in Via Lata, Synthesis of porticoes and *horrea*, section



*ticus*, part of it still incorporated in the Palazzo Doria, rises approximately 4.50 m. above the present street level. Thus the *porticus* must have been nearly 10 m. high from its floor to the crown of the vault. It was altered at the beginning of the third century and rows of vaulted chambers were constructed inside the central nave, so that what had formerly been a large, open portico seems to have become a double row of separate cellae. To effect this change, brick cross walls roofed with barrel vaults were built between the original stone piers, and each vault was subdivided by a north-south wall on the center line of the original *porticus*. The apex of the secondary vaulting was only 5.50 m. above the original floor (fig. 70) and there would have been room for two stories of vaulted compartments within the height of the *porticus* but there is no evidence that an upper story existed. Marble brackets in the walls of the lower story show that the chambers were pro-

<sup>1</sup> G. B. PIRANESI, *op. cit.*, *Il Campo Marzio* ..., pl. 25.

<sup>2</sup> GATTI, *Bull. Com.* 62 (1934), p. 126 ff., 66 (1938), p. 263 ff.; NASH, *Dictionary*, II, p. 291.

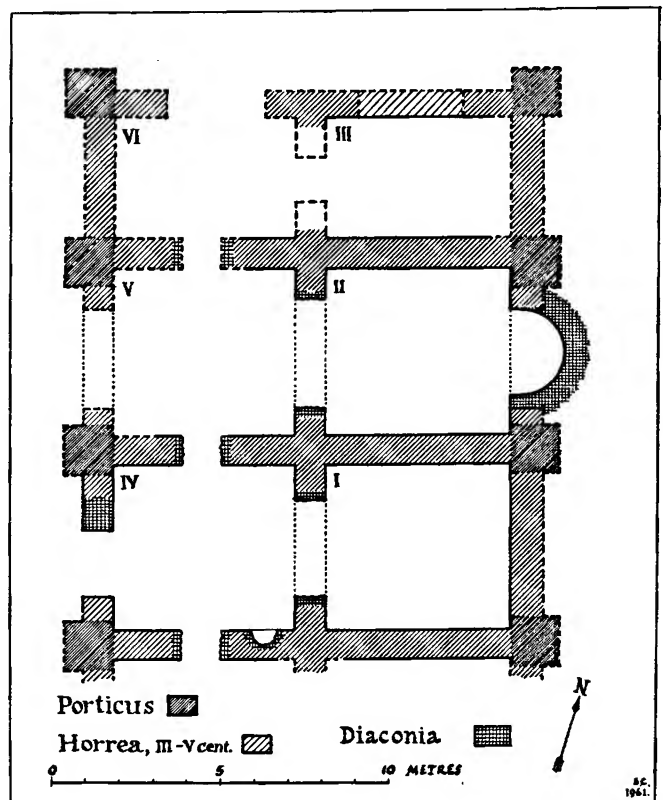
<sup>3</sup> MANCINI, *Not. Sc.*, 1925, p. 225 ff., esp. p. 235; SJÖQVIST, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

vided with wooden mezzanine floors. The entrances to the cellae were sheltered by the outer aisles of the *porticus*.

The *porticus* seems thus to have become one of those commercial buildings which are frequently found in classical cities and which are depicted on the Marble Plan under the name *horrea*. The six cellae of the *horrea* which became the crypt of S. Maria in Via Lata lay at the north end of the *porticus*. The northernmost pair of chambers lay immediately next to the *diverticulum* which is now called Via Lata, and were entered directly from that street. The northeastern cella (no. III on the plan, figs. 71, 72) was roofed with a cross vault; all the other chambers were barrel vaulted, with the axis of the vault lying east-west. The walls are of brick-faced concrete, about 1 m. thick, and each side wall is reinforced with a relieving arch designed to concentrate the weight of the building on the corners of the compartments: a device for ensuring sound foundations, without waste, which was often employed in the second and third centuries<sup>1</sup>.

The original entrance to cella III was in its north wall. The opening is blocked but the jambs of the doorway, 2.93 m. wide, can still be seen. The chamber was further illuminated by a window, some 1.30 m. wide, axially placed above the doorway. The adjacent cella VI is likely also to have been entered from the north. In the central part of its north wall we now see heavy masonry which is probably a foundation wall of the eleventh century upper church. This suggests that there was an original doorway here and that it may have remained open until the eleventh century, but the aperture in the Baroque decoration of the chamber is too narrow to reveal the jambs of this hypothetical doorway and its existence cannot be taken as proved. Cella II was entered originally from the east. The brick jambs and the two ends of the flat brick arch of its doorway can still be seen; the opening was 2.85 m. wide. While the workmanship of the flat arch is in keeping with the third century date of the *horrea*, the jambs, to judge by the fineness of their brickwork, survive from some second century modification of the *porticus*. Cella I certainly was not open to the east; its whole eastern wall is constructed uninterruptedly in third century brickwork and it must have been an inner chamber approached only through cella IV. Apparently there was not even a window in the east wall. On the west side, cella IV has a doorway, 2.85 m. wide, now blocked with medieval foundation material (see below), and a window above the doorway. The original entrance to cella V is unknown; it may have had a doorway to the west, or it may have been only accessible through cella II.

The masonry which blocks the entrance in the north wall of cella III has the characteristics of fourth or fifth century brickwork and it apparently represents a minor change in the original layout.



(Drawing: Corbett)

Fig. 71. S. Maria in Via Lata, Plan of cellae used by diaconia

<sup>1</sup> Especially at Ostia in the time of Hadrian, see Merges, *Roman Ostia*, Oxford, 1960, p. 544.

## 2. THE EARLY CHRISTIAN DIACONIA

During the Early Christian period, these six cellae came to be used as part of the Diaconia of S. Maria in Via Lata. The diaconia is first mentioned about 800 under Pope Leo III<sup>1</sup>, but it presumably originated in the early seventh century — the date of the earliest Christian murals surviving in its subterranean rooms — or it may have been somewhat earlier<sup>2</sup>. When the diaconia was first installed, the rooms of the *horrea* were altered to suit their new purpose by a number of

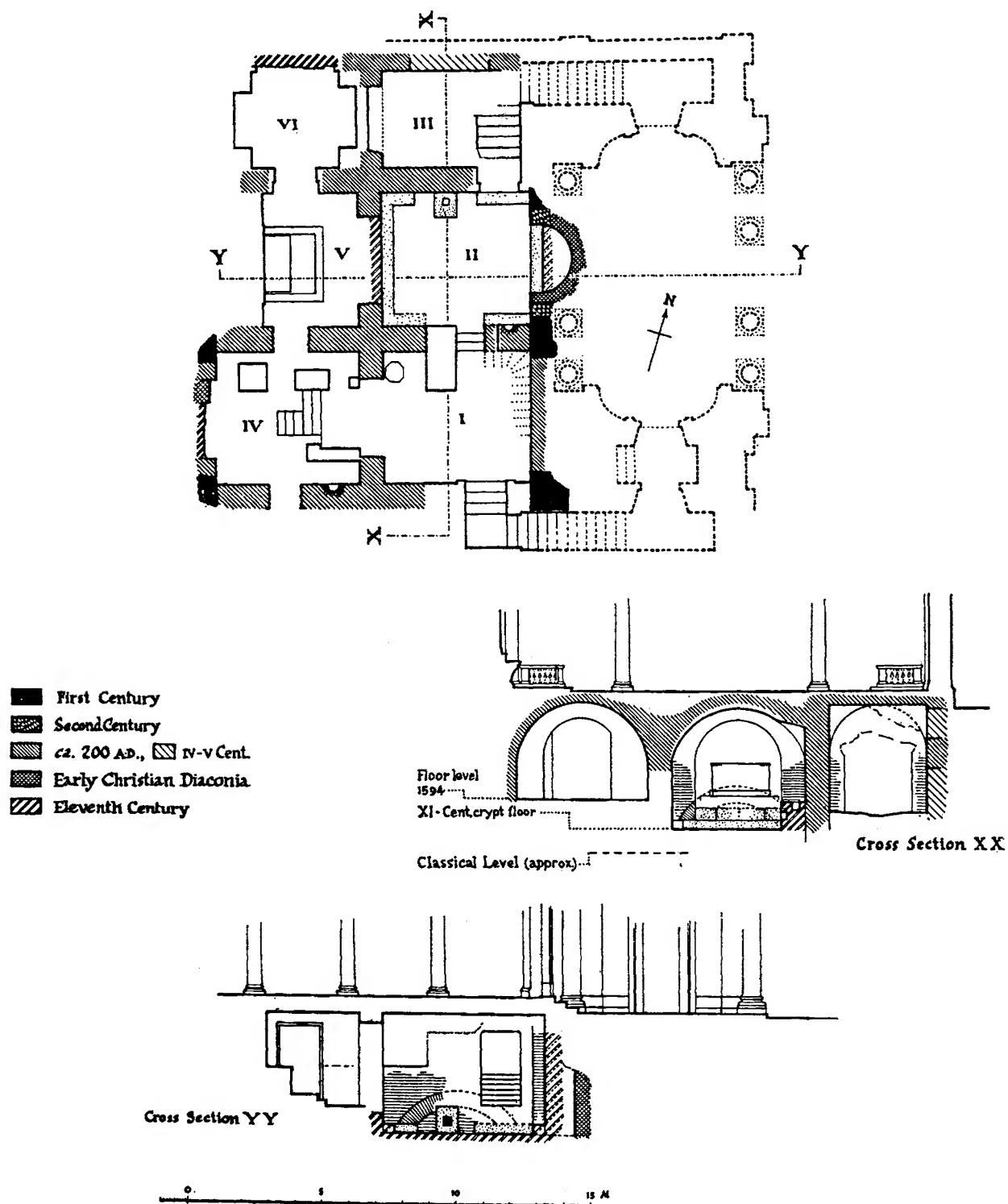


Fig. 72. S. Maria in Via Lata, Ground plan and sections

(Survey and drawing: S. Corbett)

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 73, dig. 795-816.

<sup>2</sup> DUCHESNE, *L. P.* II, p. 41 n. 65, suggested a seventh century date, based on the erroneous identification of the *porticus* with the *Saepta Julia*, coupled with the (equally erroneous) assumption that prior to that date no public building was taken over by the church.

alterations. The wooden mezzanine floors were abolished and the marble brackets which had supported them were roughly broken off at the wall face. The dividing wall between cellae I and IV was broken through and a wide archway was constructed, so that the two cellae became a single hall 11.65 m. long and 4.80 m. wide. The entrance to the hall remained at the west end, through the original doorway of cella IV. The chamber was decorated with frescoes, one of which represents the legend of the Seven Sleepers; they seem, by their style, to date from the seventh century but their discovery is recent and so far only a brief note about them has been published<sup>1</sup>. The adjacent pair of cellae (II-V) were similarly joined by means of a wide archway and were decorated with paintings of about the same date as hall I-IV. A small apse, 1.40 m. in diameter, was built in what had originally been the eastern doorway of cella II; its existence has been established but it has not yet been fully excavated and studied. The paintings which are visible on the wall of the apse belong to the eleventh century, but traces of an earlier stratum are reported, and on the strength of this report we assign the apse to the Early Christian period. The provision of an apse implies that hall II-V was the chapel of the diaconia. After the apse was built, the entrance to the hall can only have been through a doorway which we assume to have existed on the west side of cella V. Unlike the other pairs of cellae, numbers III and VI were not joined. The entrance to cella III had been blocked up, presumably in the fourth or fifth century, but the original north doorway to cella VI seems to have remained open, since the material which seals it dates only from the eleventh century.

In a later stage of development, the walls of hall I-IV were redecorated with a second stratum of paintings which are assigned, on the basis of their style, to the eighth or ninth century. At the same time openings were cut through the north and south walls of IV to allow direct communication with the rooms on each side: to the south a room which has not been excavated, and to the north the western part of the chapel (II-V). As the sides of the opening from IV into V are decorated with frescoes which belong to the upper layer of decoration and have no lower layer, it appears that the opening did not exist in the earlier phase. We assume that the doorway connecting cella V with cella VI developed in the same way but this remains a hypothesis awaiting further investigation.

Recapitulating the stages of development of the Early Christian diaconia chambers we note: (a) six cellae of the *horrea*; (b) the entrance to cella III walled up; (c) cellae V-II joined together and an apse built at the east end, the entrance being at the west end; cellae IV-I similarly joined together, the two halls thus created being decorated with paintings which seem to date from the early seventh century; (d) doorways made in the north and south walls of cella IV and in the north side of cella V, and redecoration with ninth century frescoes.

### 3. THE ELEVENTH CENTURY CHURCH

With the rebuilding of the church in the eleventh century, the ground level was considerably raised and the floor of the new church was placed above the vaulting of the *horrea* cellae, so that the chambers which had originally been at street level now came to be buried below ground. Doubtless the floods, of which we have records in the ninth century, made it desirable for the street level to be raised, but we do not know how much of the elevation was artificial and how much was due to natural causes.

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<sup>1</sup> BERTELLI, *op. cit.* and plate.



Something of the plan of the eleventh century church can be deduced from the strengthening walls which were inserted at various points in the six cellae of the former diaconia to enable them to sustain the weight of the new superstructure. These foundation walls were strongly built with large blocks of tufa and travertine, assembled without regard to appearance, and not unlike the ninth century "Servian block" masonry with which we are already familiar<sup>1</sup>. Walls of this description were built across the openings in the north side of cella VI and in the west side of cella IV. A similar wall was built across the middle of the diaconia chapel, closing up the archway which had formerly been made in the original partition between cellae II and V. The archway was reopened in the sixteenth century and only one course of the heavy tufa masonry remains, but it is enough to prove the former existence of the whole wall since it would have been wasted labor to drag these massive blocks into the opening of the archway for any purpose except as foundations for a heavy superstructure. Presumably an important wall, or possibly the high altar of the eleventh century church stood above them.

While cellae III, IV, V and VI were probably abandoned when the eleventh century church was built, cellae I and II were retained as crypt, cella II with its apse being the crypt chapel while cella I contained the stairway of access. Starting near the southeast corner of the compartment, the descending steps followed the east wall, as testified by the still visible scar of the steps. About three-quarters of the way down, the steps reached the northeast corner of cella I and must then have turned and followed the north wall; the riser of the bottom step would thus have been about 1.70 m. from the corner. At the foot of the stairs, an opening was cut through the wall between cellae I and II. It was a low archway, 2.10 m. wide and 1.90 m. high and, although it was superseded in the sixteenth century by another opening, part of the original archivolt can still be discerned. The floor of the crypt, which still exists, is nearly a meter higher than the original *porticus* floor level. The small apse which had been built in the diaconia period was at first retained in the crypt chapel and was redecorated with frescoes of eleventh century style. In a later stage of development, the apse was bricked up and an altar which still exists was built against the north wall of cella II. This altar stands on the pavement of the chapel, without steps, and behind and above it part of the *horrea* vault is cut away to create a vertical panel, 2.70 m. high and decorated with paintings: a throned figure below and a crucifixion above. A low seat in coarse brickwork, coated with plaster, is built around the chamber against the walls, except at the entrance and for a brief interval on each side of the altar. The masonry of the seat is integral with that of the wall which closes the apse.

Finally, with the construction of the present church and portico by Pietro da Cortona in 1658-1662, the crypt chapel was brought to its present state, apart from minor alterations caused by the researches of recent years. At that time, the stairs in cella I were abolished and new flights of stairs were built: one to the north descending from the seventeenth century portico into cella III, another to the south (still in use) entering the crypt through an opening cut in the south side of cella I. The floor level of the crypt was raised one meter in height, thus concealing the altar and the masonry seats of the preceding phase in cella II. At the same time, the heavy masonry foundation wall which had been built in the eleventh century to block up the opening between cellae II and V was removed and hall II-V came once more into existence. It was furnished as a chapel, the altar being placed against the west wall of V, where it still stands.

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<sup>1</sup> See above, Vol. I, pp. 74, 271; II, p. 237.

## F. RECONSTRUCTION

To create the diaconia, or rather the parts of the diaconia that are known to us, six cellae of the Roman *horrea* were joined by means of archways to form two rectangular chambers, each measuring about 5 m. by 12 m., and two smaller rooms to the north, lying parallel to one another in an east-west direction and communicating through doorways on the cross axis. The central chamber was provided with an apse and presumably served as the chapel, the *oratorium diaconiae*. The function of the chambers to either side is less clear. But, at any rate, the southern one had some formal, ceremonial use as early as the beginning of the seventh century as the mural of the Seven Sleepers with which it was decorated shows. It may have served from the beginning as an antechamber, or even as an aisle of the main chapel. The northern rooms also must have been an annex of the chapel, at any rate at the time when its earliest paintings were applied in the ninth century. All these chambers continued in ecclesiastical use (in the narrow sense of the term) until the fifteenth century, independently until 1049 and, after that date, as the crypt of a medieval church.

The part of the diaconia to survive, therefore, is the oratory and its immediate annexes, what might be called the ecclesiastical core of the building. The pattern and location of the offices, stores and residential quarters remain, as yet, unknown. But it is likely that they were disposed in the former *horrea* which extended to the south, and also perhaps in other buildings to the west; extension in these directions is suggested by openings in the south and west sides of the chambers which we know.

## G. CHRONOLOGY

The first transformation of the *horrea* cells into the three parallel rooms which were to form the nucleus of the diaconia may have taken place as early as the fifth or sixth century, as is suggested by the character of the masonry used in constructing the new openings. But the earliest positive indication that the rooms were used for ecclesiastical purposes is seen in the painting of the Seven Sleepers which, from its style, is datable not before, and probably not later than, the first quarter of the seventh century.

## H. HISTORICAL POSITION

The remains of the early diaconia at S. Maria in Via Lata are of twofold importance. In the first place, they demonstrate, once again, the transformation into a diaconia of a utilitarian Roman building which had lost its original function, the Roman structure in this case being a *horrea*. Further, they illustrate this mutation more clearly than the remains which survive in such diaconiae as S. Maria Antiqua and S. Maria in Cosmedin, where the antecedent Roman buildings were more monumental and less utilitarian in character, or S. Maria in Domnica, where the extensive reconstructions of the ninth century have obliterated the elements used to transform the *statio vigilum* into a diaconia. Nevertheless, it must be emphasized that nothing survives of the diaconia of S. Maria in Via Lata except the oratory and its immediate annexes. The purely utilitarian parts – the storerooms and the living quarters of the administering monastic congregation – remain unknown.

## SS. MARTINA E LUCA

(R. Krautheimer)

The present church of SS. Martina e Luca<sup>1</sup>, on the north edge of the Roman forum facing the arch of Septimius Severus, dates entirely from 1635-1644<sup>2</sup>. Built by Pietro da Cortona, then president of the Accademia di San Luca, it replaced the church of S. Martina, ceded to the painters' guild, the Compagnia di S. Luca in 1588, and coupled the name of the painter-evangelist with that of the patroness of the previous church. This older church, a long single-naved building, is known only from descriptions<sup>3</sup>, supplemented by a few sixteenth and early seventeenth century drawings. In all probability it was originally the Secretarium Senatus, an administrative building connected in some way to the nearby curia<sup>4</sup>. Indeed, until the seventeenth century an inscription was preserved in the apse identifying the structure as the Secretarium Senatus:

*Salvis dominis nostris Honorio et Theodosio victoriosissimis principibus secretarium amplissimi senatus quod vir illustris Flavianus instituerat et fatalis ignis assumpsit Flavianus Annius Eucharius V. C. praef. urb. vice sacra I.V.D. reparavit et ad pristinam faciem reduxit*<sup>5</sup>.

The inscription concerns a repair or a rebuilding of the structure in 407 and informs us that the Secretarium was originally built by another Flavianus, presumably a namesake of the *praefectus urbi* of 407; given his qualification as *illustris*, it has been suggested that this namesake was the *praefectus urbi* of 309<sup>6</sup>, but he may equally well have been the consul of 394, Virius Nicomachus Flavianus, or any other Flavianus. Indeed, what little visual evidence is preserved suggests that the building itself was erected much earlier. A drawing by Antonio da Sangallo the younger (discussed more fully below; fig. 73) of the plan of S. Martina, notes that the walls of the building are "travertini". This fact is corroborated by the appearance of large blocks in the side wall of the structure in Dupérac's view of S. Martina and S. Adriano (also discussed below). The use of blocks of travertine in the construction indicates that it probably dates no later than the middle of the second century<sup>7</sup>. Hence the first Flavian mentioned in the inscription might have been the consul of 115 A. D., M. Afranius Flavianus, in which case, the *praefectus urbi* of 407 probably only converted an earlier building into the Secretarium Senatus. At some later date, the roof was

<sup>1</sup> Selected bibliography: ALBERTINI, *Opusculum de Mirabilibus ... Romae*, Rome, 1510, f. 2; Fra MARIANO DA FIRENZE, *Itinerarium*, 1517 (ed. E. BULLETTI, Rome, 1931), p. 31; BIONDO, *Roma restaurata...*, Rome, 1543, lib. III, c. 55; FAUNO, *Delle antichità della città di Roma*, Venice, 1548; MAURO, *Le antichità della città di Roma*, Venice, 1558, p. 19 ff.; UGONIO, *Schedario*, Vat. lat. 2160, f. 165 f.; VACCA, *Memorie di varie antichità ... della città di Roma* (1594) n. 68 (published in NARDINI, *Roma antica*, Rome, IV, 1771, p. XXXVI); FRANZINI, *Roma antica e moderna*, Rome, 1639, p. 308 ff.; M. HONORATO, *Historia di S. Martina*, Rome, 1635; NIBBY, *Roma nel 1838*, I, 1839, p. 539 ff.; CANINA, *Sugli antichi edifizj ... nel luogo ora occupato dalla chiesa di S. Martina*, Rome, 1840; LANCIANI, «L'aula e gli uffici del senato Romano», *Mon. Accad. Lincei, Memorie*, 3, 11 (1882-3), p. 1 ff.; HÜLSEN, *Chiese*, 1927, p. 381; ARMELLINI-CECCHELLI, *Chiese*, 1942, p. 203 ff.

<sup>2</sup> POLLACK, *Die Kunsttätigkeit unter Urban VIII*, Vienna, 1927, p. 185 ff.; HUBALA, «Entwürfe Pietro da Cortona für Ss. Martina e Luca in Rom», *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 25 (1962), p. 125 ff.

<sup>3</sup> UGONIO, Vat. lat. 2160, f. 165.

<sup>4</sup> See above, Vol. I, p. 1.

<sup>5</sup> C. I. L., VI, n.º 1718; see also LANCIANI, *op. cit.*, p. 12 ff.; UGONIO, Vat. lat. 2160, f. 165<sup>v</sup>.: «Nella tribuna di questa chiesa si legge si anco (?) fabrica istessa che ancor che piccola mostra il disegno antico. Nelle cornici è scritti così al tempo di Honorio et Theodosio Juniore: SALVIS DOMINIS... FACIEM REDUXIT»; ALBERTINI, *loc. cit.*, and Fra MARIANO, *Itinerarium*, p. 31: «in maiori capella ecclesiae sanctae Martinae ...».

<sup>6</sup> LANCIANI, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

<sup>7</sup> LUGLI, *La tecnica edilizia Romana*, Rome, 1957, p. 331 ff.

repaired; tiles bearing the well-known stamp of Theoderic (492-526) were seen in 1635 on the roof of the structure then being demolished, but they obviously could have been in second or third use. Nor is it known when the four reliefs from one or two triumphal arches of Marcus Aurelius were brought to the building, remaining there until they were removed to the Palazzo dei Conservatori in 1525<sup>1</sup>.

Exactly when the Secretarium became a church is unknown. It must have been between 407, the date of the inscription, and 772, the date of the elevation to the papal throne of Hadrian, in whose biography in the *Liber Pontificalis* the first mention of S. Martina appears<sup>2</sup>. Possibly it was converted under Honorius I (625-638) when the Curia Senatus became the church of S. Adriano<sup>3</sup>. But the absence of any reference in his biography or indeed in that of any pope after 570 – when the *Liber Pontificalis* starts giving rather full accounts of papal building activities – makes it equally possible that the conversion antedates the late sixth century. On the other hand, the continued functioning of the Senate up to the Gothic Wars and the siege of Rome precludes a date prior to 539.

The earliest mention of S. Martina, in any event, occurs in the biography of Hadrian (772-795) and records gifts of a silk altar curtain and three arches of silver, totaling thirty pounds, to the “*basilica Sancte Martine*”<sup>4</sup>. In the early ninth century Leo III (795-816), repaired the roof “*basilicae beatae Martinae martyris sita in Tribus Fatis*”<sup>5</sup>.

During the Middle Ages, S. Martina seems to have maintained a comparatively important position in the city. The *Liber Censuum* (1192) allots the sum of eighteen denari<sup>6</sup> to the church, one of the largest assessments it gives. In what was apparently a major restoration, Alexander IV reconsecrated the church in 1256<sup>7</sup>. Further proof of S. Martina's continued importance is given by the *Codex Taurensis* (1320) which contains the entry: “*Ecclesia sanctae Martinae est capella episcopi Ostiensis; habet III clericos*”<sup>8</sup>. At the same time the memory of its old function as the Secretarium Senatus seems to have survived into the high Middle Ages and the church seems to have played some role in the judicial branch of the city government. Martinelli mentions the existence of records of judgments of the municipal magistrates, then in the archives of S. Maria in Via Lata, which specified S. Martina as the magistrates' residence “*qui positi erant ad S. Martinam ad iustitiam discernendam*”<sup>9</sup>.

By the second half of the fifteenth or the early sixteenth century, the church had apparently lost its importance and was practically abandoned. At that time, the marble reliefs from the Arch or Arches of Marcus Aurelius, which adorned the walls of the church, were transferred to the Palazzo dei Conservatori<sup>10</sup>. In 1588 the church was given to the Compagnia dei Pittori by Sixtus V in compensation for their church of S. Luca which he had destroyed in his enlargement of Piazza S. Maria Maggiore<sup>11</sup>. The parish of S. Martina was divided among S. Lorenzo al Foro Trajano, S. Niccolo in Carcere, and S. Maria in Cosmedin<sup>12</sup>. Finally, in 1635, the rediscovery of the relics

<sup>1</sup> RODOCANAGHI, *Le Capitole romain*, Paris, 1905, p. 198.

<sup>2</sup> *L. P.* I, p. 501 f.

<sup>3</sup> See above, Vol. I, p. 1.

<sup>4</sup> *L. P.* I, p. 501 f.

<sup>5</sup> *L. P.* II, p. 28; for this epithet, see HÜLSEN, *Chiese*, p. 260 f.

<sup>6</sup> VALENTINI-ZUCCHETTI, *Cod. Topografico*, III, p. 242: «*sanctae Martinae, XVIII den*».

<sup>7</sup> «ANNO DNI MCCLVI ALEXANDRO PAPA IV ... AD HONOREM DEI ET B. MARTINAE VIRGINIS ET MARTYRIS CONSECRAVIT ECCLESIAM ISTAM...» (FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, VII, p. 416).

<sup>8</sup> VALENTINI-ZUCCHETTI, *Cod. Topografico*, p. 304.

<sup>9</sup> ARMELLINI-CECCHPELLI, *Chiese*, p. 205.

<sup>10</sup> FRA MARIANO DA FIRENZE, *Itinerarium*, p. 31: «*ubi nuper tres marmoreis lapideis effossi in quibus triumphus Marci Antonii, severi sculptus admirando opere, in aedibus conservatorium adaptati sunt*». See also LANCIANI, *op. cit.*, p. 15 f.

<sup>11</sup> «*Sisto V, nel far la sua capella nella chiesa di S. Maria Maggiore, demolì la chiesa di S. Luca de' Pittori, ed in ricompensa donò ai medesimi ... S. Martina*» (VACCA, *op. cit.*, c. 68).

<sup>12</sup> CRESCIMBENI, *Stato della basilica... di S. Maria in Cosmedin...*, Rome, 1719, p. 334.

of S. Martina caused a renewal of interest in the church, and the old building was razed and replaced by Pietro da Cortona's new church.

The only sources of information about the original structure are a few sixteenth and seventeenth century drawings<sup>1</sup>. The most important of these are the ground plans by Antonio da Sangallo the younger (fig. 73)<sup>2</sup>, Baldassare Peruzzi (fig. 74)<sup>3</sup>, and an Anonymous of 1635 (fig. 76)<sup>4</sup>; less important

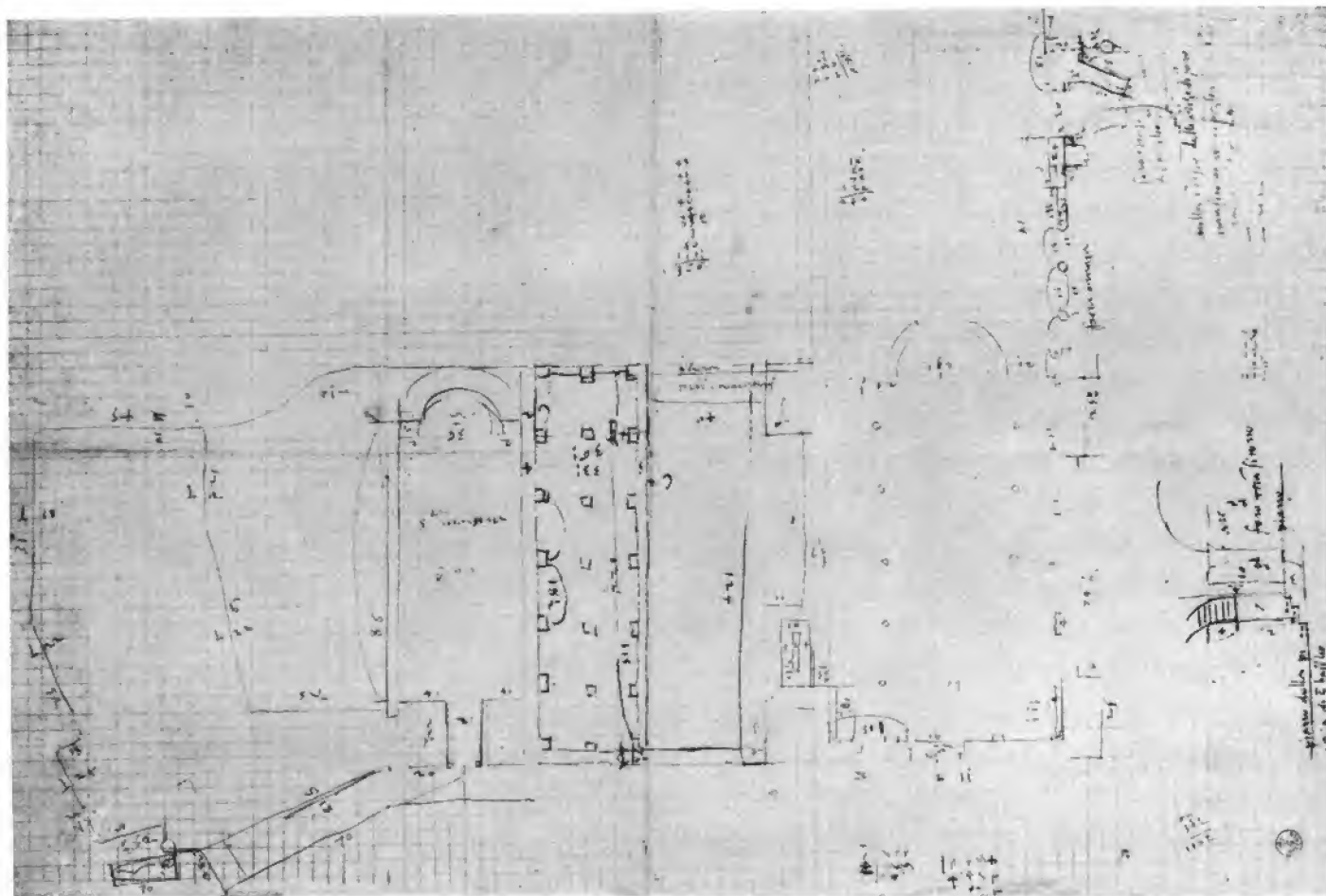


Fig. 73. SS. Martina e Luca, Antonio Sangallo the younger, Plan of SS. Martina e Luca and S. Adriano

are the sketch plan of Sallustio Peruzzi (fig. 75)<sup>5</sup> and two facade elevations, one by Etienne Dupérac<sup>6</sup>, and the other by the Anonymous of 1635 (fig. 76)<sup>7</sup>. Of the plans, that of the Anonymous of 1635 seems to be the most accurate. It apparently was a survey made immediately before or during the demolition of the old structure and the haphazard arrangement of rooms, together with the careful observation of certain details such as the stairs, contrasts markedly with the neat symmetry of the plans of Sangallo and B. Peruzzi and thus seems to offer a more accurate picture. In fact, the plans of Sangallo and B. Peruzzi are so neatly idealized that they seem fanciful reconstructions rather than surveys.

All the plans show the old S. Martina to have been a long hall with an apse opposite the entrance on the long axis. Preceding the entrance proper was an arrangement of small rooms; a door

<sup>1</sup> LANCIANI, *op. cit.*; HUBALA, *op. cit.*, p. 125 ff.

<sup>2</sup> BARTOLI, *Monumenti*, III, pl. 272 (Uffizi 896), and Uffizi 1143.

<sup>3</sup> BARTOLI, *Monumenti*, II, pl. 177 (Uffizi 625).

<sup>4</sup> HUBALA, *op. cit.*, fig. 13 (Milan, Castello Sforzesco, Racc. Achille Bertarelli, I/25a); Professor Hubala kindly provided a photograph.

<sup>5</sup> BARTOLI, *Monumenti*, IV, pl. 396 (Uffizi 649).

<sup>6</sup> DUPÉRAC, reproduced in LANCIANI, *op. cit.*, pl. III.

<sup>7</sup> HUBALA, *loc. cit.*, as cited above, n. 4.



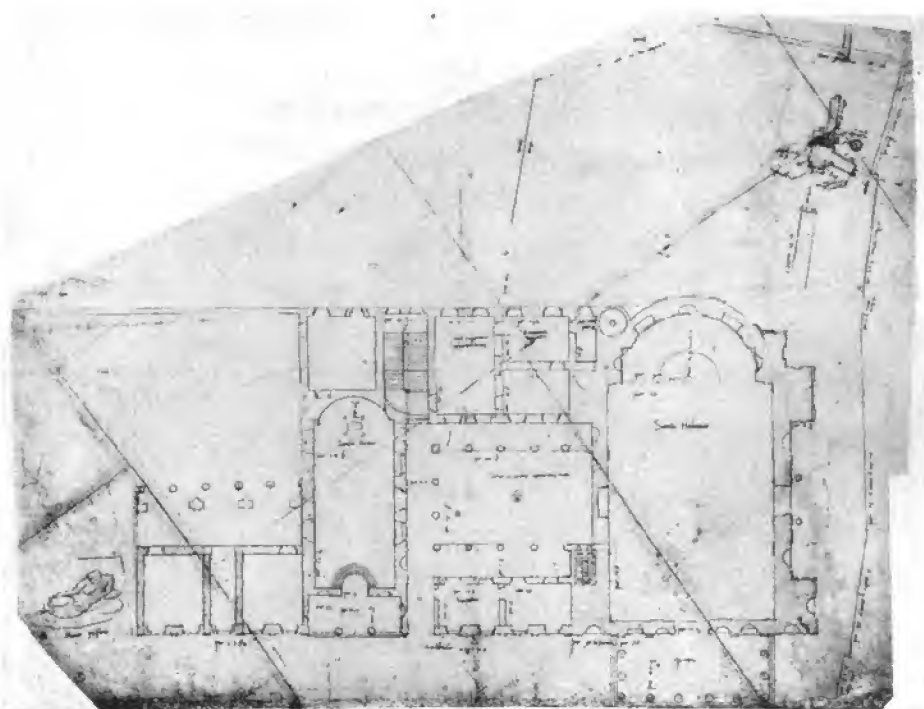


Fig. 74. SS. Martina e Luca, B. Peruzzi,  
Plan of SS. Martina e Luca and S. Adriano

(Uffizi, dis. arch. 625)

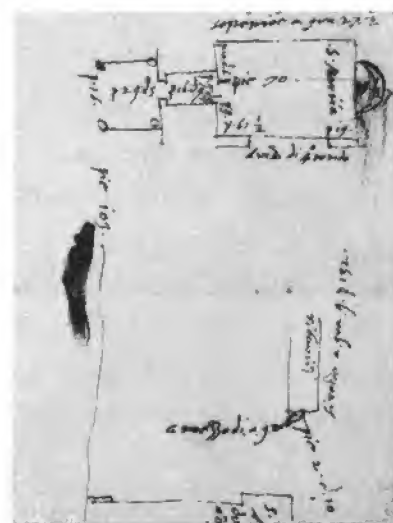


Fig. 75. SS. Martina e Luca,  
S. Peruzzi, Sketch plan

(Uffizi, dis. arch. 649)

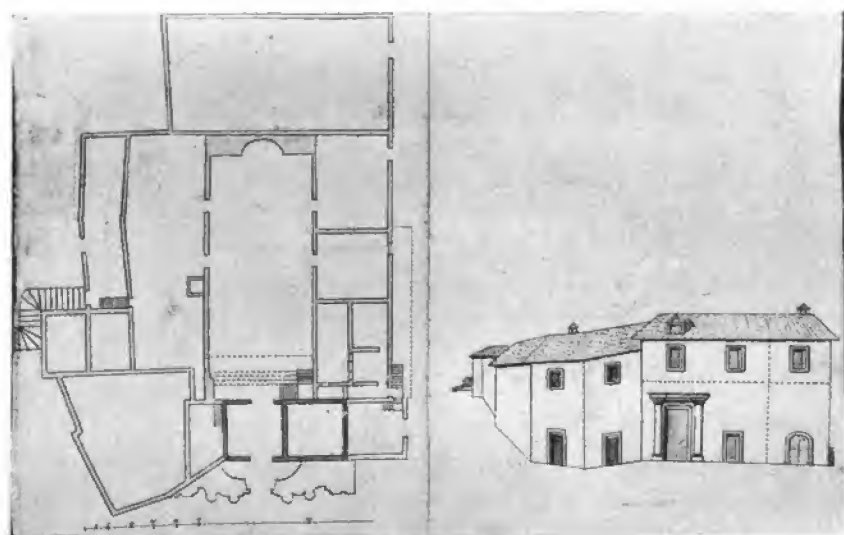


Fig. 76. SS. Martina e Luca, Anonymous,  
Plan and exterior, 1635

(Milan, Castello Sforzesco, Racc. Bertarelli I 25a; courtesy of Professor E. Hubala)

or doors pierced the east flank toward S. Adriano. The plans are not, however, in agreement about the dimensions of the church. The anonymous plan is scaled in *palmi* and shows the hall to be 23.40 m. (105 *palmi*) long by 10.03 m. (45 *palmi*) wide. Sangallo notes the dimensions as 23.19 m. (81½ plus 22½ *palmi*) long by 8.92 m. (40 *palmi*) wide and Baldassare Peruzzi as 21.38 m. (62½ *piedi* plus 11 *piedi*) long by 8.34 m. (28½ *piedi*) wide. Sallustio Peruzzi's plan agrees for the most part with his father's except that the portico he draws is like that of Sangallo.

Certain other details of the plans vary. The opening of the apse in the anonymous drawing is 3.79 m. (17 *palmi*) wide. Sangallo and B. Peruzzi show apses 8.02 m. (36 *palmi*) and 5.47 m. (25 *piedi*) wide respectively. The Anonymous has two doors in the east flank while B. Peruzzi has one small door; finally, Sangallo draws a large opening labeled "questo è uno arco grande aperto va fino al tetto". S. Peruzzi also has a large opening, labeled "arco di 4° tondo". Possibly, then, the large arch was walled up and one or two small doors were arranged in the blocking. Generally speaking, where the Anonymous conflicts with the other plans it must be considered the most accurate because of its straightforward, unimaginative presentation.

The two flanks of the church, as shown by the sixteenth century surveys, were built of huge

travertine blocks, which suggest a date of construction possibly in the first and certainly not after the early years of the second century A. D. On the other hand, the two façade elevations show that by the sixteenth century the façade was a rather undistinguished brick structure. It was connected to the adjacent façades in such a way that its limits were ambiguous. Three windows pierced the upper story, and the entrance portal, at least by 1635, was flanked by two columns.

Neither the plans nor the descriptions give any indication whether, or how, the structure was altered when it was converted into a church. The plan and the walls apparently remained unchanged. Whatever ecclesiastical furniture may have existed remains unknown. The pavement of the church must have been of various marble fragments; an inscription from one fragment was copied in the renaissance<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> *C. I. L.*, VI, no. 2004.

## S. MARTINO AI MONTI

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(R. Krautheimer, S. Corbett)\*

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## B. — ANCIENT DESCRIPTIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

### I. DESCRIPTIONS

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#### b) THE ROMAN STRUCTURE ADJACENT TO THE CHURCH

- FILIPPINI, *op. cit.*  
 ARINGHI, *loc. cit.*

#### c) THE ROMAN STRUCTURE AND THE CHURCH AFTER 1637<sup>1</sup>.

- DE LEZANA, *loc. cit.*  
 MELLINI, *Dell'Antichità di Roma*, Vat. lat. 11905, f. 143 ff.  
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 STEVENSON, notes on visit to the site, June, 1891, *Schedario*, Vat. lat. 10553, c. 91<sup>v</sup> f.

### II. ILLUSTRATIONS<sup>2</sup>

- end of XV cent. CRONACA, Column, pilaster with rinceaux decoration and marble chair "a santo martino de' monti", pen and ink; Uffizi, dis. arch. 161<sup>v</sup> (BARTOLI, *Monumenti*, I, pl. XV, fig. 32).
- 1491 ANONYMOUS ESCURIALENSIS, View of nave and apse from Araceli, pen and ink; Escorial, 28-II-12, f. 40<sup>v</sup> (EGGER, *Codex Escurialensis* [*Sonderschriften Oesterr. Archäol. Inst.*, IV], Vienna, 1906, I, pl. IV; EGGER, II, 104).
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- 1625 MAGGI, View of the church showing façade and right flank, engraving; Map of Rome (ed. EHRLE, 1915); FRUTAZ, *Piante di Roma*, II, pl. 310.
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- 1637-52 GAGLIARDI, Sketch for remodeling nave walls, pen and ink; Uffizi, dis. arch. 3084 (MOSCHINI, *op. cit.*, p. 193, n. 2).
- 1651 ARINGHI, Sectional view of the adjacent Roman building marked "Thermae Titianae, postea Domitianae, ac Traianae a S. Silvestro Divino Cultui dicatae" also showing a mosaic pavement design and several chancel screens, engraving; *Roma Subterranea*, p. 381 (our fig. 82).

<sup>1</sup> A manuscript by G. POUYARD (1823), *I monumenti esistenti in S. Martino e memorie storico-critiche della chiesa ...* formerly existed in the church archives, but seems to have been lost by 1912; see SILVAGNI, *op. cit.*, p. 332, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> We omit several views taken from a distance, such as EGGER, II, 70, 108, 111. For a list of copies after the mosaics, see WAETZOLDT, *Kopien*, p. 53 f.

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- 1866 NESBITT, Window transennae and mosaic pavement in Roman building, woodcuts; *op. cit.*, p. 181 and pl. XI, 4.
- ca. 1870 F. CICONNETTI, Ground plans of (a) basilica and monastery, (b) crypt and titulus, photographs; Rome, British School, Parker collection, no. 226.
- ca. 1870 J. H. PARKER, View of the northwest corner of the titulus, (our fig. 102), View of the east side of the garden which lay south of the titulus, Detail of a brick arch in the titulus, photographs; Rome, British School, Parker collection, nos. 1325, 1326, 1341.
- before 1930 ANONYMOUS, Survey of "Titulus Aequitii in S. Martino ai Monti". Two sectional drawings preserved in the Centro di Studi per la Storia dell'Architettura (our figs. 101 a, b).

### C. — DATES

- 314—334 Pope Sylvester finds a church near the Baths of Domitian on the property of the priest Equitius, endowing it with landed property, twelve chandeliers, a gold chalice and many other liturgical vessels: "Hic fecit in urbe Roma ecclesiam in praedium cuiusdam presbiteri sui, qui cognominabatur Equitius, quem titulum romanum constituit, iuxta terras Domitianas, qui usque in hodiernum diem appellatur titulus Equitii..." (L.P. I, p. 170 f.). A second passage in the *Liber Pontificalis*' biography of Sylvester refers to the foundation as the *titulus Silvestri*, listing additional gifts of land, chandeliers, and vessels by the emperor Constantine: "Hisdem temporibus constituit beatus Sylvester in urbe Roma titulum suum in regione III iuxta thermas Domitianas qui cognominantur Traianas, titulum Silvestri, ubi donavit Constantinus Augustus ... (follows list of gifts) ... Obtulit et omnia necessaria titulo Equiti" (L.P. I, p. 187; See also p. 188, n. 4, and p. 200, n. 119).
- 498—514 The *Liber Pontificalis*, in its final version, refers to the construction of a basilica supposedly dedicated to Saints Sylvester and Martin near the Baths of Trajan, by Pope Symmachus, who donates a silver *tyburium*, twelve silver arches and a silver *confessio*: "Intra civitatem Romanam, basilicam sanctorum Silvestri et Martini a fundamento construxit iuxta Traianas..." (L.P. I, p. 262). However, the excerpt of the *Liber Pontificalis* which was composed in the time of the anti-pope Laurentius (514-519), the *Fragmentum Laurentianum*, speaks only of a church dedicated to Saint Martin, adjoining S. Silvestro "Hic beati Martini ecclesiam iuxta sanctum Silvestrum Palatini illustri viri pecuniis fabricans et exornans, eo ipso instante dedicavit" (L.P. I, p. 46 and 267 f., n. 35).

<sup>1</sup> For the date when SEROUX D'AGINCOURT's *Histoire de l'Art* was prepared, see his preface, *op. cit.*, I, p. 8, and his *collectanea*, Vat. lat. 9839-9849.

<sup>2</sup> For the dating of the drawings of *Édifices*, see above, Vol. II, p. 5, n. 7.



- 499 The Roman synod of 499 is attended by the presbyters Felix, Adeotatus and Sebastianus “*tituli Aequiti*” (M.G.H. *Auct. Antiq.* XII, pp. 411, 413).
- 595 At the synod of 595, the presbyters Laurentius and Iohannes represent the clergy “*tituli sancti Silvestri*” (M.G.H., *Epistolae*, I, p. 366 f.).
- 625—638 The *Liber Pontificalis* refers to the church of S. Silvestro in connection with the rebuilding of S. Lucia in Orfea (i.e., in Selci): “... *fecit ecclesiam beatae Luciae iuxta sanctum Sylvestrum*”. (L.P. I, p. 324).
- 772—795 Under Pope Hadrian I, the “*basilica beati Silvestri... in Orfea*” is in ruins. Therefore, a new roof is installed, and the entire church is restored: “*Necnon et basilicam beati Silvestri confessoris atque pontificis sita in Orfea, quae iam in ruinis posita erat et tectum eius erutum exstebat, facto eodem tecto, a noviter ipsam ecclesiam renovavit*” (L.P. I, p. 505). Hadrian also restores the church of S. Martino adjacent to the “*titulus sancti sylvestri*”: “*Ecclesiam beati Martini sitam iuxta titulum sancti Silvestri... renovavit*” (L.P. I, p. 507). Ugonio, *Stationi*, c. 255 saw a chancel screen inscribed “*Hadriani praesulis opus...*” but it is not a secure reference to Hadrian I. In his letter to Charlemagne dealing with the controversy over the use of images in the churches, Hadrian I mentions mosaic decorations in the basilica of Sylvester: “... *Silvestri, Marci et Juli, mire magnitudinis sanctas eorum ecclesias apud nos sunt depictas, tam in musivo quamque in ceteris historiis cum sacris imaginibus ornatas*” (M.G.H., *Epist. Karol. Aevi*, III, p. 49).
- End of the VIII cent. The Einsiedeln itinerary mentions two churches, “*Sci. silvestri*” and “*Sci martini*” near “*S. Lucia in Ortheo*” (LANCIANI, *It. Einsidlensis*, col. 444).
- 795—816 Leo III donates two textiles and two silver crowns to the “*diaconia Sancti Silvestri et Sancti Martini*”, here so designated for the first time (L.P. II, p. 12 and p. 41, n. 64).
- 827—844 Pope Gregory IV gives to the church of S. Martino a textile decorated with lions and trees (L.P. II, p. 76).
- 844—847 Finding the older structure in a ruinous condition<sup>1</sup> Pope Sergius II reconstructs the church of S. Martino in its entirety, burying within it the relics of many saints taken from the cemeteries. Sergius provides stained glass for the windows in the apse, marble carvings for the chancel, and a silver ciborium supported by four porphyry columns: “*Fecit in apsidam fenestras quas ex vitro et diversis coloribus decoravit, sed et presbiterium ex marmoribus sculptis... ornavit. Fecit... ciborium ex argento purissimo cum columnis quatuor porphyreticis*” (L.P. II, p. 93). In addition he contributes silver and gold crowns, crosses, lighting fixtures, the latter “*pendentes ante vestibulum sacri altaris*” (L.P. II, p. 94), and textiles, including two sets of twenty-four curtains each for the intercolumniations (“... *quae pendent in arcus ipsius basilicae*”) and four for the altar canopy (“... *ex quibus sacrum circumdatur altari*”). The pope also constructs a monastery dedicated to Saints Peter, Paul, Sergius, Bacchus, Sylvester and Martin (see also FERRARI, *Monasteries*, p. 299 ff.) for the monks serving the newly built adjoining church: “*Ecclesia etenim beatissimi Martini... quae quondam priscis aedificata temporibus, nimio iam lassata senio, ita ut a fundamentis caesura ruinam sui minaretur... in alio non longe demutans loco, in meliorem eam quam dudum fuerat erexit statum. Hic... pontifex... in iamdicta venerabili ecclesia fecit in absidam fenestras, quas ex vitro et diversis coloribus decoravit... Hic... beatissimus papa... monasterium in honore beati Petri apostoli ac Pauli, Sergii et Bachii, sanctique Silvestri et Martini a fundamentis construxit...*” (L.P. II, pp. 93-96). As DUCHESNE (*ibid.*, p. 567 f.) points out, only one version of the *Liber Pontificalis*, perhaps through a copying error, includes the expression “*in alio non longe demutans loco*”, denoting alteration of the church’s location. An inscription “*Salvo Domino Nostro Beatissimo Sergio Papa iuniore*” was read by UGONIO on one of the pulpits (*Stationi*, 1588, c. 253<sup>v</sup>).
- 847—855 The decoration of the church erected under Sergius II is continued under Pope Leo IV, who provides mosaics and wall paintings and silver panels for the altar (L.P. II, p. 131). Likewise the institution of the monastery may have been completed by him. A mosaic inscription, formerly on the apse wall “... *litteris aureis sive opere musaico triplici circulo in circuito parietis supra summum altare*” (ALBERTINI, *Mirabilia Romae*, Rome, 1513, c. f. VI f.) commemorated the gifts of both popes: “*Sergius hanc caepit praesul quam cernitis aulam || cui moriens nullum potuit*

<sup>1</sup> This official version is contradicted in the attack on the pope’s brother appended to Sergius’ biography which maintains that the church of S. Martino was destroyed only so as to allow the brother to enrich himself: «*destruxerat namque... ecclesia.. beati Martini quae fuerat opera mirabile antiquitatis constructa ut sub praetextu iustius delectionis et readificationis liberius valerat depraedationes in ecclesias et in populis peragere*» (L. P. II, p. 98).

*conferre decorem | Sed mox papa Leo quartus dum culmina sumpsit | romanae sedis, divino tactus amore | perfecit sollers melius quam ante manebat | atque pia totam pictura ornavit honeste | coenobiumque sacrum statuit monachosque locavit | qui Domino assiduas valeant persolvere laudes...*" (DE ROSSI, *Inscriptiones*, II, p. 437; "IN Apside..."; see, also FERRARI, *loc. cit.*).

- 1201 A pulpit, now lost, was donated by Cardinal Uguccione according to an inscription read by UGONIO (*Stationi*, 1588, c. 254<sup>v</sup>).
- 1211—1227 Mural decorations in the chapel of S. Silvestro on an upper floor of the monastery are donated by Cardinal Guala Bicchieri (VIELLIARD, *op. cit.*, p. 113 ff.).
- XIII cent. Catalogue of relics transferred to the church, supposedly by Sergius II, preserved in a seventeenth century reproduction of a thirteenth century inscription; now affixed to the wall of the crypt (SILVAGNI, *op. cit.*, p. 108 ff.).
- XIV cent. The church is listed as being served by the Carmelite order (*Cat. Taurin.* " ... habet fratres XV ordinis Carmelitani ": see HÜLSEN, *Chiese*, p. 32, n. 156, and VALENTINI-ZUCCHETTI, *Cod. Topografico*, III, p. 301).
- 1555—1559 In the pontificate of Paul IV, Cardinal Diomedes Caraffa restores the church, which was "in a ruinous state" (UGONIO, *Stationi*, 1588, c. 255<sup>v</sup>); restoration commemorated in inscriptions above the doorway of the atrium (now lost) and on the wall of the left aisle (UGONIO, *Barb. lat.* 2160, f. 123; FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, IV, p. 10 ff.; PANCIROLI, *Tesori nascosti*, 1600, p. 621).
- 1559—1564 In the pontificate of Pius IV, S. Carlo Borromeo provides for a new coffered and gilded ceiling (PANCIROLI, *Tesori nascosti*, 1600, p. 621; UGONIO, *Stationi*, 1588, c. 255<sup>v</sup>).
- 1575 The main entrance doorway is embellished, and the apse paintings are restored at the expense of Cardinal Gabriele Paleotto (UGONIO, *Stationi*, 1588, c. 255<sup>v</sup>; PANCIROLI, *Tesori nascosti*, 1600, p. 621); inscription commemorating these works above the main doorway (FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, IV, p. 13).
- 1587 A doorway is inserted at the north end of the right aisle (FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, IV, p. 13).
- 1642—1655 The church is entirely remodeled under the direction of the prior Giovanni Antonio Filippini, bringing the ancient structure believed to be the "titulus Sylvestri" to light. The redecoration of the church is entrusted to Filippo Gagliardi, who executed the paintings on the upper walls of the nave and in the aisles, and to the sculptor Paolo Naldini (TITI, *Ammaestramenti...*, 1686, p. 218; IDEM, *Descrizione delle pitture*, 1763, p. 243; SUTHERLAND, *op. cit.*, *passim.*); inscription: "... FR:IO: ANT: PHILIPPINVS ROM: HIBERNIAE PROVINCIALIS ET HVIVS COENOBII M. PRIOR / ILLIVS HABITATIONEM VETERIBVS MVTATIS AEDIFICIIS NOVISQ ADDITIS COMMODIOREM REDDIDIT / HORTVI RVDERIBVS EGESTIS COMPLANATVM MVRO DIVISIT ET PERENNI AQVA DITAVIT / EIVSDEM COENOBII ANNVOS PROVENTVS EX PVNCTO AERE ALIENO MVLTIPICITER AVXIT / ANTIQVISS. S. SILVESTRI ECCLESIAM QVAE PER MVLTIA SECVLA INCOGNITA DELITVERAT NOVAM IN LVCEM EDVXIT / ET PVBLICAE FIDELIVM VENERATIONI EXPOSVIT / HVIVS AVTEM ECCLESIAE LACVNAR MVLTIS IN LOCIS LACERV M RESTITVIT / PLATEAM ANTE MINOREM PORTAM PICTVRIS DECORATAM APERVIT / SACRARIVM AMPLIATIV AC MVLTIPlici SVPPELLECTILE INSTRVXIT / ODEV M HOC IN ADITV VERSICOLORIBVS VALVIS ET PVLCHRORI ORNATV CONCLVSIT / INTVS VERO DELETIS VETVSTIS AEO DETVRPATIS PICTVRIS NOVISQ ELEGANTIORIBVS INDVCTIS / IN FORMAM MVLTIO QVAM ANTEA DECENTIOREM REDEGIT / AN. SAL. MDCXLII. VRBANI VIII. PONT: MAX: XIX " (FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, IV, p. 21).
- The work in the main part of the church appears not to have been finished before 1650 (*Ibid.*, p. 22). Work on the crypt probably began in that year to judge from an inscription in the confessio: "HOC QVODCVMQVE SPECTAS INFERIORIS SVBSTRVCTIONIS F. IO. ANT. PHILIPPINVS... POST SVPERIVS TEMPLVM NOBILITATVM EXCITAVIT ... *Ibid.*, p. 23). The crypt was finished in 1655 (*Ibid.*; see also HUBALA, "Roma Sotterranea barocca...", *Das Münster* 18 (1965), p. 157 ff.).
- 1652 A document, quoted in full by DE LEZANA (*op. cit.*, p. 573) records the discovery of the confessio beneath the old high altar.
- 1676 Francesco Scannapieco continues the restoration of the church after Filippini's death, renovating the façade (FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, IV, p. 25; PANCIROLI-POSTERLA-CECCONI, *op. cit.*, 1725, p. 99).
- 1775 Cardinal Francesco Saverio Zelada provides for the renewal of the pavement and restoration of the choir; inscription in the sacristy (FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, IV, p. 31).
- 1879 Partial collapse of the titulus building, adjoining the church (VIELLIARD, *op. cit.*, p. 34).
- 1891 The nave roof is restored and the walls slightly heightened (CROSTAROSA, *op. cit.*, p. 201 f.). The

remodeled ceiling includes the arms of Pope Pius IV and an inscription of S. Carlo Borromeo, by whom it was originally installed, together with the arms and inscription of G. A. Filippini and the date 1650, relating to the preceding restoration<sup>1</sup> (STEVENSON, Vat. lat. 10553).

**1927—1930** Monastery buildings to the west of the basilica are remodeled and the titulus restored, after the demolition of its upper stories (VIELLIARD, *op. cit.*, *passim*).

**1960—1961** The monastery is again remodeled.

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<sup>1</sup> See above, digs. 1559-1564 and 1642-1650.

## D. GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The church of S. Martino ai Monti stands near the summit of the Oppian Hill, a spur of the Esquiline, with its axis lying in a southeast-northwest direction<sup>1</sup>. The entrance façade, nearest the hill crest, faces Via delle Sette Sale and Viale Monte Oppio; behind it, the nave stretches out on a long artificial platform, increasing in height with the descent of the terrain until, at the opposite end of the church, the original floor level was nearly 7 m. above ground. The apse faces Via Giovanni Lanzi and the Torre dei Cappocci. On the west side of the church lies the Roman structure which is traditionally identified with the *Titulus Equitii*; its floor level is almost 10 m. lower than that of the church. Above the Roman structure and also extending southwards along the west side of the basilica, stand the buildings of the convent. The latter may originally have been built — and in any case was used as a residence — by Cardinal Guala Bicchieri<sup>2</sup>. The Romanesque core of the building is concealed by many later additions and alterations, the latest dating from 1960-1961. A low mezzanine story over the Roman vaults brings the floor level roughly to that of the church, and this mezzanine is surmounted by three upper stories. At the level of the church, the southwest corner of the monastery building, above compartment C of the Roman building (pl. III), was formerly occupied by a frescoed chapel dedicated to saint Sylvester<sup>3</sup>, but this chapel was finally demolished in 1927. Until recently, the ground to the south of the Roman building was an open garden on the east side of which stood that wing of the monastery which flanks the church and now extends southwards beyond the church façade to form the west flank of the open forecourt. Originally the atrium of the basilica occupied the site of this forecourt.

On the exterior, the church displays much of its ninth century structure unchanged, notably in the apsed north wall, the east clerestory wall (figs. 77, 78, 79) and the side wall of the east aisle in its lower courses. The façade, with its double order of composite pilasters, is dated 1676 but the door frame survives from an earlier period and bears the date 1575. At the north end of the east aisle (fig. 77) a flight of thirty-four<sup>4</sup> steps ascends from Via Giovanni Lanza to the north doorway, which also has a sixteenth century frame inscribed with the name of Cardinal Paleotto and the date 1587. It is evident that the doorway is now 0.60 m. higher than it was originally, the extra height being gained by means of plinths at the base of each jamb. Paleotto's arms decorate the leaves of the door but the top panels are dated 1676.

Inside the church the original structure is overlaid with the sumptuous seventeenth century decorations which were started under Filippini in 1642 and completed by his successor, Scannapicco (fig. 80). On each side of the nave, twelve Corinthian columns, with shafts of various kinds of marble, stand on rectangular plinths, 0.60 m. high. According to Corsi<sup>5</sup>, two of the column shafts are *cipollino*, five are *pavonazetto*, six are *bigio* and eleven are *imezio* marble. The *cipollino* shafts are the first and third on the right side. Four of the *pavonazetto* shafts are in the left colonnade, one in the right. The shafts which Corsi calls *bigio* are probably a dark grey, heavily veined marble from Teos; two of them are the last columns on each side and the other four stand near the middle of the left colonnade. The eleven shafts of "*imezio*" are really Thasos marble<sup>6</sup>. The cap-

<sup>1</sup> For brevity, we describe the building as though the apse faced due north.

<sup>2</sup> BERTELLI, *op. cit.*, p. 339 and n. 14.

<sup>3</sup> See above p. 91, dig. 1211-1227. The paintings, recorded by WILPERT, *Mosaiken*, 1917, p. 335 ff., have disappeared.

<sup>4</sup> Formerly there were fewer steps than at present; LETAROUILLY shows only sixteen, apparently preceded by a ramp (*Edifices*, 1856, III, pl. 252).

<sup>5</sup> CORSI, *Delle pietre antiche*, Rome, 1845, p. 304.

<sup>6</sup> Data kindly provided by Dr. M. H. Ballance, Eton College.



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 77. S. Martino ai Monti, Exterior of church from The north

itals seem to be Roman spoils and their extraordinarily perfect appearance is probably due to restoration in stucco. The first four capitals on either side of the nave are composite; the other eight are Corinthian and of these the four nearest the high altar are gilded. At each end the colonnades terminate in long end piers decorated with pilasters, the latter resting on the pavement and not on plinths like the free-standing shafts. The colonnades are trabeated and are crowned by stucco entablatures. Emblems drawn from the Old Testament, from the Tree of Life to Jonah's Whale, decorate the stucco frieze on the right hand side; that on the left depicts instruments of martyrdom. The end wall, above the entrance doorway, shows Filippini's coat of arms and an inscription of Innocent X commemorating the

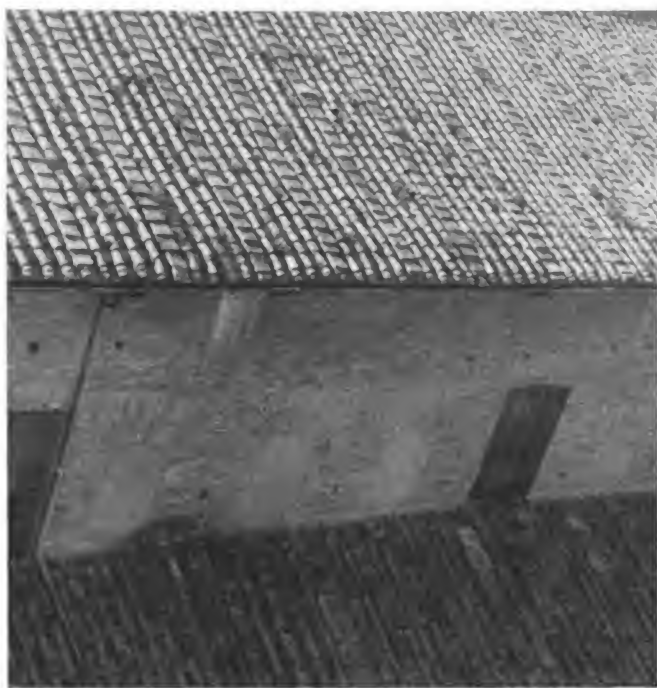


(Photo: Sansaini)

Fig. 78. S. Martino ai Monti, East clerestorey



completion of the interior decorations in 1650<sup>1</sup>. Above the entablatures the clerestorey walls are divided by pilasters into thirteen bays filled alternately with architectural perspective paintings, statues in niches and window openings<sup>2</sup>. The bays with windows are accentuated by small cantilevered tribunes for choirs, and the central bay on each side is further emphasised by the extra width of its window and by small columns. Obviously, Borromini's remodeling of the nave at the Lateran (1645-1650) inspired many of these features. The nineteenth century coffered ceiling, severe in outline but including more flamboyant elements from two earlier ceilings, hangs a little incongruously over the Baroque splendor of the nave walls, while the nineteenth century modeling and painting of the panels in the apse and apse front also strike a slightly discordant note.



(Photo: Toesca)

Fig. 79. S. Martino ai Monti, East clerestorey, windows eight to twelve



(Photo: Anderson)

Fig. 80. S. Martino ai Monti, Interior of nave

<sup>1</sup> FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, IV, p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> SUTHERLAND, *op. cit.*

Flights of steps beside the colonnades lead up to the high platform in the apse and forechoir, where the high altar stands. Between the stairs and in front of the altar a large open *confessio* is sunk; it develops at the back into a huge Baroque hall crypt which occupies the entire area of the apse and comes forward into the nave for the space of four intercolumniations. A flight of eighteen steps on the center line of the church descends to this crypt-confessio, 3.60 m. below the level of the nave. The crypt walls are decorated with engaged columns and revetted with plaster, painted to represent marble and embellished with Filippini's crest, a double-headed eagle. The inscription on the altar records the completion of the decoration in 1655.<sup>1</sup> The platform of the choir and high altar are supported over this spacious crypt by groin vaults which rest on clusters of columns and piers. Near the center of the crypt, immediately underneath the high altar, a small rectangular chamber containing relics is suspended from the vaulting, supported on two stout piers and two columns. An iron barred *fenestella* in the north side of this chamber reveals its carved marble lining and shows that it is a remnant of an earlier form of crypt.

It is clear that, behind all the Baroque overlay, the original structure of the church is preserved in its essentials. The shafts and capitals in the nave colonnades, and almost all the bases, remain from the original building. In Filippini's redecoration of the interior the nave floor level was lowered by 0.60 m., at which time the rectangular pedestals on which the columns now stand were created; presumably these were carved out of the foundation walls and revetted with the grey marble plaques which we now see. Those nearer the north end of the nave are decorated with Filippini's two-headed eagle. The lowering of the floor level is also manifest at the north doorway, with its additional plinths and attenuated proportion. At the main south door the 0.60 m. added to the height has been more successfully concealed, although it can be detected at the top of each jamb. The crypt-confessio probably takes the place of an annular crypt passage such as that which still exists at S. Marco and, while the original curved corridor has been swallowed up in the great Baroque hall-crypt, the relic chamber to which the corridor originally led is still preserved *in situ*, on top of supporting piers.

The adjoining Roman building to the west above which the medieval monastery was built, is oriented obliquely to the basilica. It is a brick-faced concrete structure dating originally from the early years of the third century. The nucleus of the building is a rectangular hall roofed with cross vaults which are supported on piers attached to the perimeter walls and on two central piers. The vaulting thus divides the hall into six bays, lettered C to H on our plans. (pl. III; figs. 81, 104). Other classical buildings stood to the east and west of the hall. The original entrance seems to have been in the north side through a wide archway preceded by a vestibule. The wedge-shaped plan of the latter is probably due to the oblique alignment of the adjacent street and it was probably this thoroughfare, or one at right angles to it, which subsequently dictated the orientation of the basilica.

In the Early Christian period, the six-bay hall and certain adjacent chambers became a Christian place of worship, or rather, as we shall presently see, *part* of such a place. In due course this Early Christian sanctuary was superseded by the basilica, which was built close to the hall but much higher up the steeply inclined hillside. The floor of the basilica is nearly 3 m. above the apex of the Roman vaults and, more surprising, 2 m. above the highest point of the natural ground level. The reasons for this expensive and apparently unnecessary superelevation are still obscure. It is doubtful if the six-bay hall continued to be used for church purposes after the ninth century basilica had been built; possibly, it was conserved merely as a substructure to support new buildings

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 91, dig. 1642-1653.

on the level of the basilica. This was certainly its role in the thirteenth century, when the ancient vaults were used as a platform for the monastery which was built at that time. Nevertheless, it is possible that two newly vaulted chambers to the west of the original hall were used, during the thirteenth century, as some sort of chapel or perhaps as a cemetery. In the later Middle Ages the six-bay hall seems to have been almost entirely forgotten and it was not until the seventeenth century that it was rediscovered and associated, rightly or wrongly, with the *titulus* which Pope Sylvester is reported to have established in the house of Equitius. The monument remained until 1870, when part of the thirteenth century superstructure was found to be in a dangerous state and was pulled down. Further adjustments were necessary in 1927-1930 but the importance of the basic Roman building and its medieval additions was recognized, and it has again been allowed to remain, being used once more as a platform for the erection of new monastic buildings.

## E. ANALYSIS

Our analysis of these complicated structures will be simplified if we anticipate our conclusions and deal with the different parts in chronological order, as follows: (1) the third and fourth century buildings which lie to the west of the basilica; (2) alterations made to these buildings in the Early Christian period, principally in the sixth century; (3) the Carolingian basilica which is still intact, although disguised internally by Baroque ornamentations (the basilica stands to the east of the Roman buildings but overlaps part of them); (4) alterations made to the Roman buildings in the Middle Ages when they were used as the substructure of a Romanesque monastery adjacent to the basilica.

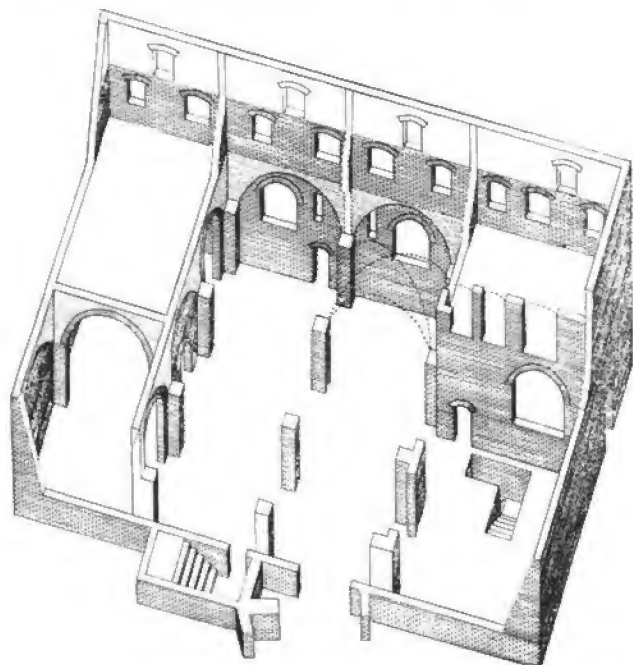
### 1. The Roman Buildings

#### a) THE VAULTED HALL

The central part of the Roman complex consists of a rectangular Hall, 17.20 m. by 14.20 m. on plan, roofed by six cross vaults which rest on ten piers engaged in the perimeter walls and on two free-standing piers in the middle. The six compartments so formed are distinguished on our plans by the letters D, E, F, G, H and K (pl. III; figs. 81, 104). Walls and piers are built of the usual Roman brick-faced concrete, laid in accurately horizontal courses with flush pointing. The two original piers are almost entirely enveloped in masonry of a later period and the brickwork can be seen at one point only, where a small opening has been left (fig. 91). Nevertheless, the size and shape of the piers can be deduced from the curvature of the vaults which they sustain and the wall piers which respond to them. The courses of the brickwork average 0.05 m. in height, or 6 courses to the R. ft., and the bricklayers' technique is typical of the Severan period. The same technique is found in the original parts of the perimeter walls (fig. 89 c). The vaults are made of concrete lined with a double skin of bricks cemented flat to the intrados — a common Roman technique intended to provide a good ground for plaster decoration, which will not adhere satisfactorily to cast concrete. Arches are faced with bipedals, set radially but not completing the full semicircle; that is to say, the arches are slightly segmental.

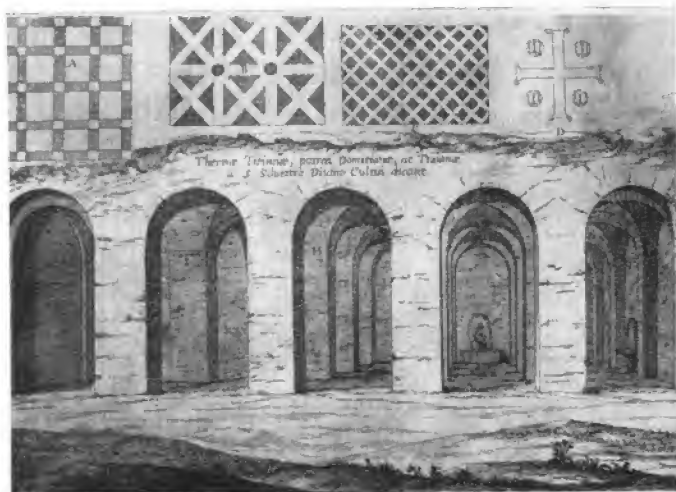
The perimeter walls present numerous problems. The eastern side has been extensively rebuilt and, in places, is concealed by later walls, but it is possible to see that the east side of compartment G had a wide arched opening which reached almost to the crown of the vault. The arch and the southern abutment are visible from the east (outer archivolt on the right hand side of fig. 90). We cannot tell whether this opening was originally an entrance to the Hall or merely a large window.

The east wall of compartement H can no longer be seen. The east side of K had another large opening, resembling that of G, and again we cannot be sure whether it was a window or an entrance to the Hall. The south façade was recorded by Vielliard when parts of it could be seen from the south side, during the reconstruction of the adjacent buildings, but his drawing of it (fig. 81), needs correction in at least one point. The façade does not continue to the east of the six-bay Hall to embrace compartment N as he shows it. It is true that a Roman wall 0.71 m. thick with its brick-



(Photo: Pont. Comm. di Arch. Sacra)

Fig. 81. S. Martino ai Monti, Vielliard, reconstruction of Roman Hall and upper story



(Aringhi, Roma Subterranea, 1650)

Fig. 82. S. Martino ai Monti, Roman Hall and chancel screens



(Musée Fabre, Montpellier)

Fig. 83. S. Martino ai Monti, Granet, Roman Hall, interior, 1820

work laid in a modulus of 6 courses to the R. ft. exists in that place, but it stands 0.60 m. to the south of the Hall façade. The south wall of compartment K had a doorway 1.0 m. wide at ground level and a large arched window about 2.0 m. wide, placed high up, with its apex rising almost to the vault intrados. There was also a tall opening in the upper part of the wall above the doorway; its purpose is unknown. Vielliard shows the south wall of the adjacent compartment (F) as having the same upper openings as K, but no doorway. According to Vielliard, the vaulting of compartments F and K was outlined on the south face of the wall with false relieving arches; these show that the wall was integral with the Hall, and not pre-existing, as the arrangement of the windows and door in compartments F and K might otherwise suggest. Vielliard's drawings also show windows in an upper story of the south wall. It appears that these illuminated a row of small rooms, corresponding with the bays of the ground floor. If these rooms were well proportioned, well lit and well ventilated, they could only have been so if the central part of the first floor (i. e., the portion which lay on top of bays E and H) was an open courtyard. The upper story and the external



face of the south wall can only have been visible briefly during the demolitions which enabled Vielliard to examine them, and only the inner face of the lower part of the wall in compartment G is now available for inspection. On the other hand, we have more precise knowledge of the west flank of the six-bay Hall. The west side of F retains intact a large archway reaching from the floor to the vault. At first it was almost as wide as the compartment but it was subsequently reduced in size. The walls of compartments D and E were removed in the medieval period, but from the cutting of the brickwork at the north west corner of D it is possible to ascertain that the west side of D formerly contained a large arched window, the sill of which lay a full 2.10 m. above the floor. The north side of compartment D is concealed internally by medieval and modern fillings, but from the outside one can see that it had a wide arched opening which led northwards into a triangular vestibule. In the adjacent compartment (G) most of the original north wall is still intact. There was no window, but a small doorway led to a staircase which was built against the north side of the wall. The steps are gone but the scar of the lowest flight is seen on the external wall face; presumably the steps led to the upper story, over the six-bay Hall, of which Vielliard noted the windows of the south façade.

To the west of the Hall, the south façade extends to form the south flank of an adjacent compartment (C) to which the archway in the west side of F gave access from the Hall. Only the south wall of C is bonded with the brickwork of the six-bay Hall; its north and west sides are additions, albeit not very much later, to judge from the style of the brickwork. The south wall had three archways, one wider than the other two, and two small windows above them. A stout cross arch which spans compartment C from south to north appears to be contemporary with the north wall of the chamber, but it encroaches on the two smaller openings in the south wall. The west side of the chamber had two openings, one a little wider than the other, while the north side had one large window in the western part and a narrow doorway with a small window above it near the northeast corner. The diminution of the archway leading to compartment F, effected by the insertion of new jambs and the archivolt, seems to be contemporary with the building of the north and west walls of C. The vaults which cover the chamber rest on the cross arch and on the north and west walls, and therefore cannot be as old as the south wall. The latest Roman feature in compartment C is an additional cross arch at the west end of the chamber. It spoils the symmetry of the vault and is obviously the product of a third phase of construction. Nevertheless, the brickwork is still of good classical style and likely to be no later than the end of the third century.

The walls of the six-bay Hall and its annex (C) were lined with white plaster decorated with painted panels. Most of the decoration has perished but copies were made in the seventeenth century and the vault of chamber C still retains a few traces. The original pavement of the Hall is partly preserved; it is of black and white mosaic arranged in a simple checkered pattern (A in fig. 82).

To the north of chamber C we find an area (A-B) bounded on the east by the Hall and on the other sides by two walls which meet, on plan, in a somewhat irregularly shaped curve (fig. 84). The upper part of these walls is of late medieval construction but at the base of the medieval structure we still find the remains of an earlier wall, faced internally with tufa and externally with *opus listatum* (fig. 85). The medieval piers which reinforce the upper part of the wall do not extend below the top of the earlier construction, showing that the few courses of tufa which we see at the base were below ground level when the medieval part of the wall was built. On the western side of A-B (fig. 84), the original tufa wall rises only about 0.30 m. above ground, but to the north the same masonry reaches a height of 3.20 m. Obviously, the remains of an ancient structure were reused by the medieval builders.

It is probable that the triangular vestibule on the north side of D was the original entrance





(Photo: Anderson)

Fig. 84. S. Martino ai Monti,  
Roman Hall, compartments A  
and B facing south, as of ca.  
1920



Fig. 85. S. Martino ai Monti,  
Roman Hall, compartment A,  
north wall, exterior

(Photo: Corbett)



(Photo: Anderson)

Fig. 86. S. Martino ai Monti,  
Roman Hall, compartments L,  
M, N facing east

of the six-bay Hall. Compartment D was illuminated by a large window in its western wall, the sill being 2.10 m. above ground level. We can only conjecture that the west side of the next compartment (E) had a similar window, while the southern compartment (F) had a broad archway which led into chamber C on its west side. Chamber C certainly had a large arched window in its north wall. These windows in C and D, and probably E, prove that the north western bay (A-B), with its curved perimeter wall of tufa, was a courtyard. A flight of steps leads down from this courtyard to a vaulted cellar which has not yet been fully explored, underneath the six-bay Hall. The east wall of the Hall probably had large windows, corresponding with those of the west wall. The space (L-M-N) to the east, which Vielliard interprets as an original part of the vaulted building, seems more likely to have been an open court in its original form, but it was subsequently vaulted over to create compartments M and N, as will be shown below (fig. 86).

An early addition to the Hall is seen in two thick walls built of *tufelli*, one near the middle of the building and the other in the south east corner of bay H. The tufa masonry rests on top of the mosaic pavement and thus cannot have had any structural purpose. Possibly the walls are merely the remains of low masonry counters, such as might have been installed if the Hall was used as a market.

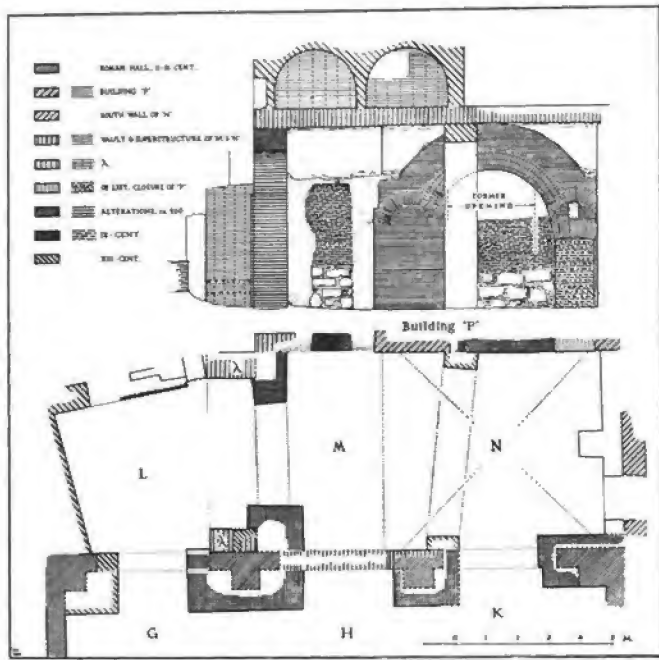


(Photo: Alinari)

Fig. 87. S. Martino ai Monti, Roman Hall, compartment M, east wall (i.e., including west wall of P)

#### b) BUILDINGS TO THE EAST OF THE HALL

At a distance of 6.20 m. from the east wall of the six-bay Hall we find the west side of a separate structure (P) which was originally independent of the Hall complex. Its brickwork is somewhat less regular than that of the Hall and the style seems to suggest a late third century date. Most of the building is buried beneath the substructures of the basilica and the only part that can be examined today is a portion of the west façade (now the east flank of compartment N) which is visible for a length of 7.15 m. between the northwest corner of the building and the point where it is concealed by a later cross wall (fig. 86, 87, 88). The brickwork is laid with a modulus of 5 courses to the R. ft. (fig. 89 a). Originally Building P seems to have been entered through a small doorway, now blocked up, at the southern end of the visible portion in its façade (the right hand extremity of the elevation in fig. 87). The doorway is 1.25 m. wide and is spanned by a shallow segmental brick arch, with a semicircular relieving arch above it. A small window, 0.30 m. by 0.50 m., pierces the lunette between the two arches. In the left hand part of the façade, at a distance of 3.80 m. from the doorway, we note a second relieving arch at the same level and of the same size as that of the doorway, but with no opening below it (fig. 88); apparently, it was included in the façade merely for the sake of symmetry to correspond with the real arch of the



(Drawing: Corbett)

Fig. 88. S. Martino ai Monti, Roman Hall, compartments L, M, N, plan and elevation facing east (i.e., west wall of building P), *opus listatum*

doorway. The brickwork of the façade which fills the second relieving arch is continuous with that which is below it and to the left, as far as the corner of building P, thus showing that the relieving arch had no structural role.

The interval of wall between the two small relieving arches is now spanned by a wide semi-circular arch of radially-set bipedals; this semicircular arch seems, from the way it intersects the two original relieving arches, to be a secondary insertion. Apparently it is the head of a wide opening which was cut through the wall of building P to supplement the original narrow doorway. The exact width of this secondary opening is unknown, as its only surviving jamb is hidden by a late medieval pier, but it cannot have had the full width of the arch which spans it since the original brickwork of P still extends a certain distance into the zone of the archway on the left hand side. It thus seems that the opening which the arch spanned was originally segmental in shape. A third alteration to the façade of building P took place when the segmental opening was further enlarged by the removal of its right hand jamb as far as the opening of the original doorway. This could only be done after the doorway

Fig. 89a.  
S. Martino  
ai Monti,  
Roman Hall,  
brickwork,  
building P



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 89b.  
S. Martino  
ai Monti,  
Roman Hall,  
*opus listatum*  
blocking doorway  
to building P



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 89c.  
S. Martino  
ai Monti,  
Roman Hall,  
brickwork a,  
third century



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 89d.  
S. Martino  
ai Monti,  
Roman Hall,  
brickwork c;  
south façade  
of vaulted Hall  
after rebuilding



(Photo: Corbett)



had been blocked up. The blocking was executed in *opus listatum* which still exists (fig. 89b). In the last stage of development the whole of the large opening in Building P was sealed up with the rough masonry which we see today; it has several courses of large tufa blocks at the base and, above this, the undulant brickwork which usually denotes ninth century building technique. Evidently this blocking wall dates from the period when Building P was finally abandoned and was sealed up in preparation for the building of the present basilica.

At a period which we associate with the building of the central arch and the segmental opening in the façade of Building P, the nearly square area which lies between P and the six-bay Hall was roofed over with a cross vault and at the same time, the area to the north of the cross vault was covered by a barrel vault.

Compartments M and N thus came into being (figs. 86, 87). At its northern end, the barrel vault of compartment M terminates at an archivolt with no contiguous cross wall. (Part of the archivolt is seen in the left hand part of fig. 90, where it is the outer of two nearly concentric arches; the lower arch is a later addition and will be discussed below). To the north of M, in the southern part of the area which we call L, we find the remains of two vertical piers ( $\lambda$ - $\lambda$ ) flanking the passage through which M is approached.



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 90. S. Martino ai Monti, Roman Hall, southwest corner of compartment L

The eastern pier rises almost to the level of the springing of the adjacent barrel vault; the western one has been cut down nearly to floor level and is now replaced by another pier of Romanesque masonry (fig. 90)<sup>1</sup>. The open end of barrel vault M suggests that the vaulted area M-N was originally meant to be entered from this side, and the two  $\lambda$  walls may be interpreted as the piers of some sort of gateway to the vaulted area, perhaps supporting a cross arch which has now disappeared. To the south of the  $\lambda$  piers the plan of the vaulting clearly divides area M-N into two distinct zones, the barrel vault at the northern end making an antechamber to the cross vaulted southern portion; this articulation is emphasized by the fact that the barrel vault is a few centimeters smaller in diameter than the cross vault, with the result that the two vaults are distinctly separated by a slight ridge. Thus, the passage between the  $\lambda$  piers combines with the axis of the barrel vault to create an avenue of approach to the cross vaulted area N. The cross vault obviously has the purpose of turning this avenue of movement to the right or left, probably to the left, where we find the enlarged entrance of Building P precisely aligned on the center of the cross vault. Thus the complex of  $\lambda$ , M and N seems to compose a kind of *pronaos* or antechamber, inserted in what was originally an open court to add dignity to the passage through which Building P was approached. It links P with L and whatever lay to the north of L, presumably a public street, and the cross vault of N is designed to convert the north-south axis L-M into an east-west axis N-P.

<sup>1</sup> The western  $\lambda$  pier was subsequently enclosed on two sides and part of a third side by sixth century masonry. When the pier was demolished, the sixth century masonry was left intact and in due course the Romanesque substitute was inserted into the space where the pier had been, with the puzzling consequence of an Early Christian wall apparently being built after a medieval one.

We are not yet able to explain the system by which the barrel vault of M was originally supported. Its western side must have been inserted into the wall of the six-bay Hall, although this detail has been destroyed by modern reinforcing walls. The east side of the barrel vault now rests partly on masonry which belongs to the period of the Carolingian basilica and partly on modern rubble work (fig. 87); we cannot, at present, reconstruct the antecedent features. The vertical "slots", seen on each side of the Carolingian pier in fig. 87, now filled with rubble, may hint at the possibility of a pair of columns engulfed in the basilica foundations and subsequently removed, but this is pure conjecture.

A brick wall and a projecting buttress form the south side of compartment N; both wall and buttress are inserted underneath the cross vault. The bricks are much smaller than those used in P, but the coursing is level and the average height (5.5 cm.) is about the same (fig. 89*d*). The wall may belong to the Early Christian period<sup>1</sup>, or it may be Romanesque. A modern aperture enables us to see that it is built up against a Roman wall, which is the original south flank of N. The same wall also occurs at a higher level, above the cross vault. It is the wall which Vielliard formerly took to be the continuation of the south side of the Hall, though it really is in a different plane. Another Roman wall is found above the vaulting of M-N in the same plane as the façade of building P but continuing for at least three meters beyond the northwest corner of P. These two walls, at right angles to one another and above the vault of M-N, obviously cannot be earlier than the vault, and we take them to be part of an upper story which was built at the same time as the vaulted approach to Building P. An extension of the same wall is traceable for about 11 m. to the south, incorporated in the structure of the present monastery (plate III).

Summarizing the development of the Roman buildings, as far as we have been able to follow it, we note two distinct phases of construction. In the first, we see the Hall of six vaulted bays with its western extension, chamber C, and a walled courtyard in the southwest corner of the site. There were other rooms in an upper story but we have insufficient data for reconstruction. To the east of the Hall lay a narrow court and, beyond it, Building P.

In the second phase, Building P is provided with a wider and more impressive entrance, and the space between it and the Hall is turned into a vaulted antechamber (M-N) connecting P with the street which presumably passed to the north of L. The entrance to the antechamber is marked by two piers  $\lambda$  which may have supported a cross arch. Rooms were built in an upper story above the vaults of M-N, and other walls, apparently of the same date, extended southwards. These improvements and extensions of Building P seem to belong to the fourth century. While the purpose of these third and fourth century structures is still extremely obscure, it must be observed that none of the developments so far outlined gives any indication of Christian occupation. On the other hand, there is no positive indication to the contrary.

## 2. The Early Christian Additions

Although the work of several different periods can be distinguished in the Hall and its annexes none is later than the middle of the fourth century. The phase of construction which we now have to consider also depends on technique of brick construction for its dating, but the brickwork in this case is so exceedingly uniform, and so distinct from that of other periods, that the program to which it relates is clearly distinguishable from the others. The impression received from a study of the building is that there was a long pause in structural development after the building of the vaults

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 105.





(Photo: Sansaini)

Fig. 91. S. Martino ai Monti, Roman Hall, central pier between compartments D, E; seen from the west



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 92a. S. Martino ai Monti, Roman Hall, one of the central piers, brickwork of envelope



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 92b. S. Martino ai Monti, Roman Hall, compartment N, south end, reinforcement, ca. 500 A.D.

over compartments M and N, followed by a radical transformation when the Hall and its annexes were prepared for a new role. For the sake of brevity, we have used the term Roman to denote the various stages of construction in the former period; the new developments which are now to be described will be called Early Christian. However, the former term must not be understood to exclude the possibility of Christian use during the Roman period.

In the Early Christian stage the appearance of the Hall was greatly changed. The two central piers were enveloped in a thick padding of new brickwork which increased their bulk enormously (fig. 91). Although the material of these enveloping walls is neatly assembled and the brick courses are horizontal, the bricks themselves are second-hand material and vary considerably in thickness (minimum brick: 2.8 cm., maximum: 3.3 cm.; minimum mortar: 1.9 cm., maximum: 3.2 cm.). The builders' intention seems to have been to build  $4\frac{1}{2}$  courses to the R. ft. or possibly, 5 courses to a Byzantine foot of 308 mm. But what chiefly distinguishes this masonry is the deep chamfering of the mortarbeds, which are troweled to a smooth and continuous surface in which the downward, inward slant gives great prominence to the horizontal coursing (fig. 92). By means of these brick envelopes, the original pillars of the Roman Hall were so effectively hidden that their size and form can be only approximately estimated. Nevertheless, the original piers cannot have exceeded 2.25 sq. m. in area whereas, in the new plan, the area covered by the northern pier is 7.80 sq. m. and by the southern pier, 9.60 sq. m. The enveloping walls rest on the mosaic pavement of the Hall, except in the two places where the masonry of the tufa "counters" intervenes, and

they reach upwards to touch the Roman vaulting, which they intersect without regard for the awkwardness of the resulting outline (fig. 91). A small rectangular niche, 0.75 m. wide and 2.0 m. high, was left in the west face of each new pillar, and the only place where the structure of the original pier can actually be seen is where the Roman brick face was allowed to form the back wall of the niche. On the east side of the Hall, the two wall piers which support the Roman vaulting were also enveloped in the same kind of brickwork, but no niches appear here. The envelope which surrounds the wall pier between compartments G and H is even bulkier than those of the center pillars, but that of pier H-K is smaller.

We disagree with the theory, generally held in the past, that the added masonry envelopes are a clumsy attempt to reinforce a building which was in danger of collapse. Several factors combine to show that this interpretation is erroneous. In the first place, the original piers must have been more than strong enough to support the weight of the vaulting, and also of any ordinary superstructure. Moreover, the vaults of compartments G, H and K, which the enlarged piers support, show no signs of settlement or cracking. Again, if the masonry was meant as reinforcement, it is strangely inefficient since it has no foundation, merely resting on the mosaic pavement of the Roman Hall. Moreover, the envelopes are unnecessarily massive for a structural role. Hence it is hard to escape the conclusion that these envelopes of brickwork were added for some non-structural reason and, when we consider an Early Christian church such as S. Maria Antiqua, the real reason becomes plain. We believe that the added masonry was designed merely to provide additional space for wall paintings.

Brickwork of the type which envelopes the four piers described above also occurs in the southwest corner of compartment N, partly blocking the opening between K and N (fig. 92b). Other supplementary piers, of the same unmistakable construction, are seen at the northwest and northeast corners of M; these are the features which partly hide the two  $\lambda$  piers. The south face of the pier at the northwest corner of M seems to be continuous with the face of the enlarged pier between compartments G and H. A problem arises here. If the whole southward-facing wall face between H and M was designed for the display of a single wall painting, how was the west side of the barrel vault over compartment M supported? The solution may be that, instead of being continuous, the wall face in question was really divided in two parts by a wall which separated H from M, as the barrel vault itself would indicate. Alternatively, the vault might have rested on a low archway which left the lower portion of the southward-facing wall face undivided. Some such feature could also find its complement in the puzzling arrangement of the opposite wall, below the eastern springing of the same vault<sup>1</sup>. Unfortunately, modern reinforcing walls make it impossible to elucidate these problems at present.

The piers at the northwest and northeast corners of compartment M are joined overhead by a brick arch which appears to support the pre-existing barrel vault although, as noted above, the vault is unlikely to have needed reinforcement and the archway is more likely to have been inserted for other reasons (figs. 87, 93). Another arch, constructed in exactly similar brickwork (fig. 90; right hand part), spans the opening between compartments G and L, lowering the apex of the former Roman opening (a window in the east wall of the Hall?) by about 1 m. Oddly enough, this arch springs from the plane of the Roman pier instead of from the face of the Early Christian envelope; possibly the arch had already been reduced in height before the enveloping walls were planned. Another archway of the same structural type reduces the height of the opening between D and G, but in this case the archivolt springs from the plane of the enveloping

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 104.



(Photo: Anderson)

Fig. 93. S. Martino ai Monti, Roman Hall, arch between M, L, seen from the south



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 94. S. Martino ai Monti, Roman Hall, arch between N, K, seen from the east

(Photo: Pont. Comm. di Arch. Sacra)



masonry. A third archway of the same characteristic brickwork reduces the height of the original archway which opened in the wall between compartments K and N (fig. 94). The original opening was probably a window but the second one was certainly a passageway, connecting K with N. The archivolt springs from the Early Christian pier in the southwest corner of compartment N, which is seen on the left in fig. 94; the opposite springing is hidden by a Romanesque arch which reinforces the vault of M-N.

Another Early Christian modification to the Hall that should be noted are two curious "pads" of masonry which occur high up, near the vaulting, on the east side of compartments H and K.

Fig. 95. S. Martino ai Monti, Roman Hall, compartment K, mosaic, St. Sylvester(?), ca. 500 A.D.

In each case, the additional thickness of wall is supported on horizontal timber beams. One of the rectangular niches thus formed frames the Early Christian archway which opens from K to N; the other one, in compartment H, surmounted the unknown feature — archway, rectilinear opening or solid wall — which lay between compartments H and M.

Finally, in this section, we must mention the small niche, 1.10 m. wide and 2.70 m. high, which was hacked into the south wall of compartment F. It is lined with a mosaic which, in spite of its lamentable condition, still depicts faintly a robed male figure bearing an object in his veiled hand (fig. 95). It is likely to represent Saint Silvester, one hand raised in benediction and the other holding a Bible, and it deserves expert cleaning and conservation.

### 3. The Carolingian Building

A short distance to the east of the complex which we have been considering, stands the Basilica of Saint Martin of Tours. Its left hand wall is only about 4 m. from the east side of compartment L; farther south its distance from compartment N is greater, since the two structures are differently oriented (pl. III). The basilica stands at a much higher level than the earlier buildings, the pavement of the nave being 2.60 m. above the crown of the vaults in the Roman six-bay Hall (pl. IV). Indeed, since in the seventeenth century the basilica floor was lowered by 0.60 m. in an attempt to improve the proportions of the nave, the original pavement of the basilica lay 9.30 m. above the mosaic floor of the Roman Hall. This great difference of level is only partly due to the natural steep fall of the ground towards the north and west; but even so, the basilica pavement was elevated at least 2.60 m. above the summit of the hill at its highest point. This superelevation is important because it hints at the presence of earlier buildings, hidden within the artificial platform on which the basilica stands, and deliberately preserved by the builders of the church.

To create the platform, the builders first set out a curved terrace wall, roughly U-shaped in plan. It consists of four courses of huge tufa blocks, each 0.60 to 0.70 m. high (fig. 96*a-f*), the masonry which we know as “Servian blocks”<sup>1</sup>. The point where this initial substructure dies into the hillside (fig. 96*b*) lies more or less in line with the north flank of the six-bay Hall, and at a distance of 37 m. from its northeast corner (fig. 96*c*). The apex of the curved wall is about 21 m. north of the same alignment. The ground enclosed by the U-shaped terrace wall was then filled in solid with other tufa blocks and a certain amount of brickwork in the interstices; this can be seen in the place where the platform was subsequently carved away to make room for the seventeenth century stairs which lead up to the present north doorway. Having built the U-shaped platform to a height of 2 m. above the hillside at its northern apex, the builders next proceeded to outline the plan of the projected basilica with another course of “Servian blocks”. The curve of the apse fits inside the apex of the “U” (fig. 96*d*), while the northeast corner of the right hand aisle extends slightly beyond it. The substructure had now reached a level which was about 4 m. below the floor of the projected nave and henceforward the walls were built principally of brick. An additional course of “Servian blocks” was however used at the base of the apse and in the southern part of the right hand aisle wall, where the rising ground made possible the handling of these large stones at a higher level. Near the south end of the right hand wall the “Servian blocks” extend beyond and engulf the remains of four pre-existing walls which stood across their line; one of these walls is faced with *opus incertum* (fig. 96*e*). They seem to be terrace walls of earlier periods, some of them possibly associated with the six-bay Hall complex or with an unknown structure still buried below the basilica.

<sup>1</sup> See above, Vol. II, p. 237.





(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 96a. S. Martino ai Monti, Ninth century basilica, foundation and rising wall of east aisle



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 96b. S. Martino ai Monti, Ninth century basilica, foundation and rising wall of southeast corner of aisle, near façade



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 96c. S. Martino ai Monti, Ninth century basilica, foundation and rising wall of northeast corner of aisle, near apse



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 96d. S. Martino ai Monti, Ninth century basilica, foundation wall and platform of apse



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 96e. S. Martino ai Monti, Ninth century basilica, north aisle, foundation incorporating remains of Roman walls



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 96f. S. Martino ai Monti, Ninth century basilica, right hand aisle

Above the "Servian block" construction, the brickwork of the basilica exhibits the usual characteristics of ninth century workmanship (fig. 96b, c, d, f). The bricks are almost all small fragments, quarried from the walls of classical buildings and varying considerably in thickness and color. Coursing is not horizontal, but wavering and undulating. Often the plane of the wall face is neither vertical nor straight, but it bulges and sags as though the builders were unacquainted with plumb bobs and masons' levels or, at any rate, were unskilled in the use of these simple tools. The lime and *pozzolana* mortar is struck off in the plane of the brick face with little attempt at troweling and is often smeared untidily across the brick surface. The proportion of brick to mortar varies. Near the ground we measure the height of ten courses as 0.50 m., or six courses to the R. ft.; half way up the apse it is 0.58 m., and in the clerestorey wall it is 0.62 m., corresponding to 5 and 4½ courses per R. ft. respectively. Evidently no uniform modulus was attempted, and



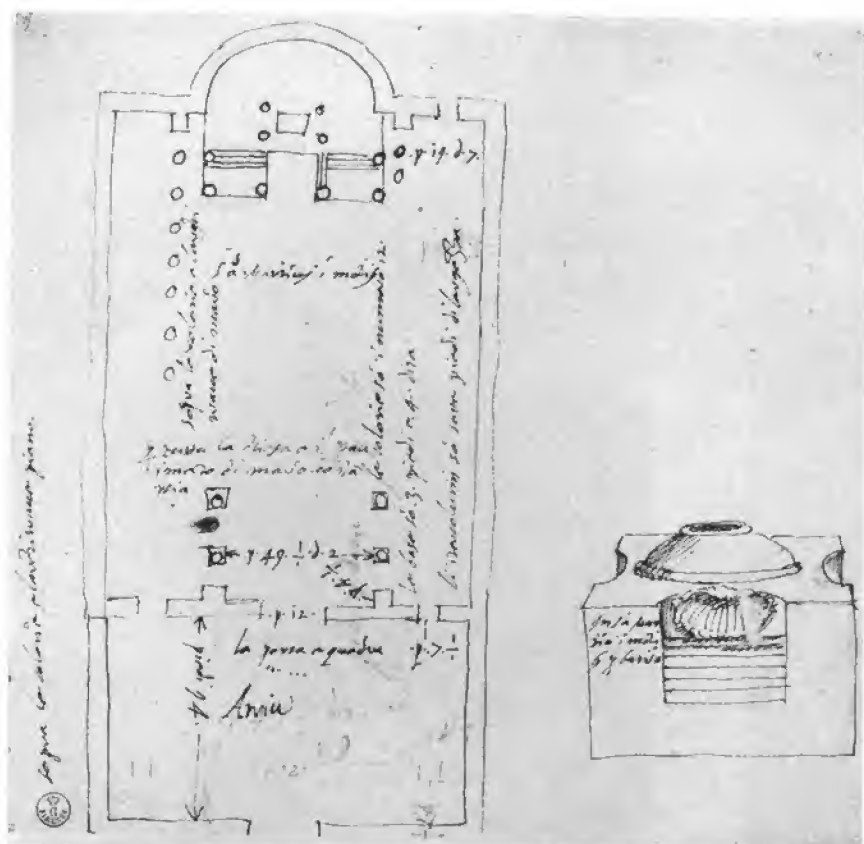
we surmise that the builders used more mortar and less brick as the height of the walls increased, merely because brick was the more costly of the two materials (fig. 79). They used very light scaffolding, and we note the small round holes which were left in the wall face when the scaffold beams were removed; many of the holes are only 0.06 m. in diameter, indicating round beams, probably made of saplings, little thicker than broomsticks. A few of the holes at S. Martino still retain the stumps of the original timbers. The best place to observe these characteristics is the exterior of the right hand clerestorey wall, in the attic above the aisle ceiling, where the brickwork has been protected by the aisle roof and retains its original appearance.

The church is a basilica, 41 m. long from the interior facade to the springing of the apse and 26.40 m. wide from aisle wall to aisle wall (pls. III, IV; figs. 79, 80). The nave has a clear width of 13.50 m., while the aisles including the colonnades are exactly half of that width. The present height of the nave is 16.00 m., but this includes a seventeenth century lowering of the floor by 0.60 m. A semicircular apse, 12.50 m. in diameter, projects from the northern end of the nave. The external walls of the aisles and the clerestorey walls are 0.65 m. thick. The facade wall is concealed inside and outside by Baroque plaster decoration, but the existence of the ninth century structure can be checked in the attic of the right hand aisle, where the original brickwork is identifiable. Twelve columns on each side of the nave support the clerestorey walls. The various materials of the columns have already been mentioned<sup>1</sup>. All the shafts are monoliths, measuring 4.70 m. in height and 0.60 m. in diameter. Some of the attic bases are of grey and black marble and a few are white. The bases now stand on square pedestals, 0.60 m. above the floor, but this is the result of the lowering of the floor level in the seventeenth century. The capitals are not uniform; the four nearest the south door are composite, the others Corinthian. The pair of composite capitals nearest the door have double tiers of acanthus leaves while the other six have single leaves; numerous other minor variations show that the capitals were gathered from several ancient buildings. They seem to be extremely well preserved for ancient spoils, but probably much of the detail is restored in *gesso*.

Peruzzi's sketch plan (fig. 97), made about 1550, notes the distance between columns as 7 *piedi*, or 2.08 m. "*le intercolumni so' sette piedi di larghezza*" which corresponds with the actual dimension, assuming *piedi Romani* of 0.297 m. He also notes the size of the bases as 0.98 m. "*le base so' 3 piedi e 4 dita*" which seems to be a mistake; most of them are about 0.90 m. Where Peruzzi writes the symbol *p* (as opposed to *piede* in full) he is using a *palm* of 27 cm. (the Neapolitan scale?), as can be calculated by comparing his two figured widths of the nave (p. 49½. d. 2 and p. 19 + p. 12 + p. 19) with the actual width of 13.50 m.

The architraves are hidden by Baroque plasterwork but Peruzzi saw them in the days before the decoration was applied and noted "*sopra le colonne e l'architrave piano*" and "*sopra le colonne e l'architrave di marmo*". This is confirmed by the brickwork of the clerestorey wall in the attic of the right hand aisle. No trace of any archivolt is to be seen there and we can be certain that the colonnades have always been trabeated. The timber beams of the lean-to aisle roof are supported on a row of travertine corbels, of *cyma* profile and coarse point-dressed finish. Each clerestorey wall had thirteen round-headed windows. They are still visible both on the west and on the east flank of the nave (figs. 78, 79), though on either side ten are blocked up and three have been replaced by Baroque openings; the sill level coincides with the crest of the aisle roof. Most of the original windows varied from 1.10 m. to 1.20 m. in width and 2.0 to 2.10 m. in height; the one closest to the façade on the west flank of the nave is, however, 1.50 m. wide, presumably because in the process of clockwise construction this was the place where the masons returned to their starting point.

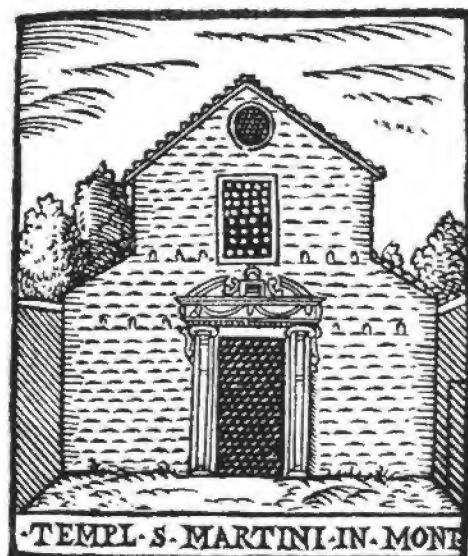
<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 93.



(Uffizi, dis. arch. 652)

Fig. 97. S. Martino ai Monti, Sallustio Peruzzi, Plan of basilica and Roman fountain, 1550

Fig. 98. S. Martino ai Monti, Façade, 1588



(Fra Santi, Cose maravigliose)

The window arches are built with double rings of sesquipedales, totaling from 0.90 to 1.00 m. in width and set more accurately to radius than is usual in Carolingian buildings. Above the arches the original brickwork rises, intact, another 2.30 m., to within a few centimeters of the present roof beams, which are placed about three meters above the apex of the windows<sup>1</sup>.

Today the apse is illuminated by two rectangular windows which date from the seventeenth century remodeling; formerly there were three of them. Originally, however, the apse had three arched windows, 1.90 m. wide and 2.60 m. high, with double-ring brick arches like those of the clerestorey windows. Portions of the sealed embrasures are seen on the exterior (figs. 99 a, b). The brickwork of the cylindrical apse wall has the usual ninth century character, extending from foundations to eaves except where the later windows are cut through it. At the eaves, the apse is crowned by an elaborate cornice of richly carved acanthus consoles supporting horizontal marble slabs, some coffered, others decorated with grotesque masks. All these units were taken from classical monuments. The manner in which they are embedded in the brickwork of the apse makes it certain that they are integral with the ninth century structure.

Inside the church, the arrangements of the chancel date entirely from the period of the Baroque remodeling, with the sole exception of the relic chamber of the confessio, which seems to remain in its original position, albeit in entirely altered surroundings. It is a small room, measuring 2.90 m. by 2.50 m. in plan and 1.60 m. in height externally. One can see, through a barred opening on the north side, that the marble slabs which line it are carved with interlace ornament typical of the ninth century. It is likely that this chamber was originally approached through an annular crypt. Peruzzi shows that the altar was surrounded by four columns, presumably supporting a ciborium. The chancel was raised by seven steps above the nave floor and was bordered by a *pergula* of six columns, four of which spanned the nave while two stood behind, at the sides (fig. 97).

<sup>1</sup> CROSTAROSA, *op. cit.*, p. 202, attributed the roof beams extant in 1897 to the building of Sergius II. We are in no position to evaluate this statement.

The façade of the basilica now stands on an open *piazza*, but in Peruzzi's time it was preceded by an atrium; he drew a square court, of the same width as the basilica (28 m.) and shown as *pedi* 94 in depth (= 27.91 m.). The foundation of a wall, parallel to the façade and 6.20 m. distant from it, came to light in 1957 when a new wing was being added to the adjacent monastery. It comprises a single course of "Servian blocks", lying at the same level as the foundation blocks of the west aisle wall and supporting a few courses of ninth century brickwork. They are likely to be the footings of a colonnade which stood outside the façade; possibly it formed one wing of



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 99a. S. Martino ai Monti, Apse seen from the east



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 99b. S. Martino ai Monti, Apse seen from northwest

a four-sided atrium peristyle. Fra Santi's woodcut of the façade (ca. 1588; fig. 98), shows two rows of beam sockets, presumably traces of the roof of this colonnade. Fra Santi differed from Peruzzi in showing a central doorway alone, while Peruzzi noted three doorways. Presumably the side doorways were blocked up in one of the remodelings which took place in the second half of the sixteenth century.

The "Servian" foundations of the supposed atrium peristyle extend westwards beyond the side wall of the atrium, indicating that a wing of the ninth century building lay in this direction. Two other walls stand at right angles to the west flank of the basilica, one an extension of the façade, the other about 9 m. to the north. They were examined during the work undertaken in 1937 and displayed the usual ninth century characteristics. It is possible that they belonged to a building which filled the wedge-shaped area between the left aisle and the fourth century walls rising above compartment M and N; a building which may well have formed part of the structure of the monastery established by Sergius II and Leo IV adjacent to the church. A timber floor in this building is indicated by a row of marble corbels, set 3 m. apart in the basilica wall, 0.85 m. below the present nave, or 1.45 m. below the Carolingian floor level. The corbel stones have been broken off but the stumps can be discerned embedded in the brickwork; they extend from the northernmost of the three parallel walls to within 8 m. of the northwest corner of the west aisle.

A few ninth century walls are found in the Hall complex, to the west of the basilica. In its lower courses, the east flank of compartment L is evidently a retaining wall designed to support



the west flank of the Carolingian church. South of this, in the east wall of M, we have already noted a wall composed at the base of large, irregular stone blocks, and higher up of undulating brickwork (fig. 87). Farther south, the wall which seals the opening under the central relieving arch of Building P has exactly the same character. Evidently these two walls were built to seal off P and the ground to the north of P, thus helping to construct the platform on which the basilica is built. Nevertheless, as the basilica was set at an unnecessarily high level, it seems that the builders were at pains to preserve the buildings which their new church superseded. Further exploration of this part of the building seems desirable.

#### 4. The Romanesque Period

The monastic buildings which stood on top of the Hall and its annexes were remodeled in 1930 and again in 1937, depriving us of any chance to ascertain the extent, in this direction, of a Carolingian building. However, the remodeling of 1930 enabled Vielliard to record the general outline of the buildings which arose on the site in the first half of the thirteenth century. The Hall and associated chambers were used as a platform, on top of which the monastery was built. The monastery extended over compartments, A, B, D, E, G, H, L and M, while an apsed chapel stood above compartment C. Because the original vaulted roof lay about 2.50 m. below the level of the basilica floor, a story of low vaulted chambers had to be inserted to bring the platform up to a convenient level. Three of these chambers still exist, interposed between the floor of the present sacristy and the vaults of compartments M and N. Others which have now been destroyed appear in figs. 100, 101a, 101b. On the other hand, the medieval chamber which rose above compartments H and K was set at a lower level with its floor immediately on top of the Roman vaulting.

As the thirteenth century building extended westwards beyond the limit of the Roman Hall, a vaulted substructure was erected in the place where the open courtyard A-B had formerly been. Compartments A and B thus came into existence; there is no evidence that this corner of the site was roofed over before the erection of the thirteenth century vaults. For foundations, the builders of the vaults were content to use what remained of the Roman *opus listatum* wall; an unwise economy, as it turned out, since the Roman wall was merely a courtyard enclosure and could not sustain the weight of the new superstructure. The fissures seen in Parker's photograph (fig. 102) developed and, in 1870, a large part of the upper story collapsed. Elsewhere, the thirteenth century builders were more cautious and reinforced the wall piers on the north and west sides of the Roman six-bay Hall by enclosing the original brickwork in an envelope of new masonry 0.60 to 0.80 m. thick. These reinforcements resembled, and may perhaps have been suggested by, the enveloping

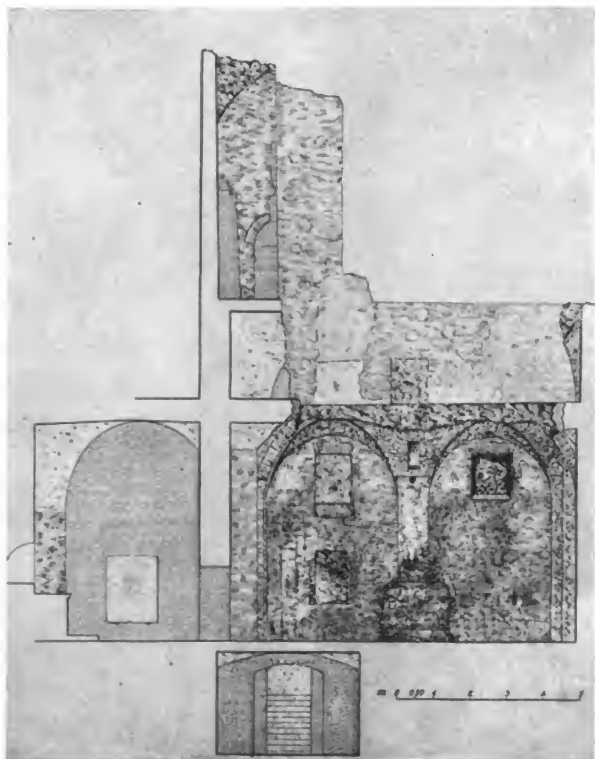


(Photo: Soprint. ai Mon. del Lazio)

Fig. 100. S. Martino ai Monti, Roman Hall, compartment E seen from B, and upper story of Romanesque monastery building, prior to 1930 demolition

piers which had been built for a different reason, seven centuries earlier, around the other piers of the Hall.

While there is no trace of internal decoration to show that the vaulted chambers were used as a formal church building in the thirteenth century, there is evidence that they were not entirely



(Centro di Studi per la Storia dell'Architettura)

Fig. 101a. S. Martino ai Monti, Anonymous, Roman Hall, cross section through D, E, F, looking west, showing upper storys of monastery buildings, prior to 1930

Fig. 101b. Same, cross section through B, E, H, M, looking north, showing upper storys



(Photo: Parker)

Fig. 102. S. Martino ai Monti, Roman Hall, northwest corner, exterior, prior to 1870



(Photo: Soprint. ai Mon. del Lazio)

Fig. 103. S. Martino ai Monti, Roman Hall, compartment B, west wall seen from the east, as of ca. 1930



used as mere storage cellars. The newly built compartments A and B were provided with windows, closed by pierced marble *transennae* (figs. 106 *a, b, c*), and some kind of tabernacle seems to have been included in the west wall of compartment B (fig. 103). Hence it seems likely that compartments A and B at least were used as some kind of sanctuary.

## F. — RECONSTRUCTION.

### 1. The original State

The purpose of the original Hall of six bays has never been well explained. Vielliard and others have seen in it the meeting place of a third century Christian community, but to us the evidence seems far from sufficient to maintain such an important conclusion. Indeed, there seems to be no concrete evidence of Christian occupation until the beginning of the sixth century. The original purpose of the Hall is more likely to have been commercial; perhaps it was some kind of exchange or small market<sup>1</sup>. The entrance was through a vestibule on the north side; doubtless its triangular plan was designed to adjust the orientation of the Hall to that of an adjacent street. The Hall was rectangular, measuring 50 by 60 R. ft., and was roofed with six cross vaults set out in two parallel rows of three bays or compartments, so that only two freestanding pillars were necessary for the support of the roof, all other roof supports being incorporated in the walls. The hall was lit by large windows in the perimeter. The west wall probably had two windows, corresponding with the vault compartments nearest the entrance (bays D and E). The south wall also had two windows; one is still identifiable and Vielliard noted the other. The east side of the Hall probably had three windows, one in each bay, but they have disappeared in later alterations to the building. The north side was certainly without windows; the entrance vestibule precluded a north window in bay D, while an adjacent staircase precluded the possibility of one in G (fig. 81).

The two western windows looked into a courtyard or garden, situated where compartments A and B were subsequently built. A side chamber (C) to the south of this area communicated with the Hall through a wide archway in the place where a third western window would have been, but for the existence of this annex. Chamber C was lit by a large window facing north over the same courtyard or garden, and it was also provided with a small doorway through which one entered this courtyard. We do not know what lay to the south of the Hall, but the windows and doorways in the south wall indicate that the ground was open although there need have been no more than a narrow courtyard. To the east there was another narrow court, originally open, but subsequently roofed over. On the north side, as we have said, the Hall was flanked by a staircase and by the entrance vestibule. Beyond that we assume the existence of a street, oriented so as to lie parallel with the north flank of the vestibule. A narrow doorway led northwards from bay G into the staircase. Another opening probably allowed direct access from the street to the stairs and a trace of this opening may be seen in the short expanse of faced brickwork, set obliquely, at the northern extremity of the wall which divides the staircase from the vestibule. The stairs show that there were rooms above the northern bays of the Hall. That there were other rooms to the south, corresponding with bays C, F and K, is proved by the row of windows noted by Vielliard in the upper part of the south wall<sup>2</sup>.

Apart from its simple black and white mosaic pavement, the original decoration of the Hall

<sup>1</sup> See also WARD PERKINS, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> VIELLIARD, *op. cit.*, p. 33 f. and figs. 12, 13.

is unknown. The adjacent room C was decorated quite elaborately with paintings of colonnades, fountains, garlands, etc., typical of the early third century.

To the east of the Hall lay a courtyard, about 20 R. ft. in width, bounded to the south by a brick wall which was set slightly outside the line of the Hall façade, and to the east by the façade of Building P. As far as we know, P was a single storied structure. Its north wall stood about  $10\frac{1}{2}$  m. to the south of the north side of the Hall; its west wall lay parallel with the east side of the Hall and extended southwards beyond the line of the south side of the Hall. Originally it was entered through a small doorway in its west wall, near the southeast corner of the courtyard which separated it from the Hall.

## 2. The first Alterations

Several minor changes were effected in the Hall at an early stage. The entrance archway, on the north side of the triangular vestibule, was reduced in size and at the same time the inner doorway was also made narrower. Cross arches and a new vault were built in Chamber C, and the archway leading from C to F was also made smaller. Also, benches or counters, constructed in *tufelli*, were introduced in the inner part of the Hall.

Perhaps at a somewhat later date, Building P was the subject of more important changes (figs. 86, 87). The open area between P and the Hall was roofed over with a square cross vault from which an openended barrel vault extension projected northwards, facing presumably towards the street. Masonry piers flanking the northern end of the barrel vault may be the supports of a cross arch or gateway, through which the newly vaulted area was approached. In place of the original narrow doorway, a much taller and wider opening was cut in the west façade of P. Thus Building P, which had formerly been entered through a modest doorway in the corner of a narrow courtyard, was now provided with a spacious entrance and a dignified covered vestibule. Additional rooms were built in an upper story above the new vaults.

The east wall of the Hall partly supported the vestibule vaulting and, moreover, it deprived the Hall of two of its windows. It is therefore possible that the Hall and Building P were already united during this stage, but there is no positive evidence one way or the other. On the whole, we think that the two buildings remained independent.

## 3. The second Phase of Alterations

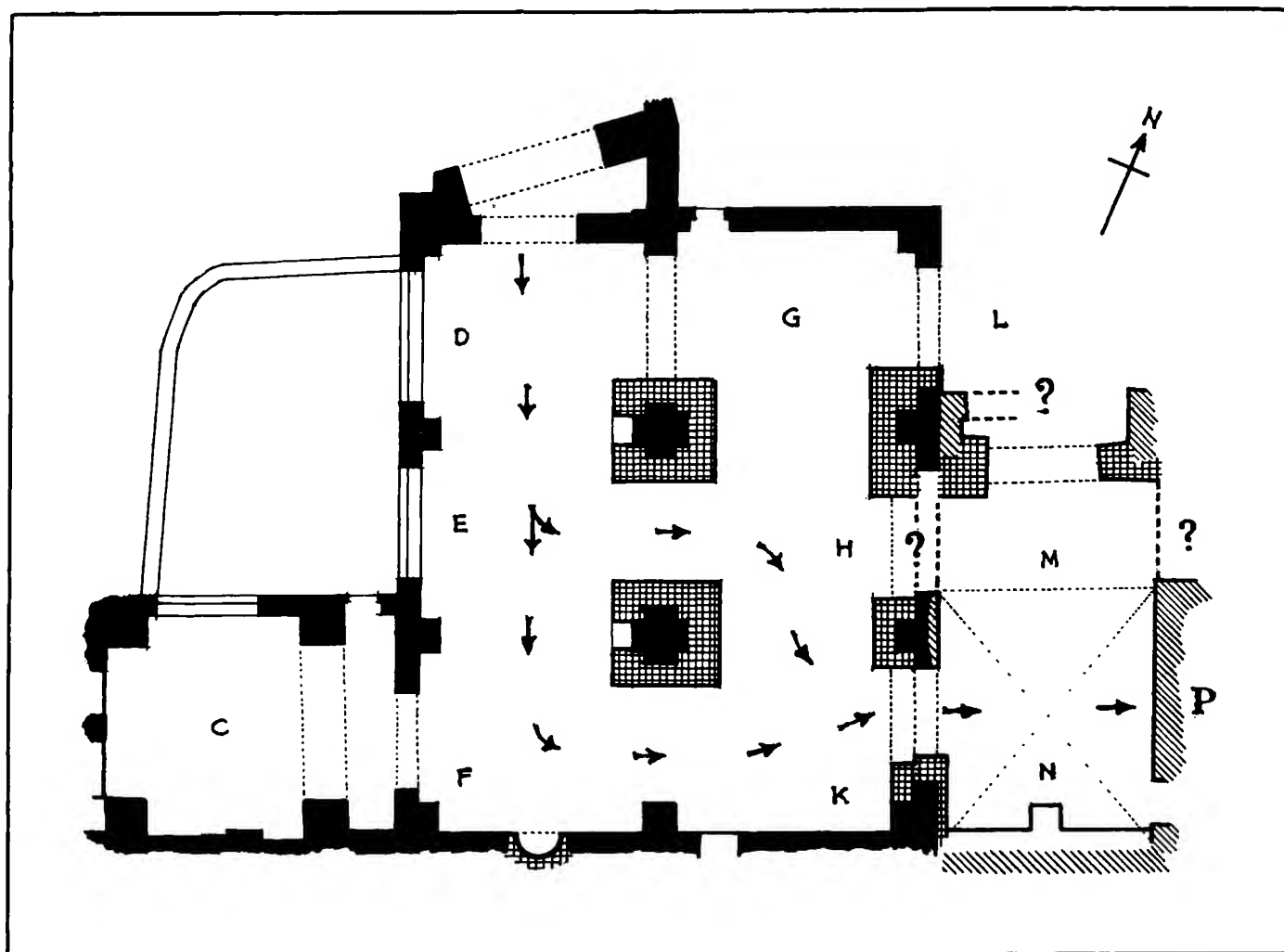
In the second phase of development, the Hall and Building P were definitely united into a single complex. This was effected by means of openings cut in the east wall of the Hall to provide direct access from the Hall to the vaulted vestibule (compartments M and N) in front of Building P.

The first positive evidence of Christian occupation in any part of either building comes with the construction of a niche, decorated with the mosaic portrait of a saint, perhaps Saint Sylvester, in the south side of compartment F (fig. 95). At the same time, it seems, the Hall and the vestibule of P were decorated with paintings; to make space for these, the two central piers and the eastern wall piers were enormously increased in size (fig. 91). This disproportionate enlargement of the piers can have had no structural value, and must have been intended solely to increase the area of wall surface available for pictures. But by thus augmenting the wall surfaces, the builders greatly diminished the area of the floor. Hence we deduce that the owners of the building at this time were not concerned with the usual problem of accommodating a congregation, and this, in turn, shows that the Hall was not being used as an ordinary church.

In seeking to interpret a problematic building, it seems natural first to discover the principal

entrance, and then to search for indications of the normal movements of the people who entered it. The main way in to the original Roman Hall must have been through the triangular chamber on the north side of compartment D. (fig. 104) This is proved by the wide arches, which still exist in part, traversing the north and south walls of the chamber. They are much too large for windows illuminating such a small area and we are certain that they are the outer and inner openings of a covered porch. The wall which blocks the porch today is obviously of Carolingian date and there is no evidence that the opening was closed before that period (fig. 105). Hence we think it probable that the main entry to the Early Christian complex continued to be where it had been in the classical period, on the north side of compartment D. If this is established, an initial line of movement within the Hall is suggested by the small niche with its mosaic portrait, which stood immediately opposite the entrance at the other end of gallery D-E-F. Nevertheless, although this center line seems to be important, it can scarcely be the principal axis of the complex because of its asymmetrical disposition in the Early Christian layout. All the Early Christian modifications to the building lie on the east side of D-E-F, and there is nothing comparable in compartments A-B-C to balance them. Indeed, there is nothing to show that compartment A-B was even roofed over until the thirteenth century, and the need for light in E suggests that it was not.

Next we consider the pair of westward facing niches in the Early Christian walls which envelop the central pillars of the Hall (fig. 91). What their exact purpose may have been is obscure, but they are of great importance to us in that they indicate the beginning of a new line of movement in the building. It passes from west to east through compartments E and H, and is axially disposed with the several modifications of Early Christian date more or less evenly balanced on



(Drawing: Corbett)

Fig. 104. S. Martino ai Monti, Early Christian adaptation, axes of movement

either side of it. Thus axis E-H is more likely to be the main center line of the Early Christian complex than D-E-F, and this suggestion is confirmed by the huge gem-encrusted cross which was painted on the vault of compartment E, its foot extending eastwards into H while its arms reached out towards D and F. Compartment E is thus revealed as a focal point in the articulation of the Christian complex where the first axis of movement, D-F, intersects a second and more important line, E-H.

The cross arches inserted in the Early Christian period must have had some purpose, yet it seems improbable that it was structural. Three of them, G/L, L/M and K/N, are inserted beneath arches of the classical period which show no signs of having needed reinforcement (figs. 90, 93, 94). The fourth, D/G, crosses beneath a classical vault which has not subsided in any way. The purpose of these arches must, then, have been to impart a sense of direction in the building, reducing the size of certain openings in order to emphasize the importance of others. The beam-supported baulks of wall, high up in compartments H and K, also help in the decipherment of the Early Christian building. If they were not intended for the display of pictures, no reason can be imagined for their introduction. It is significant that these two features occur in compartments H and K, while cross arches D/G and G/L seem to restrict the openness of G. Thus while E-H is the main axis, turning at right angles to D-E-F, it also seems that F-K as well is a parallel line of movement, albeit of secondary importance. On the other hand, the line D-G was deliberately minimized.

Thus in this stage the Hall was converted into a kind of vestibule, specially designed for a particular purpose. The entrance at the north side of D led to a gallery D-E-F, which had three openings in its left side. The visitor who entered the gallery would first notice the mosaic portrait facing him, and then three separate factors would imperceptibly guide his steps towards the middle opening on the left hand side: the restriction of the first opening by its lower arch, perhaps curtained; the large cross painted on the vault; and the importance which the middle opening derived from the niches which flanked it. Thus, the whole tendency of the layout was to direct the flow of movement in the building from the entrance on the north side of D towards the southeastern corner of the Hall (fig. 104). Obviously the visitor was being drawn towards compartments M and N. It is impossible now to be sure what wall or opening lay between compartments H and M, but there is no uncertainty as to the way through from K to N. An archway of typical Early Christian construction still connects the two chambers (fig. 94). It stands directly in line with the apex of the cross vault of compartment N.

We have seen that compartments M and N were themselves the antechamber of Building P. Hence the purpose of the Hall, elaborately replanned, was merely to be an extension of the vestibule through which P was approached. Presumably other important alterations were effected on the east side of the façade of P to give the interior of that building a dignity in proportion with that of its vestibules. Unfortunately, all that stands on the east side of the façade is now hidden by the foundations of the basilica.

#### 4. The third Period: the Basilica and adjacent Monastery

The basilica stands on top of a high artificial terrace inside which the main part of the pre-existing Building P, and any other structure which may have developed out of it or which may have taken its place, is now concealed. It is a simple basilica, consisting of an apsed nave with trabeated colonnades and single aisles, still substantially intact although transformed by Baroque decorations. The measurements of the nave and aisles are easily translated into full numbers of Roman feet: total width, 26.40 m., equalling but slightly less than 90 R. ft.; nave width, 13.50 m.,

slightly more than 45 R. ft.; original nave height, 15.40 m., equalling 52 R. ft.; aisle width, 6.65 m., a few centimeters over 22½ R. ft. The colonnades, ending in long end piers, each include thirteen intercolumniations with an average width of 2.90 m., 10 R. ft. from column center to column center, a normal distance for the stone entablature which originally spanned and still spans the intercolumniations. The sets of curtains, twenty-four each, donated by Sergius<sup>1</sup>, would obviously have filled but twelve of these intercolumniations on either side and we must assume that one intercolumniation was left uncurtained for liturgical purposes either near the entrance or the altar. Thirteen windows opened in each of the clerestorey walls, set on axis with the intercolumniations and averaging 4 R. ft. in width and 7 R. ft. in height. The column shafts are apparently spoils, different in material, but remarkably similar in height and diameter. The bases, too, differ only in the material, and one wonders whether both shafts and bases were not adjusted to the same measurements in the remodeling of the seventeenth century. Certainly the capitals originally were not as uniformly Corinthian as at present; Ugonio states that the capitals and bases were “... *la maggior parte di pietra mischea e di opera Corinthia lavorate...*”, thus implying that some were of different types and materials<sup>2</sup>.

The apse, only slightly more than semicircular, was lit by three huge windows and covered, presumably by the half dome still in place. The floor of the apse, at Sallustio Peruzzi's time (fig. 97), rose five steps, ca. 80 cm. above the nave level. The steps were separated into two flights, each composed of one bottom step, a deep landing, and four top steps ascending to the apse proper where the altar was placed. A passageway between the two flights apparently led to a *fenestella* which opened into a *confessio* placed below the altar. The landings and steps carried the six columns of a three-sided pergola, placed atop marble *cancelli*: “... *marmoree tavole che sostenevano certe colonne...*”<sup>3</sup>. The pergola would seem to have carried an entablature which supported reliefs showing heads of Christ, and of saints Silvester and Martin<sup>4</sup>. Four more columns supported the baldacchino over the altar. The arrangement as seen in the sixteenth century may well have been still that laid out by Sergius II, since he gave four porphyry columns for the ciborium<sup>5</sup>, sculptured



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 105. S. Martino ai Monti, Roman Hall, ninth century foundations sealing the entrance into D; exterior

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 90, dig. 844-847.

<sup>2</sup> The differences in material and design are confirmed in MELLINI's notes found in Vat. lat. 11905, c. 147: « *le colonne sono alcune di marmo fregio e cipollino altre di marmo saligno, altre di paonazzo tutte antiche, ma riportate con capitelli similmente riportati d'ordine corinthio e composti di marmo bigio - ma hoggi imbiancate...* ». Mellini, writing in 1660, must have made these notes prior to the remodeling undertaken by Filippini.

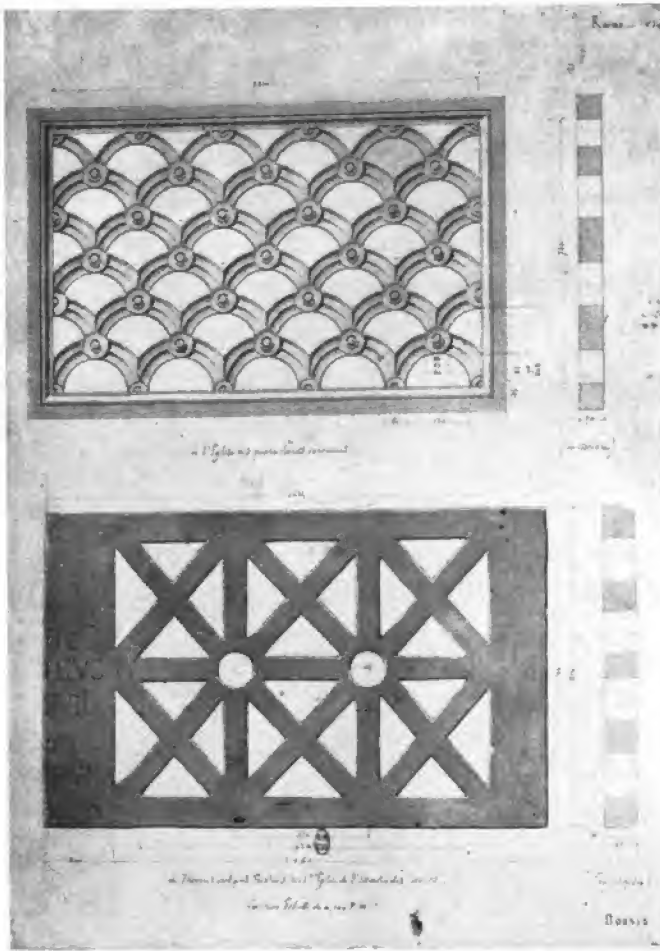
It is impossible to decide whether the remnant of a painted corbel table frieze seen by Stevenson in 1891 (Vat. lat. 10553, fol. 91v) dates from a Romanesque decoration. The painting still seen by UGONIO (*Stazioni*, c. 253v, « *...le pitture del corpo della Chiesa essendo durate fin' a nostri tempi ... sono state parendo hormai troppo vecchie imbiancate* ») may also date from that period.

<sup>3</sup> UGONIO, *Stazioni*, 1588, c. 255. We do not know how to reconcile « *sei colonne tramezzate di legno* » which in 1588 enclosed the chancel (*ibid.*) with these « *certe colonne* ».

<sup>4</sup> Sergius II, « *...fecit ... imagines ... numero III unum quidem habentem vultum domini Salvatoris, et alias duas abentes vultus sanctorum confessorum Silvestri atque Martini sedentes super vestibulum sacri altaris* (L. P. II, p. 96).

<sup>5</sup> In Ugonio's time, these columns were *mischio*. Either they had been exchanged for the porphyry columns; or else, the *Liber Pontificalis* uses the term *porphyreticus* loosely.





(Paris, Bib. Nat.)

Fig. 106a. S. Martino ai Monti, H. Labrouste, Chancel screens found in Roman Hall, 1832



(Paris, Bib. Nat.)

Fig. 106b. S. Martino ai Monti, H. Labrouste, Window with transenna, 1832



(Paris, Bib. Nat.)

Fig. 106c. S. Martino ai Monti, H. Labrouste, Transenna reconstruction, 1832

marbles for the *presbyterium*, and lighting fixtures to be hung “*ante vestibulum altaris*”, apparently the space enclosed by the pergola; the inscription read on the pergola “... *Hadriani praesulis opus...*”<sup>1</sup> would then refer only to the completion of the work by Hadrian II (867-872) or Hadrian III (884-885). An annular crypt enveloped the confessio below the altar: “*sotto l’altar grande... un loco che*

<sup>1</sup> UGONIO, *Stazioni*, c. 225.

*circonda attorno simile a la Memoria di S. Pietro*”<sup>1</sup> or a “*circuito vacuo attorno (sotto l’altar grande) ... al qual luogo si scende per alcuni scalini da tutte due le bande*”<sup>2</sup>. The apse wall, presumably at the springing of the half dome, bore the dedicatory inscription of Leo IV in mosaic<sup>3</sup> and it is likely that the vault carried a representation in mosaic, but its iconography is unknown. Finally, the windows of the apse were closed by stained glass “... *ex vitreo e diversis coloribus...*”, donated by Sergius II<sup>4</sup>. Likewise, two pulpits in the nave apparently belonged to the furnishings provided by Sergius II; one carried an inscription “SALVO DOMINO NOSTRO BEATISSIMO PAPA IVNIORE”, the other a verse copied from an inscription on a pulpit given by Pelagius II (579-590) to St. Peter’s<sup>5</sup>. This latter, standing to the left, was apparently larger and carried a second inscription referring to Cardinal Uguccione, presumably recording a remodeling undertaken in the twelfth century<sup>6</sup>.

Three doors<sup>7</sup> led into the church from the south, one 12 feet wide into the nave, two 7½ feet wide into the aisles (fig. 97). The square atrium which originally lay in front of the church has disappeared as have its four enveloping porticoes. Ancillary chambers in at least two stories were attached to its left side wall, presumably parts of the monastery buildings erected by Sergius II and Leo IV. The remains of the Hall and the adjacent vestibule of Building P were no longer used but instead of being destroyed, their vaults served as a platform for the erection of further monastery buildings on the west side of the Basilica. The entrance to the Hall was blocked, probably in order to reinforce a weak part of this casual foundation and, since the blocking was done with masonry which resembles the foundation of the basilica (fig. 105), we assume that parts of the superstructure were also of that date; all the upper walls which remained until 1930 seem, however, to have been either Romanesque or else survivals from the original Roman edifice. Thus the ancient Hall became the substructure of a medieval monastery and, to provide additional space, the former court or garden at the northwest corner of the site was vaulted over, creating compartments A and B. It is possible that some kind of chapel was established in part of what now became a cellar, but it seems probable that most of the structure was merely used as storage space. Access was provided by means of a spiral staircase in a tower which still stands to the north of compartment L.

## G. — CHRONOLOGY

### 1. The Titulus

Archeological and documentary evidence agree in recording that the church of S. Martino ai Monti took the place of a titulus of Constantinian date, but the history of this titulus is confused and we are not sure whether the documents refer to one or to two tituli<sup>8</sup>.

In the definitive version of the *Liber Pontificalis* the compiler makes two distinct references to a titulus “*juxta terminas Domitianas*”, accompanying each with a list of donations. The first reference, at the beginning of the biography of Pope Sylvester, mentions the establishment of a titulus in the

<sup>1</sup> IDEM, Barb. lat. 2160, c. 123<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> IDEM, *Stationi*, 1588, c. 255; see also VIELLIARD, *op. cit.*, p. 82 f. and figs. 33, 34.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 90 f., dig. 847-855.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 90, dig. 844-847, and *L. P.* II, p. 94.

<sup>5</sup> UGONIO, *Stationi*, 1588, c. 253<sup>v</sup> and SILVAGNI, *op. cit.*, p. 94; see also Vielliard, *op. cit.*, p. 79 f.

<sup>6</sup> UGONIO, Barb. lat. 2160, fol. 123.

<sup>7</sup> The two lateral doors were apparently walled up between Peruzzi’s and Ugonio’s visits (UGONIO, *Stationi*, 1588, c. 254).

<sup>8</sup> The reader will see from the following discussion why and on what points we disagree with the ideas presented by APOLLONJ-GHETTI, *op. cit.*, p. 286 ff., regarding the history of the titulus and his proposal to identify the church of Symmachus with the structures adjoining S. Lucia in Selcis. COCCIA, *op. cit.*, *passim* (whose paper reaches us as we are going to press) equally disagrees with APOLLONJ-GHETTI’s interpretation of the sources but leaves open the question of the original function of the Roman building as market hall or titulus.

house of the presbyter Equitius “... which to this day is called the *titulus Equitii*”. It remains uncertain whether “to this day” means the date of the final compilation of the *Liber*, or whether the expression was copied by the compiler from an earlier text. The second reference, at the end of the same biography, speaks of the foundation by Sylvester of his titulus, i.e., the *titulus Silvestri*. The donation lists of the two references correspond only in the cases of a few liturgical vessels and lighting fixtures; they frequently differ in regard to the number and weight of the items given and the disparity is even more serious with regard to the estates and their revenues. Of the eight properties mentioned in the first list only two reappear in the second list and, even so, with different revenues; the second list includes eight estates which are not found in the first. Nevertheless, it is usually accepted that *Equitii* and *Silvestri* are different names for one and the same titulus which was established by Pope Sylvester between 314 and 334. It is also usually held that the six-bay Hall which stands to the west of S. Martino ai Monti was the meeting house of the titulus. The discrepancies between the two names and the two donation lists have been explained by assuming that the compilers of the *Liber Pontificalis* used two different excerpts from one document, or else documents of two different dates<sup>1</sup>. Alternatively, it has been held that the second list is a forgery, compiled at a time when the original name of the titulus had been superseded by that of Sylvester<sup>2</sup>.

The discrepancies are too serious to be disregarded. Indeed, one would be tempted to conclude that Pope Sylvester founded two separate tituli were it not for one obstacle: the signatures of the title presbyters who attended the church councils of 499 and 595. Three presbyters attended the former meeting from the *titulus Equitii* and none from the *titulus Silvestri*. Conversely, two presbyters were present in 595 from the *titulus sancti sylvestri* while there were none from the *titulus Equitii*<sup>3</sup>. Hence it seemed justifiable to maintain that there was only one titulus, named at first after Equitius and then, between 499 and 595, renamed in honor of Pope Sylvester, who had been the founder.

But still this does not present the whole problem. In fact, the signatures of the council of 499 are not simply “*presb. tit. Aequitii*” as is frequently quoted<sup>4</sup>, but “*presb. sci. Martini tit. Aequitii*”. This signature, which couples a church dedicated to Saint Martin with the *titulus Equitii*, obviously must be connected with the passage in the *Fragmentum Laurentianum* in which Pope Symmachus is reported to have built a church of Saint Martin; Symmachus was elected in 498 and thus the church must have been built in the very beginning of his pontificate.<sup>5</sup> It is clear that in 499, the clergy of St. Martin were also the clergy of the *titulus Equitii*; hence it is probable that the church of St. Martin was either established in the structure of the *titulus Equitii* or else superseded it. Since, moreover, it is probable that the present ninth century basilica took the place of Symmachus’ church of St. Martin, we assume that the structure of the *titulus Equitii* is hidden underneath the present church; the nearest we can get to it is Building P. Certainly, the *titulus Equitii* must not be identified with the structure which has the six-bay Hall as its ground floor.

On the other hand, the *Fragmentum Laurentianum* states that Symmachus’ new church of St. Martin was located “beside Saint Silvester’s”. It thus seems likely that the six-bay Hall building was known by the name of Saint Sylvester’s at the time when the *Fragmentum* was composed, between 514 and 519. The identification is strengthened by the passage in the biography of Honorius I which states that the church of S. Lucia in Selcis was built “*juxta sanctum Sylvestrum*”; this

<sup>1</sup> DUCHESNE, in *L. P.* I, p. 200, n. 119.

<sup>2</sup> VIELLIARD, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 90, digs. 499 and 595.

<sup>4</sup> KIRSCH, *Titelkirchen*, 1918, p. 11, and following him, VIELLIARD, *op. cit.*, p. 12. The only author to quote correctly from *M. G. H., Auct. Antiq.*, XII, pp. 411, 413 is SILVAGNI, *op. cit.*, 1912, p. 49.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 39, dig. 498-514.

church is only a few steps away from the six-bay Hall, but farther from S. Martino ai Monti<sup>1</sup>. The identification is confirmed by the presence, inside the Hall, of a mosaic portrait of a saint, presumably Saint Sylvester, which is datable in the sixth century. It is possible that the Hall became the property of the adjacent *titulus Equitii* at the time of its foundation in the fourth century. It could be the “*domus in urbe Roma in regione Orfea*”, mentioned in the *titulus Equitii* donation list at the beginning of the *Liber Pontificalis* biography of Pope Sylvester. But even if it belonged to the *titulus* at that early date it need not have been used for ecclesiastical purposes. It will be remembered that there is no trace of church occupation before the sixth century, nor is there any proof that it bore Saint Sylvester's name until that time.

On the other hand, ceiling and wall paintings in the six-bay Hall leave no doubt that the building was used for religious purposes from the sixth to the ninth centuries, at the beginning of which period the references to “*titulus sancti Sylvestri*” appear. Hence it is possible that the Hall was acquired by the new church of St. Martin (the *ex-titulus Equitii*) only about the year 500. When the church of St. Martin was built the *titulus Equitii* either disappeared or was profoundly altered, and it may have been expedient to transfer the prerogatives of that *titulus* to the six-bay structure, giving it the name of S. Silvestro. True, the prerogatives might more logically have been transferred to St. Martin, but not necessarily, since it may have been thought preferable that the titular rights, especially the right to be represented at church councils, should be held in the name of Saint Sylvester rather than the Bishop of Tours. At the same time, the property which the *titulus Equitii* formerly owned would have been transferred to the *titulus Sylvestri*. And this, we venture to suggest, was the origin of the second donation list. It was inserted at the end of the *vita* of Pope Sylvester in the *Liber Pontificalis* and it still included some of the liturgical vessels and some of the estates which had originally been given to the *titulus Equitii* when it was founded in the fourth century, but the list also included items of property which the *titulus* had acquired subsequently.

This hypothesis of a transfer of title and property from a superseded *titulus Equitii* to a new *titulus Sylvestri*, established in the six-bay Hall, solves many of the difficulties of the problem. Nevertheless, we present it with hesitation because it is not perfectly in harmony with the archeological data. It appears from the latter that, when the Hall came to be joined to the Building P complex, it served as a kind of vestibule to the *titulus Equitii* or, rather, to the church of St. Martin which Symmachus built to supersede the *titulus Equitii*. We have no data to allow us to decide when the east wall of the Hall was opened, linking the Hall with the “P” façade and whatever may have stood behind it. But the structural changes which were effected inside the Hall at the end of the fifth century, or early in the sixth, and the contemporary and subsequent decorations of the Hall all indicate an axis of movement which started at the original entrance, the triangular vestibule, and led towards Building P. The full interpretation of this complicated series of buildings will only be possible when excavations beneath the present basilica enable us to discover the true nature of Building P.

## 2. The Church of Pope Symmachus

It has been suggested recently that the church of St. Martin built by Pope Symmachus<sup>2</sup> is to be identified with the buildings now adjoining S. Lucia in Selcis<sup>3</sup>. These structures in our opinion are, however, nothing but the original church of S. Lucia built by Honorius I “*iuxta sanctum*

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 90, dig. 625-638.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 89, dig. 498-514.

<sup>3</sup> APOLLONJ-GHETTI, *op. cit.*, p. 271 ff.

*Silvestrum*”<sup>1</sup>. As will be seen from the preceding discussion, we believe that the church of Symmachus occupied the site of the building behind façade P, either at the original or a somewhat higher level.

The passage at the end of the biography of Sergius II attacking his brother suggests that the church of Saint Martin was a building of great beauty<sup>2</sup> and that it was torn down quite unnecessarily. This would suggest that it was not a remodeling of the old titulus but superseded it. The remark according to which Sergius II set up his new building on a slightly different site<sup>3</sup>, if genuine, would suggest that the church of Symmachus had perhaps a slightly different axis and was presumably smaller than the present building; otherwise we know nothing about its appearance.

As part of the activity of Pope Symmachus, the Roman building which was formerly independent was apparently taken over for ecclesiastical purposes, and as *titulus Silvestri* was remodeled and provided with paintings and with a mosaic representing Pope Sylvester<sup>4</sup>.

### 3. The Church of Sergius II and Leo IV

No discussion is warranted regarding the date at which the present church was erected. The characteristics of design and masonry coincide completely with the lengthy statements of the *Liber Pontificalis* in the biographies of Sergius II and Leo IV concerning both the construction and the furnishings of the building.

## H. — HISTORICAL POSITION

The Roman structure adjoining S. Martino ai Monti has always been represented as the ideal example of a titulus with with a double nave hall serving as a meeting room for the early Christian congregation. This can no longer be maintained because the Roman structure was not, to start with, used as a titulus. The titulus, on the contrary, was located adjoining it to the east below the present church behind façade P.

The present aspect of the church, dating from the building activity of Sergius II, is a perfect example of the Carolingian renaissance in Rome, towards the end of that movement. The use of an entablature over columns and the probable existence of an annular crypt and atrium all closely resemble the Carolingian remodeling of SS. Quattro Coronati which is exactly contemporary<sup>5</sup>. And they still recall such buildings as S. Prassede and S. Stefano degli Abessini at the beginning of the Carolingian renaissance in Rome. The technical characteristics of double window voussoirs, the size and wide spacing of windows, and the undulating brick courses also find their exact parallels in the Roman churches of that period, such as S. Prassede, SS. Nereo ed Achilleo at the Baths of Caracalla, S. Francesca Romana (S. Maria Nova) and the Carolingian parts of SS. Quattro Coronati.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 90, dig. 625-638 and Vol. II, p. 186 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 90, dig. 844-847, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 104 ff.

<sup>5</sup> See below, Vol. IV.

<sup>6</sup> See above, Vol. I, p. 229 ff., and below, p. 143, and 242 f., 248 f., also Vol. IV.



## SS. MICHELE E MAGNO

(R. Krautheimer, W. Frankl)

The church of SS. Michele e Magno (S. Angelo in Borgo) rises on a steep hill just southeast of Bernini's colonnade of Piazza San Pietro<sup>1</sup>. The structure was thoroughly decorated under Pope Benedict XIV between 1756 and 1759 in the style of Roman Settecento<sup>2</sup>, but the core of its structure is still a small Romanesque basilica. Its axis runs due west and east, with the apse at the eastern end (fig. 108). The campanile<sup>3</sup> and the exterior of the apse are well preserved and show the masonry with the short bricks and narrow mortar beds characteristic of twelfth century building practice in Rome (fig. 107). Equally typical are the modillion cornices which terminate the apse and the east wall of the nave below the gable. The same type of modillion frieze along the nave appears on a drawing of Piazza S. Pietro by Lieven Cruyl, dated 1669, which also shows three round-headed windows in the south clerestorey wall<sup>4</sup>. Indeed, an inscription read by Petrus Sabinus late in the fifteenth century — part of which survives in the church — gave the date of a consecration by Innocent II as January 30, 1141<sup>5</sup>. A bull of Innocent III, dated March 13, 1198, subjected the church to the canons of St. Peter's<sup>6</sup>.

The plan and the interior elevation of the church prior to the eighteenth century remodeling become clear from a plan of Rocchi's dated 1600 (fig. 108)<sup>7</sup>, as well as from Torrigio's description. A tiny courtyard preceded the body of the structure. Two aisles flanked the nave. The clerestorey walls each rested on two end piers and six columns, some fluted, others unfluted<sup>8</sup>. The main altar, raised a few steps, occupied the apse; a bronze plaque, found inside the altar, gave its date as 1453. Two side altars stood at the ends of the aisles. Finally, the brick pavement of the nave, which was probably laid in the fifteenth century, contained fragments of a mosaic floor, apparently of twelfth century date<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Selected bibliography: TORRIGIO, *Narrazione dell'origine dell'antichissima chiesa dei santi Michele e Magno ... nel Borgo ...*, Rome, 1629; SEVERANO, *Sette Chiese*, Rome, 1630, p. 294 ff.; MARTINELLI, *Roma ex ethnica sacra*, 1653, p. 259; LANCIANI, « Il Codice barberiniano XXX, 89, contenente frammenti di una descrizione di Roma del secolo XVI », *Arch. Soc. Rom. Stor. Patr.*, 6 (1883), p. 452 ff.; BLOCK, « Le antiche memorie dei Frisoni in Roma », *Boll. Comm.*, 34 (1906), p. 40 ff.; KEHR, *It. Pont.*, I, 1906, p. 152 ff.; EHRLE, « Ricerche in alcune chiese nel Borgo », *Diss. Pont. Accad.*, ser. II, 10 (1910), p. 1 ff.; HÜLSEN, *Chiese*, 1927, p. 388; ARMELLINI-CECCHELLI, *Chiese*, 1942, p. 950 ff.; HOOGEWERFF, « Friezen, Franken en Saksen te Rome », *Mededeelingen van het Nederlandsch Historisch Instituut te Rome*, 3rd ser., 5 (1947), p. 1 ff. UGONIO's note in Vatican Library, Barb. lat. 1933, f. 23 (22), deals only with the alleged foundation of the church by Leo IV.

<sup>2</sup> FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, VI, p. 273: « *Benedicto XIV P. M. ob conciatam pecuniam in huius fatiscientis templi reparationem ... et sacrarum aedium restauratori munificentissimo ... anno MDCCLVI* »; « *Aedem hanc vetustate penitus dilapsam Benedicti XIV P. M. munificentia restitutam ... ann. MDCCLIX* ». An earlier repair of 1725 (*IBID.*, p. 272) has left no trace.

<sup>3</sup> SERAFINI, *Torri campanarie*, p. 184, pls. LXVII ff., with date « second half of the twelfth century ».

<sup>4</sup> PARKER, ed., *Catalogue of the Collection of Drawings in the Ashmolean Museum*, I, Oxford, 1938, p. 50, no. 120; ASHBY, « Lieven Cruyl e le sue Vedute di Roma (1664-1670) », *Mem. Pont. Accad.* I (1923), p. 222 ff., pls. IX/X.

<sup>5</sup> DE ROSSI, *Inscriptiones*, II, p. 448, no. 208; FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, VI, p. 268.

<sup>6</sup> KEHR, *op. cit.*, p. 152; POTTHAST, *Regesta Pontificum*, I, p. 6 (46).

<sup>7</sup> *Arch. Capitolare di S. Pietro*, Arm. 46, vol. 10 (Catasti e piante), f. 218. (Professor Jack Wasserman kindly called my attention to this plan). Both SEROUX D'AGINCOURT (*Histoire de l'Art* I, p. 41, and IV, pl. XXV, [13 drawings done prior to 1789]) and CANINA (*Tempi Cristiani*, pl. LVIII and p. 95) obviously through oversight reproduce pre-1756 plans, similar to Rocchi's as indicating the state of the church at the time of their writing.

Plans or exterior views of the church prior to 1756 occur on most maps of Rome from BUFALINI's (1551) to NOLLI's (1748). They are too small and sketchy to provide much new information except TEMPESTA's map (1593), which shows the façade of the church with a pedimented door, perhaps of fifteenth century date, and an oculus in the gable of the nave.

<sup>8</sup> Contrary to the number shown on ROCCHI's plan, TORRIGIO speaks of fourteen columns.

<sup>9</sup> « *La Chiesa è honestamente grande ... Ha tre navi con due ordini di colonne di marmo parte scannellate e parte liscie in num. 14. Il pavimento è mattonato: ma già era di piccole pietre lavorate di ... opera ... tessellata come n'appariscono vestigij all'Altar Maggiore e in mezo. Ha tre altari: il maggiore al quale si ascende per alcuni scalini...* » (TORRIGIO, *op. cit.*, p. 48).



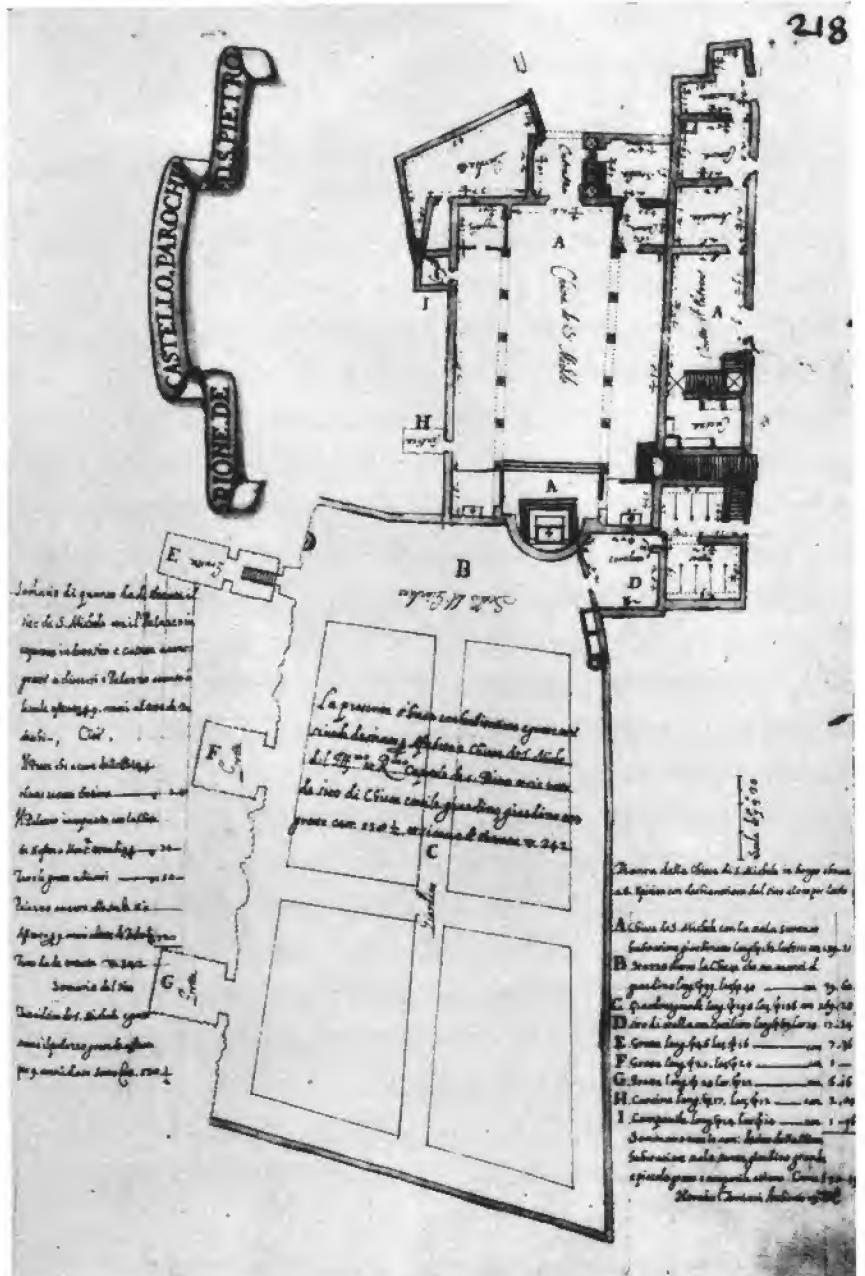
(Photo: Frommel)

Fig. 107. SS. Michele e Magno, Apse



(Photo: Krautheimer)

Fig. 109. SS. Michele e Magno, Building below nave, northwest corner including brick bracket



(Archivio Capitolare di S. Pietro, Vatican Library)

Fig. 108. SS. Michele e Magno, De Rocchi, Groundplan, 1600

The site of the church has been identified with the *schola Frisonum*, the hostel of the Frisians near St. Peter's, whose inmates are first mentioned under Leo III<sup>1</sup>. The buildings of the *schola* are first referred to in an inscription on a stone tablet in the church, in thirteenth century lettering, which allegedly copies a bull attributed to Pope Leo IV dated August 10, 854; the document, however, appears to be spurious<sup>2</sup>. On the other hand, the epitaph in the church of a Frisian who died in 1003 suggests the existence of a chapel on the site at that time<sup>3</sup>. So far, however, no trace of an

<sup>1</sup> L. P. II, p. 6.<sup>2</sup> KEHR, *It. Pont.*, I, 1906, p. 152; for the text, see SEVERANO, *Sette Chiese*, p. 296.<sup>3</sup> BLOCK, *op. cit.*, p. 53 ff.

early medieval structure has been found. True, an inspection undertaken in 1937 of tombs and cellars extending below the north half of the twelfth century church turned up a number of earlier walls, but they appear to be of high medieval rather than early medieval date. Incorporated in the foundation wall of the left hand colonnade in its eastern third is a brick wall, 9.50 m. long and interspersed with an occasional course of *tuffelli*. Bonded to it and standing at right angles, a wall of the same technique supports the east wall of the nave to the left of the apse. The same type of masonry reappears below the west wall of the nave in its northern half. This stretch of wall antedates the adjoining foundation wall of the north colonnade and apparently continues below the west wall of the north aisle. On the other hand, near the axis of the nave, the western stretch of wall turns at a right angle and runs east parallel to the north colonnade, but is broken off after not quite a meter. A corbeled brick bracket projects from the west wall, 0.72 m. from its northern angle (fig. 109). Throughout these walls the mortar beds fluctuate little, with an average of 29 mm. Brick masonry of this type, interspersed with an occasional course of *tuffelli* blocks, is not infrequent in Roman church building of the eleventh and twelfth centuries; it is seen, for example, in the clerestorey walls of S. Saba and S. Giovanni a Porta Latina<sup>1</sup>. On the other hand, the walls just described obviously antedate the church of 1141. Thus it is possible that they belonged to the *schola Frisonum*; if so, they can only be either part of a later addition to the *schola* or a rebuilding.

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<sup>1</sup> See below, Vol. IV, and above, Vol. II, p. 312.

## SS. NEREO ED ACHILLEO ON THE VIA ARDEATINA<sup>1</sup>

(R. Krautheimer, S. Corbett, W. Frankl)

Like many other cemeterial churches in Rome, the Basilica of SS. Nereo ed Achilleo in the Catacomb of Domitilla was constructed inside a pit excavated in part of the catacomb and is therefore partly underground. In this way the bodies of the martyrs which had formerly been buried deep in the catacomb could be enclosed in the apse of the basilica without being moved from the original graves.

G. B. De Rossi, exploring the Catacomb of Domitilla in 1863-1874, passed from one of the catacomb passages into the area of the church but because the building was then completely filled with earth, he was unable to recognize it as a church and merely noted the existence of what seemed to be an important part of the cemetery<sup>2</sup>. Soon after this, serious falls of earth in the region caused the work of exploration to be temporarily suspended, but in 1873 De Rossi approached the site from a new angle, working downwards from the surface instead of laterally from the catacomb galleries. By 1875, whole areas of the basilica had been cleared of earth, disclosing the perimeter walls, the lower portion of the apse, four of the eight column bases *in situ* with the shafts lying beside them<sup>3</sup> and, at the bottom of the excavation, the remains of the catacomb galleries and hypogea which had been destroyed in the Early Christian period when the basilica was constructed (fig. 110)<sup>4</sup>. Further excavations in 1875 and 1910-1912 uncovered a triple grave, apparently a martyrs' tomb, in the area of the apse (fig. 114). The martyrs were identified by a number of elements found nearby: the fragment of an architrave, inscribed with the name of Saint Achilleus; fragments of colonnades, one inscribed with the name of that same saint and bearing in relief the scene of his martyrdom (fig. 115); and pieces of the Damasian epitaph commemorating both saints — its full text having long been known from eighth and ninth century syllogae<sup>5</sup>. In 1878, a roof designed by Giacomo Fontana was set over the area of the basilica (fig. 111). The columns of the basilica were set up in 1910-1912, partly on the original and partly on new bases.

The basilica has the usual plan: an apsed nave flanked by aisles and preceded by a narthex (figs. 111, 112). The irregular outline results in part from the building's erection within the area of a crowded cemetery; the alignment of the walls was probably affected by the need to avoid antecedent features. Certainly the strong obliquity of the walls in the northwest corner is due to their being the surviving remains of an earlier *hypogaeum* (fig. 112 a, b, c)<sup>6</sup>. Too much of this earlier

<sup>1</sup> *Selected bibliography*: DE ROSSI, « Scoperta della basilica di S. Petronilla... », *B. A. C.* 5 (1874), pp. 5 ff., 68 ff.; *ibid.*, 6 (1875), p. 5 ff.; LEFORT, « Etat actuel de la basilique de Sainte Pétronille au cimetière de Domitille », *Rev. Arch.* 27 (1874), p. 372 ff.; MARUCCHI, *Roma Sotterranea*, Rome, 1909, pp. 147, 238, esp. 163 ff.; TOMASSETTI, *Campagna romana antica*, II, Rome, 1910, p. 25; KRAUTHEIMER-FRANKL, « Recent Discoveries in Churches in Rome », *A. J. A.* 43 (1939), p. 388 ff., esp. p. 397 ff.; FASOLA, *La basilica dei SS. Nereo ed Achilleo e la cataomba di Domitilla*, Rome, 1957.

<sup>2</sup> MARUCCHI, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

<sup>3</sup> When these constructions were first seen in 1854, ten columns and bases were found: eight in the nave and two in the narthex. By 1874, four of the bases in the nave and three column shafts — two in the narthex, one in the nave — had disappeared (DE ROSSI, *op. cit.*, 1874, p. 70; LEFORT, *op. cit.*, p. 374 f.).

<sup>4</sup> MARUCCHI, *op. cit.*, p. 176 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Syllogae Laureshamensis, Turonensis and Einsidlensis (DE ROSSI, *Inscriptiones*, II, 1, pp. 31, 67, 101, and FERRUA, *Epigrammata Damasciana*, p. 101 ff.). The compiler of the Einsiedeln sylloge noted the location of the epitaph « *in sepulchro Nerei et Achillei in via Appia* ».

<sup>6</sup> MARUCCHI, *op. cit.*, p. 147 ff.



(Photo: Pont. Comm. di Arch. Sacra)

Fig. 110. SS. Nereo ed Achilleo, The basilica excavated, 1874



(Photo: Pont. Comm. di Arch. Sacra)

Fig. 111. SS. Nereo ed Achilleo, Interior of the church, prior to 1898



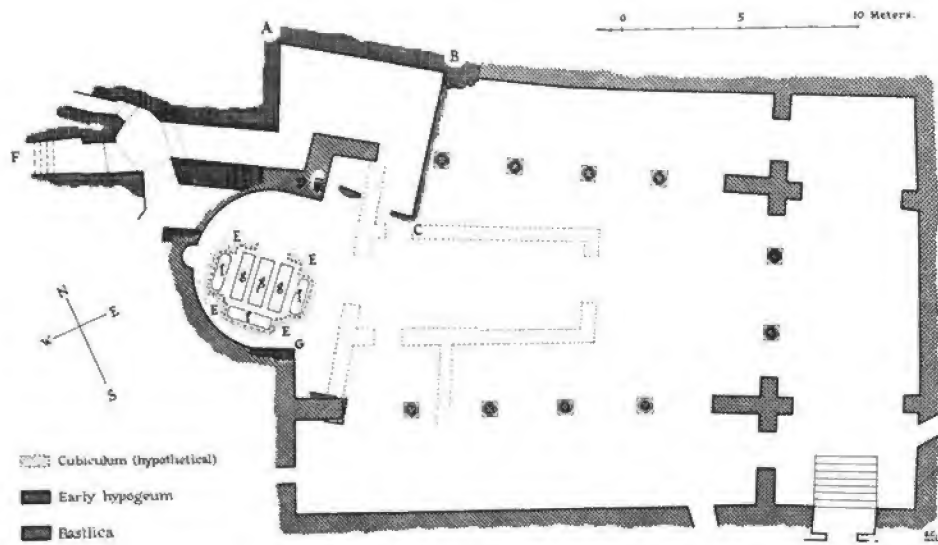


Fig. 112. SS. Nereo ed Achilleo, Groundplan

(Drawing: Corbett; based on Frankl and Marucchi)



Fig. 113. SS. Nereo ed Achilleo, Apse, detail

(Photo: Pont. Comm. di Arch. Sacra)



Fig. 114. SS. Nereo ed Achilleo, Martyrs' graves and early cubiculum in area of apse

building was destroyed when the basilica took its place for the original plan to be fully recognizable, but we seem to have a number of more or less parallel walls laid out in the vicinity of a triple martyrs' tomb. Marucchi, who re-excavated the tombs in 1910-1912, deduced from the few surviving traces that there had originally been a rock-hewn *cubiculum* (E-E in fig. 112) entered on the north side, with three *loculi* (f-f), perhaps in *arcosolia*, arranged against the other walls. In an early modification, the bodies had been transferred from these rock-cut *loculi* to three graves (g-g) built in *opus listatum* in the floor of the *cubiculum* (fig. 114)<sup>1</sup>. Subsequently the walls of the *cubiculum* were removed in an enlargement of the sanctuary area. An arched opening on the north side of the area was probably the main entrance to this sanctuary. It still exists, enclosed in the northern part of the apse, and from the curve of the arch seems to have been at least 2.50 m. wide. Outside the archway lay a walled vestibule (fig. 112 a, b, c) entered on the west side from a gallery of the catacomb, where a flight of steps, perhaps dating from the period of the rock-hewn *cubiculum*, led up to the surface of the ground (F in fig. 112). In a later modification of the catacomb the stairs were removed to make room for more graves, but their place is still indicated by the inclined rock-hewn ceiling, decorated with paintings which have been attributed to the third century<sup>2</sup>. The west and north walls of the vestibule still exist, incorporated in the plan of the basilica as the west wall of the north aisle and the western part of its north wall (fig. 112). The foundations of the east and south walls (B-C, C-D) also exist beneath the modern pavement of the church; they were excavated in 1936 and were found to be well built in brickwork which seemed to be of fourth century date (fig. 115)<sup>3</sup>. From these data the plan of the vestibule can be reconstructed as a trapezoid with, for some reason, a slight off-set in the alignment of the south side. Another fragment of the early structure (G) seems to be recognizable in the lower part of the south shoulder of the apse, in which a rectilinear wall is incorporated. The walls of this early sanctuary were built principally of brick, but courses of *tufelli* were occasionally introduced. The coursing is of uneven quality, in some places rather undulant, elsewhere more accurately disposed. The ratio of mortar to brick gives a modulus of five courses per R. ft.

The fragments of two column shafts, one sculptured with a representation of the martyrdom of Saint Achilleus and inscribed with his name (fig. 116), and a piece of entablature, also inscribed with his name, which were found during Marucchi's excavation, have been correctly assigned to the late fourth or early fifth century, the former date seeming more probable. Marucchi linked them with the building of the basilica but, in our opinion, they ought rather to be associated with the enlargement of the *cubiculum*; they might have supported a canopy over the martyrs' graves or a *pergula* set up in front. Similarly we consider that the epitaph composed by Pope Damasus should be associated with the enlargement of the *cubiculum*. The style of the brickwork in the latter does not contradict a date in the second half of the fourth century.

With the construction of the basilica, the part of the brick-built *hypogaeum* which stood nearest the martyrs' graves was demolished to make way for the apse; but the three graves were left *in situ*, surrounded on three sides by the apse wall, their covers presumably incorporated in the pavement of the sanctuary. Certain portions of the old building were retained and we have already noted fragments of its walls embedded in the structure of the apse. The basilica was built in *opus listatum*, irregularly coursed with one, two or three courses of *tufelli* alternating with one or two courses of brick. Two *tufelli* courses and one brick course, with three courses of mortar, have an average height of 0.21 m. Similar masonry is found in the main fabric at S. Agnese f.l.m. and S. Pancrazio.

<sup>1</sup> *IBID.*, and p. 184.

<sup>2</sup> *IBID.*, p. 185.

<sup>3</sup> KRAUTHEIMER-FRANKL, *op. cit.*, p. 397.

The overall length of the basilica is about 31 m. and its width varies from 17 m. to 19.50 m. Each aisle is separated from the nave by four columns, set between long end piers of *opus listatum* (figs. 110, 111). The column shafts were of similar, though not identical height and diameter, the highest being 3.54 m. high and 0.42 m. in diameter. Of the others, only an average height and diameter are summarily given, 3.40 and 0.49 m. respectively; finally, the first column to the right had a diameter of only 0.34 m. This last column was of Greek marble, while the other shafts in the nave were of *cipollino*, those in the narthex of *africano*<sup>1</sup>. The bases, all of different design, were spaced at an



(Photo: Sansaini)

Fig. 115. SS. Nereo ed Achilleo, Vestibule of cubiculum, southeast corner, excavation of 1956



(Photo: Pont. Comm. di Arch. Sacra)

Fig. 116. SS. Nereo ed Achilleo, Column shaft with representation of martyrdom of St. Achilleus

average distance of 3.40 m. Like the bases and the shafts, the capitals — some Corinthian, others composite — are obviously Roman spoils, finished or roughly sketched. The aisles are narrow in relation to the breadth of the nave: 3.50 to 4 m. for the aisles as against 8.50 to 10 m. for the nave. The length of the nave is approximately twice its width. At the east end, two marble columns form a triple intercolumniation leading into the nave from the narthex; the latter, as at S. Agnese and S. Lorenzo f.l.m., is tripartite in correspondence with nave and aisles. Since the basilica is below ground level there is no axial entrance at the center of the east wall, but the main approach to the church is through a wide doorway at the south end of the narthex. Originally, this doorway must have been approached by a long flight of descending steps, as is the case today, but the modern stairway has obliterated the original one.

The wide spacing of the nave colonnades and the fact that no fragments of lintel stones were found during the excavations suggest that the columns bore arcades; however, everything above the level of the columns has perished and reconstruction must be conjectural. Above the arcades there must have been clerestory windows for the illumination of the church, and it is probable that there were also galleries, even though no elements — such as smaller columns — were found which could have belonged to a gallery. An important factor which makes this feature desirable in such a church is often overlooked. Since the basilica is half underground, it is difficult to construct aisle roofs which do not get damaged by people or animals walking on them, and from which the rain water can be satisfactorily drained. The difficulty is avoided if the church is of such a height that the aisle roofs stand a meter or so above ground level. If the saint's grave (to be incorporated in the altar) is not deeply buried in the catacomb, the required elevation may be gained without

<sup>1</sup> DE ROSSI, B. A. C., 1874, p. 1 ff.

galleries, but when the grave lies far below the surface it is necessary to incorporate galleries in the design of the basilica, merely to give the walls sufficient height. In this particular case, the graves of Saints Achilleo and Nereo and Saint Petronilla lay about  $7\frac{1}{2}$  meters below the surface of the ground; on the other hand, the aggregate height of column shafts, bases, capitals, arcades, and arch voussoirs (3.50 plus ca. 0.80 plus 1.70 plus 0.60 m.) was roughly 6.60 m. It therefore seems probable that the basilica which came to be built around the martyrs' graves was supplied with galleries.

Documentary evidence for the dating of this basilica is scarce. The catacomb as early as the fourth century was apparently under the administration of the clergy of the *titulus Fasciolae* situated inside the town near the fork of Via Appia and Via Ardeatina, since a fragment of marble screen found in the catacomb bears the inscription FASCIOLA<sup>1</sup>. The first reference to the church may be contained in a passage of the *Liber Pontificalis* which reports that Pope John I (523-526) rebuilt the cemetery of the blessed martyrs Nereus and Achilleus on the Via Ardeatina (*"refecit coemeterium beatorum martyrum Nerei et Achillei in Via Ardeatina"*)<sup>2</sup>. In the terminology of the *Liber Pontificalis* the word *coemeterium* may denote the catacomb as a whole or any part of it, including its principal sanctuary. Similarly, the heading of homily XXVIII of Gregory the Great (590-604) varies in the manuscripts between *"habita in basilica"* and *"in coemeterio Nerei et Achillei"*<sup>3</sup>. On the other hand, the basilica clearly seems to have been known to the writer of the *Epitome de locis sanctorum martyrum* (635-642) which mentions *"Juxta viam ardeatinam ... ecclesia... scae petronellae ibi quoque scs nereus et achilleus et ipse petronella sepulti"*<sup>4</sup>. Marucchi's attribution of the church to the fourth century is obviously based on insufficient evidence<sup>5</sup>. The Damasian epitaph and the decorated column found near the martyrs' graves seem to have belonged to the enlarged *cubiculum* and therefore to antedate the basilica. During the excavations, an epitaph of 395 was indeed found by Marucchi in such a position that it might have been part of the nave pavement, but even if it could be proved that it came from the church floor, there is no proof that it was new when placed there. On the other hand, the style of the masonry is similar to that of S. Agnese f.l.m. and S. Pancrazio<sup>6</sup>, both foundations of Honorius I (625-638), while the plan is obviously very close to that of S. Agnese f.l.m. and the eastern part of S. Lorenzo f.l.m. (579-590)<sup>7</sup>. If there had been no other evidence, these analogies alone would suggest that the basilica of SS. Nereus and Achilleus in the cemetery of Domitilla dated from the end of the sixth or beginning of the seventh century. On the other hand, we have the reference in the *Liber Pontificalis* to work in the *"coemeterium"* undertaken by John I. If this is an allusion to the basilica it shows that it is a little earlier than we would otherwise have suspected although much later than Marucchi thought, but the passage need not necessarily apply to the basilica at all, and a date of about 600 for the building of the basilica seems to us quite possible.

After some time, the structure had apparently weakened and was repaired. When excavated, the intercolumniations of the narthex towards the nave were found to be blocked by walls, leaving only doorways in the two outer intercolumniations (fig. 111, foreground). Similarly, the opening from the north bay of the narthex to the north aisle was blocked. The *opus listatum* of the blocking walls is hardly different from that in the original structure and the alterations therefore seem

<sup>1</sup> MARUCCHI, *op. cit.*, fig. 48; KIRSCH, *Titelkirchen*, p. 91.

<sup>2</sup> L. P. I, pp. 276, 277, n. 11. DE ROSSI, *op. cit.*, 1874, p. 14, and MARUCCHI, *op. cit.*, p. 176, have referred the passage to repairs on the basilica.

<sup>3</sup> MIGNE, *P. L.*, 76, col. 1210.

<sup>4</sup> DE ROSSI, *Roma Sotterranea*, I, p. 141. The «Notitia Ecclesiarum», 625-638, (*ibid.*, p. 139) limits itself to the statement «...descendis per gradus» and «scos. mar. nereum et achileum».

<sup>5</sup> MARUCCHI, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

<sup>6</sup> See above, Vol. I, p. 14 ff., esp. p. 34 f. and below, p. 163, 165 f., 169.

<sup>7</sup> See above, Vol. II, p. 1 ff., esp. p. 135 f.

to date early. The basilica was still in use during the first two thirds of the eighth century. Gregory III (731-741) established a station “*in cimiterio beatae Petronillae*” and donated a golden crown and altar vessels; but thirty years later, under Paul I, the relics of Saint Petronilla were removed to the mausoleum of the Honorian dynasty adjoining the South transept of St. Peter’s in the Vatican<sup>1</sup>. By that time, then, interest had apparently focused on Saint Petronilla. No mention is made of the relics of Saints Nereus and Achilleus until the thirteenth century, when they were brought (from the catacomb?) to the church of S. Adriano. On the other hand, under Leo III (795-816) their patrocinium was transferred to the church, thereby replacing *intra moenia* the *titulus Fasciolae* which since the fourth century had been in charge of the catacomb of Domitilla<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> *L. P. I*, p. 420, 464.

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 137.



SS. NEREO ED ACHILLEO NEAR THE BATHS  
OF CARACALLA

(R. Krautheimer, S. Corbett) \*

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<sup>1</sup>The bibliography given in this book, while extensive, is unreliable.

## B. — ANCIENT DESCRIPTIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

## I. DESCRIPTIONS

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II. ILLUSTRATIONS <sup>1</sup>

- 1561 DOSIO, Small bird's eye view of façade and right flank, from the north, engraving; Map of Rome, 1561 (FRUTAZ, *Piante di Roma*, II, pl. 229).  
 1577 DUPÉRAC-LAFRÉRY, Bird's eye view from northwest showing façade and north side, labeled "S. Nigri" <sup>2</sup>, engraving; map of Rome, 1577 (ed. EHRLE, Rome, 1908; FRUTAZ, *Piante di Roma*, II, pl. 248).  
 1593 TEMPESTA, Sketchy view from northwest showing right flanked, labeled "S. Nigri", woodcut; map of Rome, 1593 (Stockholm, 1915) and 1606 (ed. Ehrle, Vatican City, 1932); Frutaz, *Piante di Roma*, II, pl. 248.  
 ca. 1596 ANONYMOUS, Copy of apse and triumphal arch mosaics, destroyed during restorations of Cardinal Baronio, oil painting; Biblioteca Vaticana (CIAMPINI, *Vetera Monumenta*, 1690-1699, II, pl. 38; DE ROSSI, *Musaici*, 1899, pl. 22; GUERRIERI, *op. cit.*, p. 117).  
 1602-1603 PHILIPP GALLE (copy after 1602 engraving by F. Villamena), Portrait of Cardinal Baronio with view through window of façade and left flank of SS. Nereo ed Achilleo, engraving; Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam (reproduced by: MÜLLER HOFSTEDE, "Rubens' First Bozzetto for Sta. Maria in Vallicella", *The Burlington Magazine* 106 (1964), p. 442 ff., fig. 5).  
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 1821-1845 <sup>3</sup> LETAROUILLY, Façade, plan, interior view of nave towards apse, and details of ambones and altar, engravings; *Édifices*, I, pl. 266.  
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 ca. 1840 L. ROSSINI, Interior view from nave towards apse, engraving; *Scenografia degl'interni delle più belle chiese...*, Rome, 1843, pl. XVIII.  
 1846 CANINA, Plan, transverse and longitudinal elevations, details of ornament and furnishings, engraving; *Tempi Cristiani*, 1846, pl. LIII.  
 1855 FONTANA, View of interior, details of triumphal arch mosaic and church furniture, plan, engraving; *Chiese di Roma*, 1855, I, pls. XLII-XLIV.  
 ca. 1875 PARKER, View of excavation undertaken adjacent to right flank of church, labeled: "Remains of a temple? behind church of Nereus and Achilleus", photograph no. 3117, apparently lost (cf. LAIS, *op. cit.*, 1880, p. 13, n. 1).

<sup>1</sup> For a list of copies after the mosaics, see WAETZOLDT, *Kopien*, p. 54 f.

<sup>2</sup> Only the Dupérac and Tempesta maps give the name « SS. Nigri » for SS. Nereo ed Achilleo.

<sup>3</sup> For the dating of the drawings of *Édifices*, see above, Vol. II, p. 5, n. 7.

## C. — DATES

- 377 An epitaph from near S. Paolo f.l.m. refers to "CINNAMIVS OPAS LECTOR TITVLI FASCIOLE ... GRATIANO III ET MEROBAVDE CONSS." (DE ROSSI, *Inscriptiones*, I, p. 124, no. 262).
- 386—422 Inscription on fragment of marble transenna found in the catacomb of Domitilla on the Via Ardeatina commemorating "PASCENTIVS LECTOR DE FASC(iola)... CONS DN HONORIO..." (DE ROSSI, *op. cit.*, 1875, p. 52 ff.; 1879, p. 92<sup>1</sup>).
- 483—492 In the life of Pope Felix III, reference is made to his father Felix, presbyter "de titulo Fasciolae" (*L.P.* I, p. 252).
- 499 The presbyters Acontius, Paulinus and Epiphanius "tituli Fasciolae" attend the synod of 499 (*M.G.H., Auct. Antiq.*, XII, p. 413 f.).
- 595 The synod of 595 is attended by Justus, presbyter "tituli sanctorum Nerei et Achillei", this being the first mention of the titulus with this designation (*M.G.H., Epistolae* I, p. 367).
- 600, Oct. 5 Pope Gregory the Great in a letter (*Lib. XI, ep. 15*) lists Gratosus as "presb. tituli sanctorum Nerei et Achillei" (*M.G.H., Epistolae* II, p. 275 f.<sup>2</sup>).
- late VIII century In the *Itinerarium Einsidlense*, reference is made to "Nereus et Achilleus" and "Sancti Nerei et Achillei" near the *terme antoniniane* (LANCIANI, *Itin. Einsidlense*, 1891, cols. 440, 444; VALENTINI-ZUCCHETTI, *Cod. Topografico*, II, p. 199).
- 806<sup>3</sup> Leo III presents "in diaconia sanctorum Nerei et Achillei" a textile and a silver crown (*L.P.* II, pp. 9, 21).
- presumably 814 Leo III, seeing that the church is old and liable to flooding, rebuilds it from the foundations on an elevated site nearby ("... ecclesiam beatorum martyrum Nerei et Achillei prae nimia iam vetustate deficere atque aquarum inundantiam repleri iuxta eandem ecclesiam noviter a fundamentis in loco superiore ecclesiam construens mire magnitudinis et pulchritudinis decoratam") and donates a sizable silver ciborium ("cyburium ex argento, pens. lib. CCXV"), six silver canistra ("canistros ex argento"), liturgical vessels of gilded silver ("calicem et patenam ex argento purissimo, deauratos"), a gold and jewel-incrusted crown above the altar ("regnum super altare ex auro purissimo, diversis ornatum pretiosis lapidibus"), and various textiles (*L.P.* II, p. 33).
- prior to 1118 Pope Gelasius, prior to his election, is mentioned as cardinal presbyter "sanctorum Nerei et Achillei" (*L.P.* II, p. 312).
- prior to 1161 Reference is made to Pope Alexander as a former presbyter "tituli sancti Nerei et Achillei" (*L.P.* II, p. 403).
- 1224 A long inscription, of which a fragment is still to be seen in the sacristy of S. Adriano, includes mention of the relics of Saints Nereus, Achilleus and Domitilla as located in a *confessio* under the main altar of S. Adriano: "... Item maior pars corpor. subscriptor. sanctor. est in confessione sub maiori altari scilicet ... S. Nerei, Achil. et Domitill' ... dns gg VIII pp. hanc ecclesiam dedicavit. Act. añ. M. D. et indic. ss." (FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, II, p. 49, 25 ff.).
- ca. 1320 The church is mentioned as having fallen into disuse: "Ecclesia sanctorum Nerei et Archilei, titulus presbiteri cardinalis, non habet servitorem" (*Catal. Taurin.*, as quoted by HÜLSEN, *Chiese*, p. 36, and VALENTINI-ZUCCHETTI, *Cod. Topografico*, III, p. 308).
- 1475 Sixtus IV restores SS. Nereo ed Achilleo in preparation for the *Anno Santo*: "Et ecclesia sanctorum mar. Nerei et Archillei (sic) cum Ecclesia sancti Stephani in Vaticano cum nonnullis cappellis quae omnes collapsae a fundamentis syxtus III anno Iubilei restituit" (ALBERTINI, *loc. cit.*).
- UGONIO specifies that Sixtus IV rebuilt the nave colonnade, hypothesizing that the nave had previously been supported by columns: "Intus ecclesia tres naves habebat qui (?) credibile est lapideis columnis suste(ne)bantur. In cuius locum Xystus 4 qui eam a fundamentis reparavit lapideas suffecit facies" (UGONIO, *Barb. lat.* 2160, f. 196<sup>v</sup>; see also FRA MARIANO DA FIRENZE, *Itinerarium*, 1517, p. 136 f., and URBAN, "Kirchenbaukunst", 1961, p. 94 f.)<sup>4</sup>.
- ca. 1580 UGONIO refers to the church as being in bad repair ("Haec eccl(esia) ... visitur ... penitus ac diruta")

<sup>1</sup> DE ROSSI places the inscription in the consulate IV or VI of Honorius (398 or 404).

<sup>2</sup> GUERRIERI, *op. cit.*, p. 33, mistakenly lists Gratosus as also among the subscribers of the synod of 595.

<sup>3</sup> The dating in these years is given by HÜLSEN, « Osservazioni sulla biografia di Leone III », *Rendic. Pont. Accad.* I (1923), p. 107 ff., esp. p. 109 ff.

<sup>4</sup> BARONIUS' remark: « Xistus enim papa quartus qui restauravit et ipse breviori ambitu ipsam contraxit et obtexit », (APOLLONJ-GHETTI, *S. Susanna [Le chiese di Roma illustrate]*, no. 85, Rome [1965], p. 33) can hardly be used as contemporary evidence for the building activity of Sixtus IV.

and mentions an exterior portico supported by columns (“*Superstat adhuc porticus in tribus columnis...*”); an interior divided into nave and two aisles and supported by columns (see above, dig. 1475); and traces of old mosaics (“*vetera musivi operis vestigia*”) in part lying on the floor of the apse, and including what he identifies as the monogram of Leo IV<sup>1</sup> (Barb. lat. 2160, f. 196<sup>v</sup>).

- 1596—1602 Cardinal Cesare Baronio, appointed titular cardinal in 1596, effects numerous repairs and embellishments.<sup>2</sup> On May 12, 1597, the relics of Nereus, Achilleus and Domitilla are transferred from S. Adriano in solemn procession (“*Quae tria sacra corpora, hoc ipso anno ... MDXCVII quinto id. Maii ex diaconin S. Hadriani ... in suum pristinum locum celebri pompa reduximus...*” [BARONIVS, *op. cit.*, p. 284]; “*Solennissima fu poi la translatione di questi santi corpi, che si fece dalla chiesa di S. Adriano, à questa nel dett’ anno 1599 a’ 12. di Maggio nel quale della santa Chiesa è celebrata l’anniuersaria lor memoria...*” [PANCIOLO, *Tesori nascosti*, 1625 p. 679])<sup>3</sup> and placed below the altar (preliminary letter from C. BARONIO to P. Talpa [ALBERICIUS, *op. cit.*, III, p. 79 ff.])<sup>4</sup>. Stones given Baronio by the abbot of S. Paolo are used in constructing a new altar, below which a confessio was built (“*... l’Altare è bellissimo ... Ho fatta una confessione, dove si tengono le reliquie sotto l’Altare*” [ALBERICIUS, *loc. cit.*]). The chancel area is embellished with ambones and candlesticks, including a handsome Easter candlestick (“*Ho fatto, & benacconcio il presbiterio, & la Sede presbiterale; amboni per l’Evangelio. & epistola; candeglieri nobilmente lavorati ... un bellissimo Cereo paschale molto magnifico*”, [ibid.]); the apse is frescoed (“*ho fatto pinger la tribuna all’antica...*”, [ibid.]); an inscription is placed “*sopra il trono Apostolico*” reading: “*S. Gregorius Papa hic habuit homiliam vicesima octavam*”; and the nave is frescoed with figures of martyrs and saints (“*Si dipingerà nel resto della nave di mezzo gli martirii di detti Santi*”, [ibid.]). See also Cardinal Baronio’s dedicatory inscription: “*TITVLVM HVNC... ORNATVM CVM VETVSTATE PENITVS ESSET CAESAR BARONIVS... IN HANC FORMAM RESTITVIT...*” (FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, XI, p. 423). The altars are consecrated in 1599 (*ibid.*, p. 424), and in 1602 Cardinal Baronio gives a bell for the campanile (see below, dig. 1739).
- 1664 P. Gentili Francesco restores the sacristy, decorating one wall with the genealogy of the Flavian family (LAIS, *op. cit.*, 1880, p. 49).
- 1739 The church bell given by Cardinal Baronio is restored; inscription on bell: *CAESAR BARONIVS PRESBITER CARDINALIS NOLAM HANC IN HONOREM OBTVLIT ANNO DOMINI 1602 QVAM CONGREGATIO ORATORII CONFRACTAM REFECIT ANNO DOMINI 1739* (LAIS, *loc. cit.*; GUERRIERI, *op. cit.*, p. 84).
- 1874 Excavation of a Roman structure to the right of the church (LANCIANI, *F.U.R.*, pl. 42).
- ca. 1875 In the Brochard vineyard adjoining the right flank and the rear of the church, J. H. Parker excavated at the foot of the apse and, at a distance of 5 or 6 m., a semicircular wall curving toward the church at a depth of 3 m. He also finds fragments of a marble transenna, and at a depth of 4 meters, a paved road<sup>5</sup> (LAIS, *op. cit.*, 1880, p. 13).
- 1884 During repairs to the foundation of the church, a Bacchic sarcophagus together with Christian lamps and potsherds is found in the left aisle at a depth of 0.15 m. (*Mon. Accad. Lincei* [1884], p. 222).
- prior to 1905 A curved wall of dressed *peperino* is found below church level in a corridor behind and to the right of the church: “*alcuni anni or sono, in un postico corridore della chiesa fu scoperto un muro curvilineo a blocchi squadrati di peperino, inferiore di livello alla chiesa ... concludere infine dalla posizione dei blocchi ... che l’area dell’antica basilica sarebbe oggi occupata dall’annesso giardino...*” (LAIS,

<sup>1</sup> UGONIO apparently mistakes the monogram of Leo III for that of Leo IV; see discussion in DE ROSSI, *Musaici*, 1899, text to pl. 22.

<sup>2</sup> As early as 1587 Sixtus V entertained a project of restoration (CUGNONI, «*L’autobiografia di Monsignor G. Antonio Santori*», *Arch. Soc. Rom. Stor. Pat.* 13 [1890], p. 151 ff., esp. p. 177).

<sup>3</sup> PANCIOLO, *Tesori nascosti*, 1600, p. 628, correctly places the procession on the vigil of the feast day - that is, May 11 - and describes its triumphal march across the Capitol and through the triumphal arches of Septimius Severus, Titus, and Constantine.

<sup>4</sup> A cosmatesque pulpit («*pulpito con un legile di pietre mischie all’uso antico*» [GIACCHETTI, *Historia della venerabile chiesa di S. Silvestro de Capite*, Rome, 1629, p. 43]; «*antico pulpito di pietra, di varie figure e lavori adornato*» [UGONIO, *Stazioni*, 1588, c. 246<sup>v</sup>]; «*pulpito dove si diceva l’evangelo*» [receipt of stone mason, Archivio di Stato, Misc. Corvisieri, 208/11, Nov. 9, 1596, cited in GAYNOR and I. TOESCA, *S. Silvestro in Capite <Le chiese di Roma illustrate, 73>*, Rome, 1963, p. 64, n. 27]) was acquired by Baronio from S. Silvestro in Capite, presumably for use in SS. Nereo ed Achilleo (GIACCHETTI, *loc. cit.*). Instead, it appears to have gone to S. Cesareo in Via Appia, where an ambone corresponding to the description survives among other cosmatesque furniture installed under Baronio’s supervision between 1597 and 1600 (MATTHIAE, *S. Cesareo de Appia*, Rome, 1955, pp. 35 ff., 53 ff., pls. XVIII ff.). See also below, Vol. IV, S. Silvestro in Capite.

<sup>5</sup> A photograph taken by Parker during the excavation No. 3117, is mentioned by LAIS (*op. cit.*, p. 13, n. 1), but we have not been able to trace it.

*op. cit.*, 1905, p. 274 f.). Lais also mentions the paved street, about 4 m. deep, which had earlier been excavated by Parker behind the apse of the church.

- 1903—1905 Repairs of unknown extent (Documentation: Soprintendenza ai Monumenti, cited by GUERRIERI, *op. cit.*, p. 80).
- 1941 Repairs of roof, inner and outer wall surfaces, and façade (Documentation as above, quoted by GUERRIERI, *loc. cit.*).



## D. — GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The church of SS. Nereo ed Achilleo stands close to the northeast flank of the Baths of Caracalla in the so-called *Passeggiata Archeologica*, the extension of the Via Appia. It is diagonally oriented (pl. V, fig. 117), the entrance being at the northeast end of the nave and the altar at the southwest end. For simplicity in this description, the orientation will be taken as the normal east-west axis. The obliquity of the present plan is probably due to the use of earlier foundation walls. The church stands square with the *thermae*, and part of a Roman wall is found close to the northwest corner of the complex. This wall is constructed of new bricks about 4 cm. thick with mortar beds of about 1 cm.; the modulus of six courses per R. ft. suggests a date at the end of the first or the beginning of the second century. Over this wall, and to the north, rises a later wall and a small square tower built in alternating bands of large tufa blocks and brick — a masonry technique customary in Rome, particularly in the twelfth century<sup>1</sup>. This tufa and brick construction forms the core of an annexed house which was formerly occupied by the priest of the church. Lanciani noted other fragments of classical construction in the same orientation<sup>2</sup>, but we know nothing of their structural character. Vague reports mention still other ancient walls which came to light in the later part of the nineteenth century. An exedra or perhaps half of a circular building was excavated behind the apse of the church at a distance of 5 to 6 m. and at a depth of 3 m., its concavity turned to the east<sup>3</sup>. A street pavement was found close by, at a depth of 4 m. At roughly the same period<sup>4</sup>, a curved wall of squared *peperino* blocks, standing at a level below that of the church, was excavated inside a corridor "added to the church" and apparently near the garden. This curved wall seems to have been either inside the priest's house or else in the corridor adjacent to the north aisle.



(Photo: Stapleford)

Fig. 117. SS. Nereo ed Achilleo, View of façade

The church is a simple basilica with an apsed nave and aisles which are about half the width of the nave. While the apse and perimeter walls are evidently Carolingian, the nave colonnades and clerestorey walls were rebuilt under Sixtus IV. During the Sixtus rebuilding, the original colonnades were replaced by octagonal brick piers surmounted by wide semicircular arches (fig. 118)<sup>5</sup>. Today the nave is illuminated by seven oblong windows with segmental heads — one in the east wall, three in each clerestorey wall — which are evidently of later date; alongside the

<sup>1</sup> See above, Vol. II, p. 139.

<sup>2</sup> LANCIANI, *F. U. R.*, pl. 42.

<sup>3</sup> The exedra was excavated by J. W. Parker in 1873 and it remained open until 1877 (LAIS, *op. cit.*, 1880, p. 13); see also above, p. 138, dig. prior to 1905. The paraphrase of Lais' text as given by GUERRIERI (*op. cit.*, p. 50) is misleading.

<sup>4</sup> The street pavement and the second curved wall were mentioned by LAIS as having been discovered « several years ago »; see *N. B. A. C.* 11 (1903), p. 274 ff.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 137, dig. 1475; also URBAN, « *Kirchenbaukunst* », 1961, p. 73 ff., esp. 94 ff.

windows in the clerestorey walls can be seen filled-in pointed window frames which must belong to the period of Sixtus IV (figs. 119, 121). The remains of other Sixtine windows are seen in the wall of the south aisle, and the marble frame of the main doorway probably also belongs to the same period. The present oblong windows were inserted in 1597 by Baronio, titular cardinal from 1596 until his death in 1607. Baronio was also responsible for most of the decoration of the church as we see it today (figs. 117, 118)<sup>1</sup>.

At the same time, the façade was coated externally with plaster and painted with architectural decorations by Girolamo Massei. Among the faint traces to remain visible are panels framing crosses, pilasters, a frieze at half height, volutes in the triangles of the aisle roofs, and a painted pediment below the actual gable of the nave. A large window in a Baroque frame, flanked by oblong niches (the niches are now blocked up), was broken through the façade. The Quattrocento marble frame of the main doorway was enclosed in a small porch having two granite columns and a triangular pediment<sup>2</sup>. Internally, the walls of the nave, aisles and apse (including the apse vault) were embellished with frescoes by Nicolo Circignani. Of the two altars which were set against the side aisle walls, one was decorated by Cristofano Roncalli with a painting of Saints Nereus, Achilleus and Domitilla<sup>3</sup>. Baronio also raised the level of the choir and built a *confessio* below the high altar to receive the relics of the saints which were transferred from S. Adriano. To separate the choir from the nave, he erected two fine cosmatesque screens, of unknown provenance, and adapted them as ambones. The pulpit, of sixteenth century workmanship, was placed on a huge porphyry base, supposedly taken from the baths of Caracalla, and provided with a newel post, composed of cosmatesque fragments. For the altar, Baronius used a cosmatesque *pluteus*, an Early



Fig. 118. SS. Nereo ed Achilleo, Luigi Rossini, Interior, ca. 1820

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<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 138, dig. 1596-1602, and LAIS, *op. cit.*, 1880, p. 41 ff.

<sup>2</sup> FRANZINI, *op. cit.*, p. 296, gives a good idea of the façade decoration.

<sup>3</sup> For Massei's and Roncalli's work see BAGLIONE, *Vite*, p. 179; see also TITI, *Descrizione delle pitture...*, Rome, 1763, p. 72 f. Titi was the first to name Nicolo Circignani in this connection.

Christian *cancellum* and a Roman fragment, all obtained from S. Paolo f.l.m.<sup>1</sup>, and he composed the episcopal throne out of fragments of cosmatesque sculpture<sup>2</sup>, including part of a Gothic ciborium. From an unrecorded source, possibly from SS. Nereo ed Achilleo itself, he obtained a set of magnificent Renaissance marble balusters, using one of them as an Easter candlestick and others, divided into halves, as pedestals in the aisles and beside the apse<sup>3</sup>. Finally, Baronius consolidated the ninth century mosaics of the apse frontal and, since the mosaics of the half dome were too dilapidated for restoration<sup>4</sup>, he replaced them with a painting. However, before the mosaic was destroyed, a painted copy was made which now decorates the prefect's office in the Vatican Library (fig. 130)<sup>5</sup>.

### E. — ANALYSIS

Internally, the structure of the church is hidden by the sixteenth century murals which embellish the walls of nave, aisles, and apse. The only visible features of earlier date are the mosaics on the exterior face of the apse arch and a marble cornice at the base of the half dome. The cornice, evidently composed of Roman spoils, consists of a row of sculptured marble brackets set about



(Photo: Pont. Comm. di Arch. Sacra)



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 120. SS. Nereo ed Achilleo, South aisle wall, brickwork

Fig. 119. SS. Nereo ed Achilleo, South flank of the basilica

0.50 m. apart which support a course of thin, horizontal marble slabs decorated at their forward edge with a bead-and-reel moulding surmounted by a foliate cyma. The underside of each slab, seen between the brackets, is decorated with grotesque mask and scroll work. Almost identical elements occur in the external cornice of the same apse, and again on the exterior of the apse of S. Martino ai Monti<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Letter from BARONIUS to P. Talpa; ALBERICIUS, *op. cit.*, III, p. 79.

<sup>2</sup> LAIS, *op. cit.*, 1880, p. 48.

<sup>3</sup> Although often regarded as classical spoils, the balusters are really fifteenth century works; the acorns interwoven in the scroll and acanthus decoration suggest the period of Sixtus IV della Rovere. On the other hand, the base of the Easter candlestick is obviously an inverted Roman capital.

<sup>4</sup> UGONIO, ca. 1580, reported seeing fragments of old mosaic; lying on the floor; see above, p. 137 f., dig. 1580.

<sup>5</sup> DE ROSSI, *Mosaici*, Rome, 1899, text to pl. 22; see also GUERRIERI, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 111.



Except for the east façade, the outer walls are largely free of revetment and open for examination; in a few places we have been able to resolve doubtful points by the temporary removal of small areas of plaster (pl. V, 3). The outside face of the south aisle wall is exposed throughout its length except where three modern buttresses lean against it (fig. 119). The brickwork is typically Carolingian. Although not badly worn, the bricks are evidently reused<sup>1</sup> and are set in courses

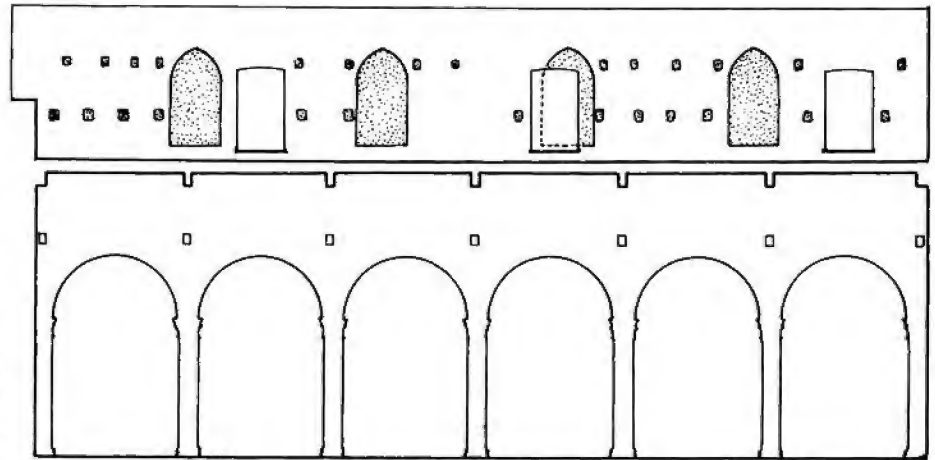


Fig. 121. SS. Nereo ed Achilleo, Longitudinal section of basilica through north aisle, and elevation of north clerestorey

(Drawing: Corbett)



(Photo: Corbett)



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 123. SS. Nereo ed Achilleo, East end of south aisle

Fig. 122. SS. Nereo ed Achilleo, East end of north aisle

which undulate to a notable degree. Bricks of every size and thickness are used indiscriminately and a modulus is difficult to determine; on an average, there are six courses in a R. ft. There is no pointing and the face of the mortar is struck off flush with the wall face (fig. 120). At its base, the wall is founded on a row of re-used "Servian blocks". Where the putlog holes have fallen open, it can be seen that the original scaffolding was made of small round saplings set dangerously far apart, a common characteristic of Carolingian building in Rome; timber was, presumably, expensive.

Originally, only one opening led into the south aisle — a plain doorway to the south, near the east end (fig. 119). The threshold consists of three blocks of marble; the doorhead is formed by a shallow segmental arch of vertical *bipedals* integral with the surrounding brickwork. Thus the

<sup>1</sup> Most probably the bricks were taken from the Baths of Caracalla and are thus in second use, in contrast to less fortunately placed churches which often had to make do with bricks that had already been reused several times, having as a result become smaller and less rectangular.

doorway is an original feature. On the other hand, the slightly pointed outline and the deficiency of archivolts makes it clear that four windows, cut in the aisle wall and subsequently re-sealed, date from the restoration of Sixtus IV. In position, these windows correspond with the four central arches of the Sixtine nave (fig. 121).

Today, the wall of the south aisle rises to a height of 6.50 m. above the level of the church floor but close examination shows that it was originally higher. In the east façade of the church, the aisle end wall still rises about 1½ m. above the roof tiles (fig. 122), and examination of the western wall face at the southern extremity of this wing wall reveals the scar where the upper part of the south wall has been cut away (fig. 123). Hence the original roof of the south aisle must have been



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 124. SS. Nereo ed Achilleo, Southeast corner of nave, bracket in clerestorey wall



(Photo: Stapleford)

Fig. 125. SS. Nereo ed Achilleo, View of apse and flanking towers

at least as high as the raking summit of the façade wing wall<sup>1</sup>. (Additional proof of this is seen in a bracket, projecting from the clerestorey wall (figs. 123, 124), which originally supported the summit of the aisle roof, as will be described in detail below).

At the southwest corner of the church, the south wall is prolonged beyond the end of the south aisle to form one side of a rectangular tower which closes the end of the aisle (pl. V, 3; fig. 125). The cross wall which on the interior separates the tower from the aisle is built in Carolingian brickwork for more than half its total width (pl. V, 1); thus, the original entrance to the tower was only a narrow doorway, and it becomes unlikely that a side chapel occupied the base of the tower. The south wall of the tower is not as high as it was originally, but the ancient brickwork still rises 8.40 m. above the level of the church floor. On its south side the tower had three small windows: the lowest is 0.60 m. wide and 0.70 m. high; its sill lies about 2.50 m. above floor level, and it is spanned by a flat brick arch. Above this is a second window without an arch, only 0.45 m. wide and opening close to the southeast corner of the tower; finally, a third window at the top is placed directly above the first and, like it, is 0.60 m. in width. The sill of the third window is 7 m. above floor level, but the upper portion of the opening has perished in the reconstruction of the higher part of the tower. The wholeness of the brickwork shows that the upper and lower windows were features of the original edifice; only the middle window is a later insertion. In the west wall of the tower we find two oblong windows of sixteenth century date and, near the eaves,

<sup>1</sup>This detail was not observed at first and the analysis and reconstruction presented by KRAUTHEIMER-FRANKL, *op. cit.*, p. 392 ff. has to be revised.



a small blocked Carolingian window, 0.75 m. square and 0.70 m. above floor level. The window head is a segmental brick arch. The tower has no openings on its north side.

The apse is semicircular in plan and was originally illuminated by three round-headed windows, 2.10 m. high, 1.10 m. wide, with sills 3.30 m. above the level of the nave floor (pl. V, 3; fig. 125). The windows are sealed with brickwork of undetermined date<sup>1</sup>. On both the exterior and interior, the apse is crowned by a rich cornice of reused marble brackets supporting horizontal slabs with grotesque masks, like the ones in the external cornice at S. Martino ai Monti. In the nave wall, above the conical apse roof, we see the extremities of the arch bricks at the apex of the half dome. Above these, Carolingian brickwork continues for a further 0.80 m. and ceases at a horizontal line, level with the eaves of the nave. Above this, the gable of the nave roof is built in the rubble masonry characteristic of Quattrocento building in Rome; presumably it dates from the time of Sixtus IV.

To the north, the apse is flanked by a rectangular tower which closely matches the one on the south side, already described. The greater part of it is masked by later walls but a small upper window, with a segmental brick architrave, is visible in its west wall. It corresponds with the western window of the south tower.

The north wall of the church is partly masked by the lean-to roof of an adjacent chamber, but a band of Carolingian brickwork 1.70 m. high is visible above the ridge of this roof extending over the entire length of the aisle (fig. 126). Like the wall of the south aisle, this Carolingian wall was originally at least 1.50 m. higher than it is today; the eastern end wall (that is, the façade) rises to that height above the present roof tiles and bears on its reverse face the same traces of the cutting down of the aisle wall as described on the south side of the church (figs. 122, 123). At each extremity of the north aisle wall, an opening 1 m. wide, facing north, with its sill 5.70 m. above floor level, has been hacked through the Carolingian brickwork and subsequently blocked up again (figs. 122, 127). At a distance of 0.30 m. below these openings, a row of eight travertine corbel brackets projects from the north face of the aisle wall (fig. 126). The brackets are unevenly spaced and are inserted into holes roughly hacked in the brick face. Apparently they were intended to support the roof or ceiling of an adjacent chamber; the eastern end of the same chamber may be recognized in a wall which stood to the east, at right angles to the church and 6.50 m. beyond the line of the façade. In the sixteenth century, as the maps from Dupérac-Lafréry onwards show, the eastern extremity of the chamber was incorporated in a small house standing at right angles to the church<sup>2</sup>. This house disappeared before the nineteenth century except for the east wall, and even this has recently been demolished and rebuilt about 2 m. nearer the church in order to widen the road. When we examined this eastern wall in 1938, we found that it was pierced by three round-headed windows which, from the masonry, appeared to be Romanesque.

The masonry of the clerestory walls, visible externally on both sides of the nave, consists mainly of large, irregularly shaped pieces of tufa interspersed with small broken bricks, occasional whole bricks and broken fragments of marble, a type of masonry which is common in fifteenth century building in Rome (figs. 119, 122, 126). The six rectangular windows with segmental lintels which now illuminate the church (three on each side of the nave) obviously date from the restoration of Cardinal Baronio. They supersede four pointed openings on each side, the outlines of which are still discernible, although walled up. These latter were symmetrically placed with regard to the arcades

<sup>1</sup> The blocking of the central window took place in two stages; in the first it was reduced in size but a small oblong opening was left. Presumably the final closure corresponds with Baronio's decoration of the interior of the apse. Hence the first blocking goes back to the time of Sixtus IV or perhaps to an earlier date.

<sup>2</sup> See the maps quoted above, p. 136, and LANGIANI, *F. U. R.*, pl. 42.

below (figs. 121, 128) and can be assigned, with equal certainty, to the period of Sixtus IV. Two rows of sealed putlog holes at the level of the windows — surprisingly close together and numerous — are probably to be explained as traces of the scaffolding utilized during the building of the fifteenth century wall.

While the greater part of each clerestory wall is built in fifteenth century masonry, fragments of the original Carolingian brickwork survive at the extremities on both sides of the church. At the western end, Carolingian masonry fills the interval between the two western towers and Baronio's window openings. At the east end of the south clerestory wall, a ragged tongue of Carolingian masonry is bonded to the adjoining masonry (figs. 124, 128), and in this fragment there sur-



Fig. 126. SS. Nereo ed Achilleo, Wall of north aisle

(Photo: Corbett)



(Photo: Corbett)

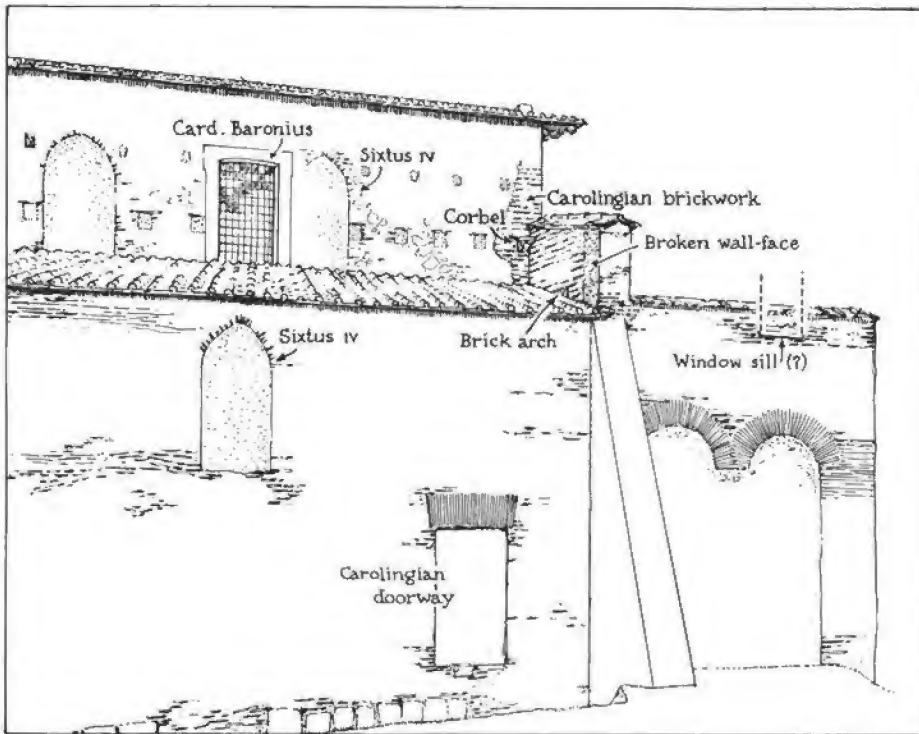
Fig. 127. SS. Nereo ed Achilleo, East end of north aisle, wing wall

vives a single Roman marble bracket of the type which embellishes the apse cornices. It must originally have supported the summit of the Carolingian aisle roof. The Carolingian wall face has been shaved back to make it align with the Sixtine masonry beside it. The characteristic ninth century brickwork is thus no longer visible, but the continuity and uniformity of the mortar leaves no doubt that the irregular surface to its left is the core of the original Carolingian masonry. The original wall face probably coincided with the edge of the sculptured cymatium on the bracket. By chance, the bracket lies at exactly the same level as the putlog holes in the Sixtine wall; at first this bracket appeared to have been adventitiously inserted in a fifteenth century interstice but close inspection of the structure and the temporary removal of some of the revetment corrects this impression and leaves no doubt that the bracket is, in fact, a remnant of the original Carolingian building.

The façade wall of the nave is almost entirely hidden, inside and out, with plaster revetment. The two wing walls which cover the ends of the aisles, however, continue upwards, as we have noted above, for 1.50 m. above the level of the aisle roofs. On their reverse or western face, the brickwork of these façade walls can be examined. It is certainly Carolingian. In the northern wing, a small opening is indicated by the vertically set bricks of a flat architrave, part of which protrudes above the roof tiles (figs. 122, 127). The underside of this architrave must be about 7.50 m. above floor level. The southern wing also has traces of a similar feature (fig. 128), showing that rectangular openings with lintels 7.50 m. above the church floor formerly pierced the eastern

end walls of each aisle (pl. V, 3). The location of the few arch bricks visible, in relation to the width of the aisle, suggests that the openings were only about 1 m. wide. The level of the sills is unknown.

The narrow paved terrace which extends in front of Baronio's portico is bounded to the north and south by lateral walls set at right angles to the façade which are, in effect, prolongations of the



(Drawing: Corbett)

Fig. 128. SS. Nereo ed Achilleo, Southeast end of aisle, clerestory and narthex

aisle side walls; they must originally have been the end walls of a narthex. What remains of the northern wall following the recent realignment of the road is built of brickwork with the usual undulating courses of the Carolingian period, although the character of the wall face is obscured by refacing<sup>1</sup>. Though now sealed up, an opening 1.60 m. in width, in the western part of the wall, is indicated by the remains of a shallow segmental arch, 4.10 m. above ground level. The sill and the right hand jamb of the opening are no longer recognizable. 5.60 m. above ground level and thus 1.50 m. above the intrados of the segmental arch, we see the sill and jambs of another opening;



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 129. SS. Nereo ed Achilleo, Right hand flank of narthex, upper wall

ing; its width was the same as the lower opening but its height is unknown since the upper courses of the wall have disappeared (fig. 129). The corresponding wall at the south end of the terrace, projecting eastwards from the southeast corner of the basilica and extending along the line of the south aisle wall, is also built of brickwork with the familiar Carolingian character. It is 5.0 m.

<sup>1</sup> APOLLONJ-GHETTI, *Santa Susanna (Le chiese di Roma illustrate, 85)*, Rome, [1965], p. 33, interprets these lateral walls of the narthex as the remains of the nave arcades of a huge Early Christian basilica, preceding the church of Leo III. He believes the latter to have been a single naved building. Our discussion will indicate our reasons for disagreeing.

long and encloses a pair of semicircular arches which must originally have been supported on a central column (figs. 117, 128); but the column has disappeared and the two archways are now blocked up. The apex of the intrados rises 4.50 m. above floor level. On the center line of the more easterly arch and about 2 m. above its apex we note a horizontal marble slab almost one meter in length. The slab is too heavy to have been included haphazardly in the structure of the wall and it seems more likely to have been a window sill; it thus seems likely that the narthex had two stories.

## F. — RECONSTRUCTION

### 1. The Titulus Fasciolae

The documentary evidence leaves no doubt that the Carolingian basilica of SS. Nereo ed Achilleo took the place of an earlier building, the *titulus Fasciolae*. But it does not seem to have occupied the same site, as no archaeological evidence of an earlier sanctuary is to be found in the present church and its annexes, unless it be the fragment of Roman wall incorporated in the priest's house near the northwest corner of the basilica, or the Roman chambers noted by Lanciani to the east of the façade. The identification of these remains with the titulus is unlikely, however, since the *Liber Pontificalis* states specifically that the church of Leo III was built on a different and more elevated site than the antecedent titulus. Hence the remains of the titulus are probably buried somewhere near the Carolingian building: either to the north, where Lanciani notes Roman walls in what was then the Vigna Brochard; or to the west, where, in 1873, J. H. Parker is reported to have discovered and photographed a semicircular (or perhaps circular) structure "a few meters behind the apse of the church"; or to the north or northwest, where a curved wall (another apse?) was seen in a corridor. No conclusion, or even hypothesis, can be based on these vague reports and both the location and the plan of the *titulus Fasciolae* remain unknown<sup>1</sup>.

### 2. The Carolingian Basilica

In plan, the basilica of Leo III survives almost complete; it consisted of a simple apsed nave flanked by aisles. The internal length of the nave, 25.73 m. or about 86 R. ft., is precisely three times its breadth, and the remains of the Carolingian clerestorey walls show that this was the original proportion. The breadth of the aisles is slightly less than half that of the nave and the north aisle is narrower than the south, an irregularity which may be attributable to the use of classical walls in the foundations. A small doorway opened to the south in the eastern part of the south aisle and its threshold shows that the original nave floor was approximately at the same level as it is today. We are uncertain as to the spacing of the original nave colonnades, the type of column, and the material of the shafts, and we do not know whether they supported arcades or lintels, since colonnades and clerestorey walls were entirely rebuilt in the fifteenth century.

The narthex at the east end of the church was some 15 R. ft. deep. We presume that the three columns, described by Ugonio and also apparently noted by Dupérac on his map of Rome, belonged

<sup>1</sup> APOLLONJ-GHETTI, *Santa Susanna, op. cit.*, p. 32 f., has proposed a reconstruction of the church and its chronology much at variance with the one proposed by us. He maintains that originally the church was a basilica much larger in size, and that of this structure, the first two easternmost arcades survive in the double arcade on either side of the narthex. This early basilica, according to his thesis, was reduced in size by Leo III to a single naved building by the blocking of these arcades. Finally, he believes that the present arcading is due to a subdivision of Leo's single naved church by Sixtus IV.

Our analysis as presented makes it impossible to accept this proposal.



to the façade of the narthex, but we have no other information about it. The southern end of the narthex was open, with two arches supported on a central column. The northern end seems to have been closed except for an opening 1.60 m. wide.

At the western end of the church, the aisles terminated at rectangular towers which flanked the apse. To judge from the fenestration, each tower had three stories. It has been suggested that the lower story of each tower was a pastophory, indicating the prevalence of a Greek or Syrian ritual at the time the church was built (R. K.)<sup>1</sup>. If so, these pastophoria were accessible only



(Photo: Vat. Lib.)

Fig. 130. SS. Nereo ed Achilleo, Mosaics of apse vault and face of apse, copy in tempera, prior to 1593

through narrow doorways, since the removal of the revetment inside the southern tower has established the continuity of the Carolingian brickwork across more than half the width of the aisle. We have also identified one jamb of the original doorway which led into the tower from the aisle. But then, pastophoria with narrow doorways are frequent in the eastern provinces as well as in western examples<sup>2</sup>. On the other hand, it is equally possible that the ground floor of the towers housed only the stairs leading to their upper floors (S. C.).

The original apse is still intact. On the exterior, at eaves level, it is decorated with a rich cornice made of reused sculptured classical fragments, and a similar cornice passes around the inner face at the base of the vault. The ninth century mosaics of the vault (fig. 130) perished in the fifteenth century, although Ugonio saw remaining fragments<sup>3</sup>. The mosaics on the apse frontal still exist. The sanctuary of the church was formerly illuminated by three arched windows in the curved apse wall (fig. 131).

While the plan of the church can be reconstructed with ease, the elevation is more problematical. The apex of the south aisle roof, where it leaned against the clerestory wall, is indicated by the

<sup>1</sup> KRAUTHEIMER-FRANKL, *op. cit.*, p. 344.

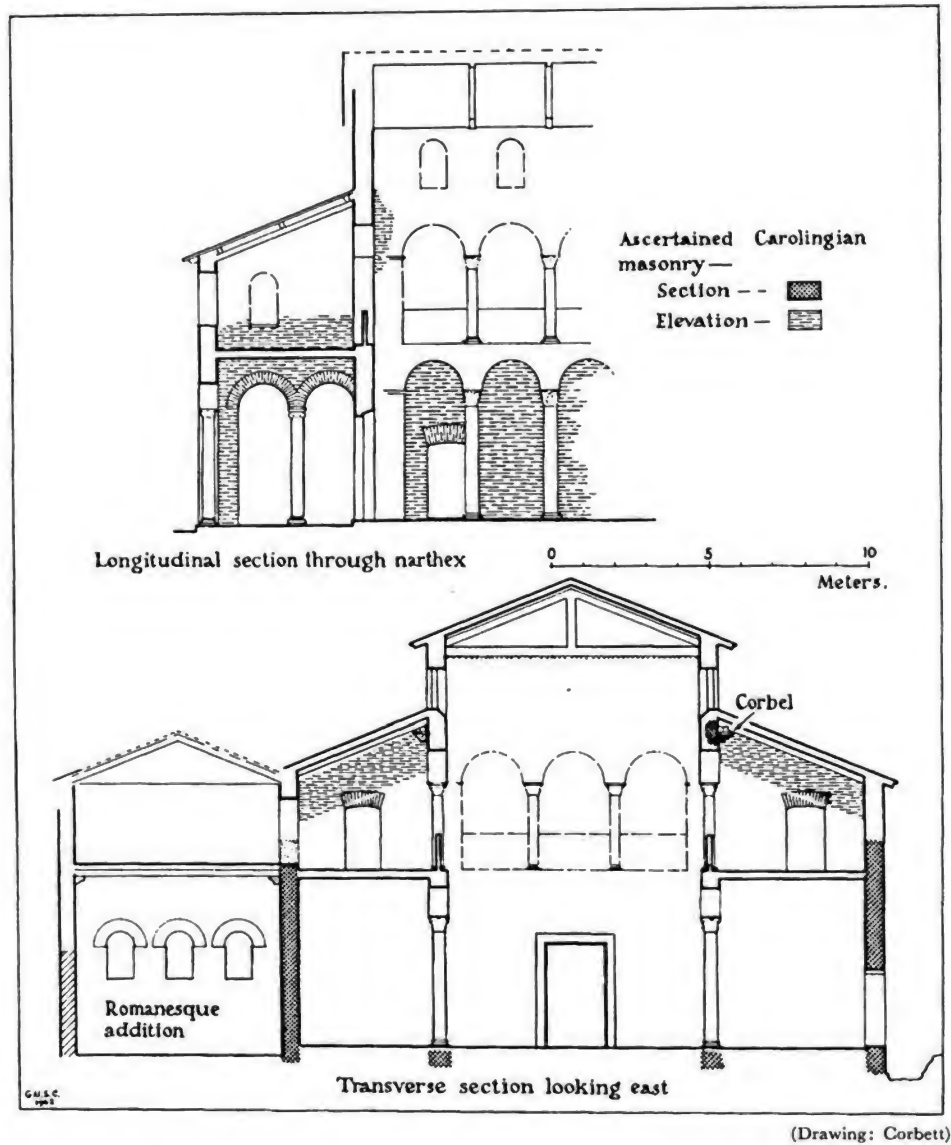
<sup>2</sup> Narrow doorways in both pastophoria are found, for example, at H. Sophia, Nicaea (A. M. SCHNEIDER, *Die römischen und byzantinischen Denkmäler von Iznik-Nicaea [Istanbuler Forschungen XLI]*, Berlin, 1943); R'safah, Basilica B and Central Church (KOLLWITZ, « Die Grabungen in Resafa », *Neue deutsche Ausgrabungen in Mittelmeergebiet...*, Berlin, 1959, p. 45 ff.); throughout Syria (BUTLER, *Early Churches in Syria*, Princeton, 1929, *passim*); S. Maria Antiqua in Rome (see above, Vol. II, p. 261 f., concerning the remodeling of the entrances to the side chambers). Narrow doorways in only one of the pastophoria are found in Syria, too frequently to be listed.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 137 f., dig. ca. 1580.



corbel bracket at the eastern extremity of the southern clerestory wall (figs. 124, 128). It is firmly built into Carolingian masonry and is certainly *in situ*. This corbel and the elevation of the façade wing walls show that the original aisle roof was 1.50 m. higher than at present. We find no trace of the original clerestory windows.

The narthex was in two stories. The openings in the north wall seem to indicate stairs, since their level does not correspond either with ground floor or gallery, but the structure is insufficiently



(Drawing: Corbett)

Fig. 131. SS. Nereo ed Achilleo, Reconstruction of Carolingian church.

preserved to permit complete explanation. The upper part of the narthex was probably lit by a row of east windows and we have also noted what seems to be a marble window sill, *in situ*, above the pair of arches in the south wall of the narthex. It is possible that the upper narthex opened into the nave through a triple arcade, and we have drawn this feature in our restored cross section (fig. 131), but it is purely conjectural.

The two flat arches noted in the façade wing walls about 7.50 m. above floor level demonstrate the presence in the original Carolingian church of openings about 1 m. wide at a high level in the east end wall of each aisle (figs. 122, 128). They are much too high for the lintels of doorways through which the aisles were entered at ground level. Nor can they have been windows above such doorways, for they would have been masked externally by the upper part of the narthex. The only possible interpretation of these high openings in the façade wing walls is as doorways leading from the upper story of the narthex into galleries above the aisles, thus establishing the

church as a basilica with galleries (fig. 131)<sup>1</sup>. The level of the gallery floors may be deduced approximately by subtracting the presumed height of the doorways from the altitude of the flat top lintels (7.50 m. above floor level). This gives a height of roughly 5.50 m. above the floor, and this is confirmed by the sill level of two secondary openings cut in the north wall of the north aisle at the eastern and western extremities of the church, about 5.70 m. above floor level (see pl. V, 3, isometric drawing). The openings must have been doorways affording access from the north gallery of the church to an adjacent upper room which lay parallel to it, on the north. Doubtless the secondary corbel stones inserted in the north wall (fig. 126) were for the support of the beams on which this upper floor rested. The gallery seems to have been more or less at the same level as this upper chamber. To reach these galleries there may have been staircases in the western towers (if they were of wood they would leave no trace) and it is even possible that the towers were provided solely for this purpose. At the same time, the upper and lower openings in the north wall of the narthex, at levels which correspond with nothing else, may also be traces of a staircase; if so, it would be possible to explain the towers either as living quarters for clergy or as store rooms.

### G. — CHRONOLOGY

The dating of the church of SS. Nereo ed Achilleo at the Baths of Caracalla presents no difficulties<sup>2</sup>. The core of the present building and the remains of the original decoration date from the pontificate of Leo III, presumably from 814. It replaced the *titulus Fasciolae*, but neither the site nor the plan of the latter are known, except possibly for a wall incorporated into the Romanesque southwest wall of the priest's house. Likewise, the two remodelings of the church of Leo III are well dated, the first under Sixtus IV (1475), the second under Cardinal Cesare Baronio (1596-1602).

### H. — HISTORICAL POSITION

The church of SS. Nereo ed Achilleo as reconstructed on the basis of the newly established evidence differs from the accepted picture of Carolingian basilicas in Rome. The existence of galleries above the aisles, as well as the two-storied structures flanking the apse, are features linked more easily to the Eastern tradition established in Rome since at least the sixth century rather than to the revival of Early Christian types under Charlemagne and Leo III. A parallel to the appearance of galleries in churches inside the city is found in the remodeling of S. Maria in Cosmedin under Hadrian I in the latter part of the eighth century<sup>3</sup>. It is also found in the rebuilding under Leo III of S. Susanna, but there the new galleries probably represent only a restoration of galleries which were already present in the fourth century structure<sup>4</sup>. On the other hand, at SS. Nereo ed Achilleo, the galleries above the aisles were linked to each other by the upper story of the narthex, and this may indeed represent a collateral influence from sixth and early seventh century

<sup>1</sup> The reconstruction proposed by KRAUTHEIMER-FRANKL, *op. cit.*, p. 392 and fig. 3, must be abandoned on this point.

<sup>2</sup> The contrary opinion of APOLLONJ-GHETTI, *Santa Susanna, op. cit.*, has been dealt with above, p. 148, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> See above, Vol. II, pp. 293, 301 f.

<sup>4</sup> See below, Vol. IV.

basilicas with galleries in Rome, catacomb basilicas *ad corpus*, such as S. Lorenzo f.l.m., and S. Agnese f.l.m.<sup>1</sup> The two-story chambers at the ends of aisles and galleries are so far without counterpart in Rome. Their closest parallels are still Syrian churches of the fifth and sixth centuries, such as Hass, Qalb Louzeh, or the Central Church at R'safah<sup>2</sup>. But the time lag between these structures and SS. Nereo ed Achilleo, three hundred years or nearly so, presupposes intermediary links — and these are still missing.

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<sup>1</sup> See above, Vol. I, pp. 31 f., 35 f.; Vol. II, pp. 123 ff., 143 ff.

<sup>2</sup> BUTLER, *Early Churches in Syria*, *op. cit.*, pp. 130, 73, and KOLLWITZ, *Neue Deutsche Ausgrabungen... op. cit.*, both as quoted above, p. 149. n. 3.

## S. PANCRAZIO

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## B. — ANCIENT DESCRIPTIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

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<sup>1</sup> Erroneously identified by Ashby as a view of S. Matteo in Merulana.

<sup>2</sup> See above, S. Martino ai Monti, p. 89, n. 1.



## C. — DATES

- 304, May 12 Traditional date of martyrdom and burial of St. Pancratius (*AA. SS.*, Maii, III, p. 21); cf. FRANCHI DE' CAVALIERI, *Hagiographica ... (Studi e testi, 19)*, Rome, 1908, p. 77.
- 422 The *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* lists on May 12, the festival of St. Pancratius “*Via Aurelia miliario secundo*” (*AA. SS.*, Nov. II, 1, 59).
- 498—514 According to the Laurentian fragment Pope Symmachus renovates the cemetery of S. Pancrazio and does some new building there: “... *nonnulla etiam cymeteria et maxime sancti Pancrati renovans plura illic nova quoque construxit*” (*L.P.* I, p. 46), whereas the *Liber Pontificalis* more specifically states that Symmachus erected a basilica to St. Pancratius (“... *fecit basilicam sancti Pancrati*”), donated a silver arch (“*et fecit arcum argenteum*”) and build a bath (“*balneum*”) on the site. (*L.P.* I, p. 262).
- 521—537 Funeral inscriptions preserved in S. Pancrazio, some dating from the first quarter of the sixth century, reveal that the catacomb was under the administration of the clergy of the titulus of S. Crisogono and serviced by a *praepositus* of S. Pancrazio, inscription of 521 AD:  
 HVNC LOCVM AVGVSTVS ET GAVDIOSA SE VIBVS COMPARAVERVNT A PRESVTERIS / TITVLI SANG. CRISOGONI ... / VEL A FILIPPO PREPOSITO BEATI MARTYRIS PRANCATI ... / SVB D. V. NON IVLIAS F(l. Val)ERIO VC CONS (SILVAGNI, *Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae*, II, Rome, 1935, p. 58). Additional funeral inscriptions are recorded by DE ROSSI, *Inscriptiones*, I, p. 442, 481, 527 (977, 1057, 1159) and *Roma Sotterranea*, III, p. 519 ff., and by BOLDETTI, *op. cit.*, p. 86.
- 556 Pope Pelagius I and the Imperial viceroy Narses, after offering a litany “*ad sanctum Pancratium*”, lead a procession to St. Peter’s (*L.P.* I, p. 303).
- 594 Through a letter addressed by Gregory I to the abbot Maurus, the Benedictines are given the church, since it had been poorly serviced by the clergy of S. Crisogono, and are established “*in monasterio eidem ecclesiae cohaerenti*” (*Gregorii ... Regesta, Epist.*, IV, 18 [*M.G.H., Epistolae*, I, 1, p. 252 f.]; see also FERRARI, *Monasteries*, p. 341).
- ca. 590 Gregory of Tours refers to St. Pancratius as the protector of oaths, relating that any potential perjurer, on coming near the martyr’s tomb - that is, before reaching the chancel screens below the arch where the choir stands (“... *antequam usque ad cancellos, qui sub arcu habentur, ubi clericorum psallentium stare mos est accedat.*”) - will be instantly struck down (*De gloria martyrum*, chap. 38 [*M.G.H., Script. rer. merov.*, I, p. 512 f.]).
- 590—604 Gregory I delivers a homily “*in basilica sancti Pancratii*” on the occasion of the Saint’s feast day (*Homiliarum in Evangelia*, Lib. II, Homil. XXVII: *P.L.*, LXXVI, col. 1204).
- 625—638 Pope Honorius I builds the basilica from the ground up “*a solo*”; the basilica is now mentioned, for the first time, as located on the via Aurelia “... *basilicam beato Pancratio martyri via Aurelia*”. The Pope embellishes the martyr’s tomb with silver “*ornavit sepulchrum eius ex argento*”, and donates a silver ciborium “*ciburium super altare ex argento*”, five silver arches, “*arcos argenteos V*” and three gold candlesticks “*candelabra aurea III*”, (*L.P.* I, p. 324). See also the inscription, read “*in absida sci Pancratii*” by the compilers of the Einsiedeln sylloge:

“*ob insignè meritu et singulare beati pan  
 chratii martyris beneficium basilicam  
 vetustate confectā extra corpus mar  
 tyris neglecti antiquitatis extractā  
 Honorius eps, dī famulus abrasa uetustatis  
 mole ruinq. minante. a fundamētis  
 noviter plebi dī construxit et corpus  
 martyris, quod ex obliquo aulae iacebat,  
 altari insignibus ornato metallis loco  
 proprio collocavit*”

(DE ROSSI, *Inscriptiones*, II, p. 24; DIEHL, *Inscriptiones*, p. 349, no. 1786).

The *Notitia ecclesiarum* confirms this activity of Honorius, but limits it to a rebuilding “*magna ex parte*”: “... *ambulas ad scm pancratium cuius corpus quiescit in formosa eccl via aurelia quam scs honorius pp magna ex parte reaedificavit*” (DE ROSSI, *Roma Sotterranea*, I, p. 140; VALENTINI-ZUCCHETTI, *Cod. topografico*, p. 92 ff.).

- 772—795 Pope Hadrian I donates curtains to the church, including 38 of purple cloth and 38 of linen (“*vela de stauraci seu tyrea numere XXXVIII et linea XXXVIII*”; *L.P.* I, p. 504), and effects a thorough restoration (“*basilicam beati Pancratii ... nimia vetustate dirutam ... omnia in integro a noviter restauravit*”; *L.P.* I, p. 508) of basilica and monastery; the latter is referred to, for the first time, as the monastery of St. Victor (“*... cum monasterio sancti Victoris*”; *L.P.* I, p. 508).
- presumably 800 and 806 Leo III presents the church with a purple curtain decorated with the Ascension (“*habentem storiā Ascensionis Domini*”), a large silver ciborium (“*cyburium ex argento purissimo, pens. lib. CCCLXVII*”), and a silver crown (“*coronam ex argento*”; *L.P.* II, pp. 9, 10 f., 20)<sup>1</sup>.
- ca. 1180 Listed by Johannes Diaconus and Petrus Mallius among the twenty abbeys of Rome (HÜLSEN, *Chiese*, p. 409).
- 1244—1249 The church is furnished with two pulpits (now lost), donated by the abbot of the monastery. Inscription with the date 1249 on the pulpit to the left, recorded by UGONIO, *Stazioni*, 1588, c. 324 (FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, XI, p. 376). Josi identified a fragment of an inscription bearing the date 1244 as having come from the epistle pulpit to the right; the fragment is preserved in the ex-Lateran collections (JOSI, *op. cit.*, *Rendic. Pont. Accad.*, 1953, p. 396). Giacomo de Sanctis executed drawings of both pulpits in 1798 (MUÑOZ, *op. cit.*, 1911, figs. 1-5).
- 1255 Alexander IV assigns the monastery to the Cistercians (bull, Dec. 1, 1255; HÜLSEN, *Chiese*, p. 409, quoting BOUREL DE LA RONCIERE, *Les registres d'Alexandre IV*, I, Paris, 1902, p. 265, n. 895).
- 1443—1446 The church is in bad repair: “*quam structura ornamentisque insignem brevi nisi succutatur (sic. for succurratur) apparet ruituram*” (BIONDO, *Roma instaurata*, 1527, c. 5<sup>v</sup>; 1543 ed., c. 8<sup>v</sup>).
- 1475—1480 Repairs under Sixtus IV (bull, May 8, 1475; Arch. Segr. Vat., Reg. 574, f. 85, and 604, f. 47, cited by BULLETTI, in FRA MARIANO DA FIRENZE *Itinerarium*, p. 99, note 5) close off the nave from the aisles (“*solum medialis navis ... reparatur*”; *ibid.*, p. 99; see also ALBERTINI, *loc. cit.*).
- 1484—1492 Innocent VIII completes restoration of the church (coat of arms on façade; “*La facciata è nova e l'arme di Innoc. 8 mostra che da lui sia stata rinovata ... questa chiesa*” [UGONIO, *Barb. lat.* 2160, fol. 186, and *Stazioni*, c. 323]).
- 1517 Leo X establishes S. Pancrazio as a cardinal's title church with the station of the Sunday following Easter (“*Papa Leone X ... diede il titolo ... concesse ancora la stazione*” [PANCIOLOLI, *op. cit.*, 1625, p. 571]; see also PIAZZA, *Gerarchia*, p. 598 ff.).
- 1592 Cardinal Ippolito Aldobrandini (later Clement VIII), as titular cardinal of S. Pancrazio, places two colonnettes with spiral flutings, decorated with the Aldobrandini arms, in front of the martyr's tomb (FUSCIARDI, *La basilica e il convento di S. Pancrazio*, *op. cit.*, p. 22).
- 1606—1609 Extensive remodeling begun by Ludovicus de Torres, appointed titular cardinal in 1606. Aisles opened, piazza in front of church widened, street leveled. Frescoes by Antonio Tempesta placed in the chancel bay (BAGLIONE, *Vite*, p. 203). Work incomplete at the time of his death (“*... il Cardinale Monreale vi ha fatto spianare la strada, et di già risarcire detta chiesa*” [CHERUBINI, *Cose maravigliose*, Rome, 1609, p. 20, as quoted by ORBAAN, *Documenti*, p. 147, note 1; see also pp. 79, 144 for *avvisi* of 1607 and 1609]; “*ha fatto spianare la strada, fatto una bella piazza, risarcita tutta la Chiesa*”, FELINI, *op. cit.*, p. 42). Inscriptions of Ludovicus de Torres on the column bases of the baldacchino, above the two side doors of the façade, on the altar (now lost), and above the door leading into the north aisle (recorded in FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, XI, p. 377, with the exception of the last).
- 1623—1641 Cosmus de Torres is title cardinal of S. Pancrazio (EUBEL, *Hierarchia Catholica...*, IV, 1934, p. 47).
- 1627 High altar containing relics of Saint Pancratius consecrated. Inscription, now lost, quoted in ANONYMOUS, *Della basilica di S. Pancrazio...*, *op. cit.*, p. 18.
- 1662—1665 The Carmelites restore the church and convent, after Alexander VII and the titular abbot Francesco Mایدalchini placed the buildings in their charge (“*Franciscus Mایدalchinus ... Ecclesiam S. Pancratii extra Urbem Congregationi Carmelitarum Discalceatorum ad fidei propa-*

<sup>1</sup> Regarding the presumable dates of Leo's donations, see HÜLSEN, “Osservazioni sulla biografia di Leone III”, *Rendic. Pont. Accad.* I (1923), p. 107 ff.

*gationem sponte donavit*", CIACONIUS, *Res Gestae Pont.*, 1677, IV, col. 684; also FUSCIARDI, *La basilica...*, *op. cit.*, p. 27 ff.).

Inscription uncovered in 1910 (later replaced) over main convent door:

D.O.M. // ALEXANDRO VII SVMMO PONTIFICI  
 QVOD HVIVS MONASTERII CONCESSIONEM AB EM. D. FRANCISCO S.R.E.  
 CARD. MAIDALCHI[no] ... LIBERALITER FACTAM CONGREGATIONI: I[ta]l  
 CARMEL. DISCAL. PONTIFICO DIPLOMATE IN PERPETVVM CONFIRMAVERIT  
 AC SEMINARIVM EIVSDEM AD FIDEI PROPAGATIONEM PRIMVM A FEL RECOR  
 PAVLO V IN CONVENTV S. MARIAE DE VICTORIA VRBIS INSTITVTVM IN HOC  
 DE NOVO EREXERIT ISTVD QVALECVMQVE GRATI ANIMI MONVMENTVM  
 SVO BENEFAC[tori] POSVER[e] ...

(quoted, with errors, and reproduced by FUSCIARDI, *La basilica...*, *op. cit.*, p. 35 f.).

- 1673 The Carmelites and Cardinal Pietro Vidoni (of the Titulus Calixti) restore church and convent.

Inscription on altar (RESTITVTAM CONGREGATIO CARMEL. DISCALC. ORNAVIT ANN. MDCLXXIII; FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, p. 378); arms of Alexander VII on arch leading into presbytery; inscription of Cardinal Vidoni on entablature of apse, now lost (see also, PANCIOLO-POSTERLA-CECONI, *Roma sacra e moderna*, Rome, 1725, p. 404).

- 1765 Additional restorations effected by the Carmelites, as noted on inscription of 1673 (" ET ITER. RESTAVRAVIT A. MDCCLXV "; FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, XI, p. 378).

- 1798 Church damaged and closed; furniture, tombs slabs, marble revetment removed as spoils: " TEMPLVM ... EXVVVIS OPERIS PRETIO AVGVSTVM A. MDCCLIC DIREPTVM EXPILATVM FACTVM SPELVNCA LATRONVM DECOREM DOMVS DEI ITERVM INDVIT A. MDCCCXVI... " (FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, XI, p. 379; also, PAULINUS A. S. BARTHOLOMEO, *op. cit.*, *passim*; FUSCIARDI, *La basilica...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 47 f., 49).

- 1813—1816 Church reopened and repaired; marbles and tomb slabs returned (*Forcella, Iscrizioni, loc. cit.*; FUSCIARDI, *La basilica...*, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*).

- 1851—1852 Altars consecrated in left and right aisles (FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, XI, p. 381).

- 1853—1855 Church repaired following damages incurred in the fighting of 1849. Inscription to the left of the main entrance to church:

BASILICA ... POST RESTITVTA EXCVLTAQVE ERAT  
 ITERVM IMPROBORVM FACTIONE INCESTOQVE FLAGITIO  
 AN. REP. SAL. MDCCCL POLLVTA DEFORMATA SVBVERSAQVE  
 ITERVM PII IX... MVNIFICENTIA ...  
 DEQVE PECVNIA COLLATITIA REPARATA  
 CARMELITIBVSQVE EXCALCEATIS  
 PROFECTVRIS IN SACRAS EXPEDITIONES EXCIPIENDIS  
 IDONEA REDDITA EST AN. R. S. MDCCCLIII.

(FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, XI, p. 382; FUSCIARDI, *La basilica...*, *op. cit.*, p. 57 f.).

- 1924 Excavation and consolidation of catacomb; repairs and restoration of church (FUSCIARDI, *La basilica...*, *op. cit.*, p. 63).

- 1959 Restoration of church interior; marble revetment and frescoes placed in apse (NESTORI, *op. cit.*, p. 235 ff.).

#### D. — GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The basilica of S. Pancrazio stands near Via Vitellia, over the catacombs of Ottavilla and Capledio, about one kilometer outside Porta S. Pancrazio, a short distance to the south of Via Aurelia Antica. It is surrounded on three sides by the Villa Pamphili and is approached from the southeast by a lane, branching off Via Vitellia, which widens into a small forecourt in front of the church. Little is known of the site in Roman times. Below the church and behind extends a large catacomb, not yet well explored<sup>1</sup>. A cemetery *sub divo* has been discovered in the forecourt; some of the graves are as late as the fourth century<sup>2</sup>. In 1933-4 other finds were seen briefly beneath the church floor and summarily sketched<sup>3</sup>: a *diverticulum*, at unrecorded level, traversing the area of the church diagonally from the second bay of the left aisle to the fourth bay of the right aisle; and a double tomb chamber lying below the fifth and part of the sixth bays of the right hand aisle, its pavement 1.70 m. below the church floor. Another tomb was noted in the sixth bay of the nave, extending into the choir; yet another came to light below the sixth arch on the left hand side of the nave, but in neither case was the level recorded. The double tomb has been assigned to the second century, the other two to the first century A. D.

The orientation of the church is diagonal but, for brevity, we assume that the right hand side of the basilica lies to the north. The three Baroque doorways of the west front (fig. 132) and the windows above them evidently date from the restorations initiated by Cardinal Ludovicus de Torres (1606-1609) and continued by his brother Cosmus (1623-1641). The bulk of the work seems to have been Ludovicus'; he was, in any case, responsible for the remodeling of the façade and the laying out of the forecourt<sup>4</sup>. Nevertheless, the plain external wall of the façade and the pediment which crowns it date from the fifteenth century, as the style of the masonry, a small plaque with the arms of Innocent VIII which occupies a central position, and documentary evidence<sup>5</sup> testify. The left hand side wall of the church is buttressed externally by a row of rectangular piers, the majority built of small peperino blocks (*opus saracinescum*), a technique of construction used in Rome as early as the late twelfth and occasionally as late as the sixteenth, but most common in the thirteenth century (fig. 133). Under the cardinals de Torres (witness their tower crest inserted in the masonry), the piers were equalized, heightened and made to support an arcade. After 1633, the arcade was extended as far as the west end of the church by adding three more piers, the *terminus post quem* being given by their absence from the plan which Carlo Rainaldi made in that year (fig. 135)<sup>6</sup>. These last piers are constructed entirely of rubble brickwork like the arcades above, instead of peperino blocks. Over the arcade, the aisle wall is pierced by rectangular windows with segmental arches apparently of seventeenth century date. At the rear of the church the apse projects from the west wall (fig. 134); the masonry style of both wall and apse is evidently Early Christian. The wall of the right hand, or north, aisle is concealed by the buildings of the adjacent monastery.

<sup>1</sup> STYGER, *op. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> MUÑOZ, *op. cit.*, *Boll. d'Arte* 6 (1912) p. 394 ff.

<sup>3</sup> NESTORI, *op. cit.*, describes the finds and reproduces (pl. IV of his paper) a tracing taken from notes and a summary plan found among the papers of the *Pontificia Commissione di Archeologia Sacra*. The twelve holes seen in the front part of the church on the plan are interpreted by Nestori, correctly in our opinion, as cuttings made in the live rock to support scaffolding during some major building campaign, possibly that of the seventeenth century.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 156, dig. 1606-1609; and FRANZINI, *Cose maravigliose*, 1610, p. 41 ff.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 156, digs. 1475, 1484-1492; and UGONIO, *Stazioni*, c. 323.

<sup>6</sup> Vatican Library, Barb. lat. 4411, f. 20; see above, p. 154. The absence of the end piers from Rainaldi's plan of 1633 suggests that they were inserted by Cosmus de Torres between 1633 and 1641; on the other hand, Ludovicus de Torres' name is inscribed on a doorway enclosed by these piers.



(Photo: Gab. Fot. Naz.)

Fig. 132. S. Pancrazio, Facade



(Photo: Gab. Fot. Naz.)

Fig. 133. S. Pancrazio, Left flank



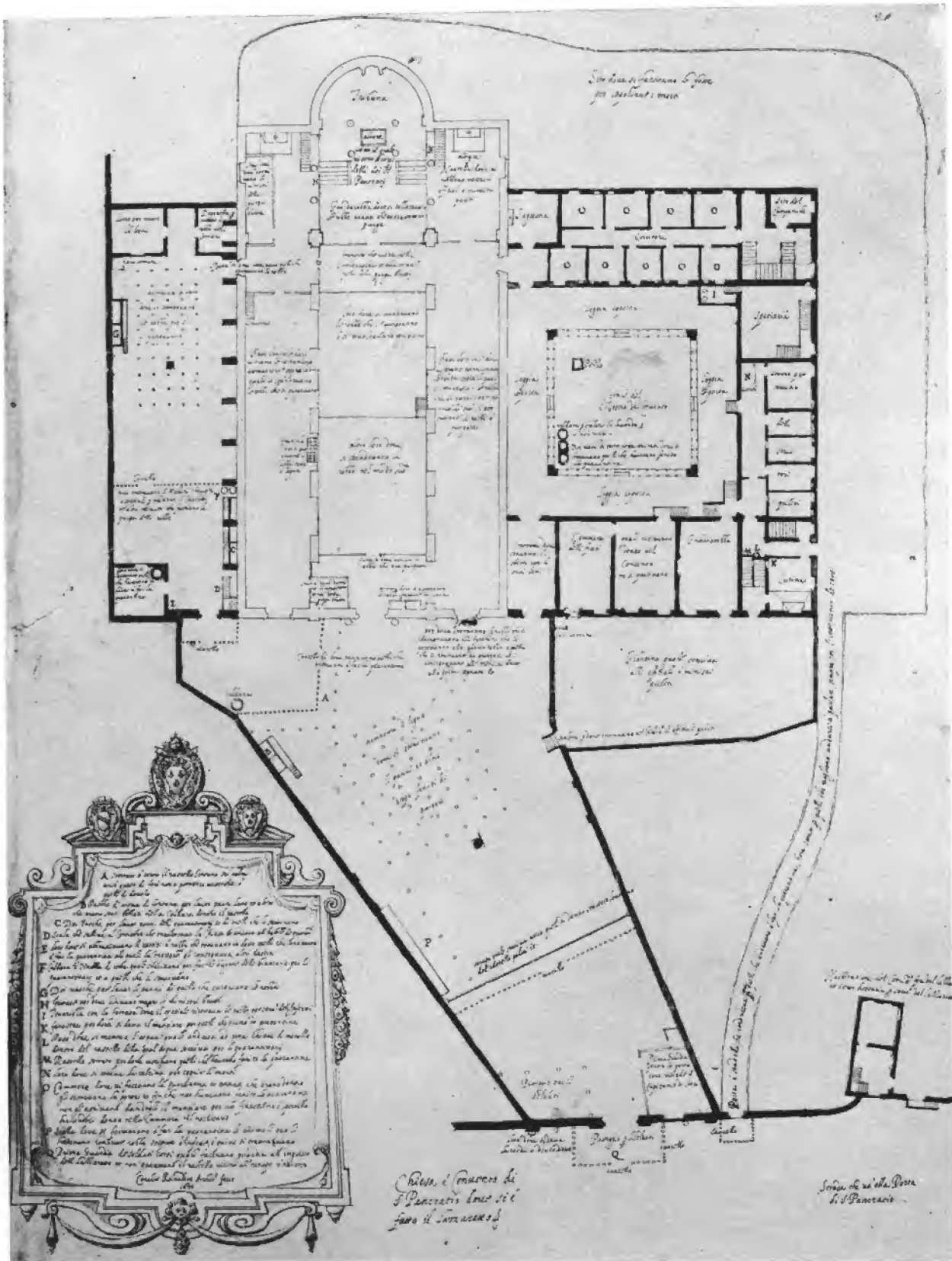
(Photo: Sansaini)

Fig. 134. S. Pancrazio, Apse and transept, view from the north, 1935

The nave walls at present rise only a short distance above the roofs of the aisles. However, the view to the north from the upper floor of the monastery shows that the north clerestory dates from two different building campaigns: an Early Christian campaign near the façade, and a second one, with distinctly Romanesque features, in the rest of the clerestory – including, as we shall see, the portion flanking the chancel (pl. VI, section C-D; fig. 144*a*). (The south clerestory is hidden by a thick coat of plaster).

Internally, a transverse arcade divides the church into two unequal parts. The eastern part occupies about three-quarters of the total area, and comprises a nave — richly embellished with seventeenth century stuccoes and a carved wooden ceiling with the arms of the Cardinals de Torres — flanked by plainer and lower side aisles (pl. VI, fig. 136). Five rectangular piers on each side separate the nave and aisles; the ten piers support elliptical arches. A triumphal arch separates the nave from the western part of the church which contains the chancel. The chancel is a bit





(Barb. lat. 4411, f. 20)

Fig. 135. S. Pancrazio, Carlo Rainaldi, Ground plan of church and monastery, 1633

narrower than the nave and is raised two steps (0.30 m.) above it. The arms of the Carmelites decorate the chancel ceiling, and frescoes of saints and angels by Antonio Tempesta<sup>1</sup> embellish the upper part of the walls. Rectangular side bays flank the chancel. They are set off from the chancel by triple arcades with Corinthian columns resting on low walls 1.03 m. above the nave floor level, and from the aisles by archways standing in the same plane as the triumphal arch. The

BAGLIONE, *Vite*, p. 203: « ... in San Pancrazio per lo Cardinal Lodovico di Torres colori a fresco molti Santi e Sante con diversi ornamenti ».

bays are decorated internally by modern paintings on canvas, nailed to the walls. The apse, beyond the chancel, was formerly adorned with seventeenth century frescoes, but they were replaced in 1959 by a modern composition of little merit.

Two stairways descend into the catacombs below the church: one to the south, beside the aisle wall, the other to the north, beneath the fourth nave archway. A winding rock-hewn passage leads from the north stairway to a large *cubiculum* which lies diagonally below the north aisle and also extends outside the north wall (pl. VI).

This arrangement dates partly from the first and partly from the third quarter of the seventeenth century. The aisles, which had previously been sealed off, were reopened by Cardinal Ludovicus de Torres<sup>1</sup>; the ten piers, constructed to replace the former colonnades, appear on Rainaldi's survey of 1633 (fig. 135). The arms of Paul V crowning the opening of the apse likewise indicate Ludovicus' cardinalate although the Torres arms on the side walls of the chancel could be either his or Cosmus'. On the other hand, the stucco decorations of the nave and the fresco which embellished the apse vault until it was obliterated in 1959 were executed after 1662, the year when Alexander VII entrusted the church to the Carmelite order; Alexander's arms crown the triumphal arch and the date 1673 was read on the piers at the springing of the apse prior to 1959<sup>2</sup>.

When Ugonio made his rough notes some time before 1588, only the nave and chancel were in use, being flanked by solid walls in place of colonnades. The south aisle and chapel formed a roofless yard entered through a doorway from the chancel, and the north aisle was incorporated in the adjacent monastery<sup>3</sup>. Behind the wall which separated the nave from the south courtyard



(Photo: Gab. Fot. Naz.)

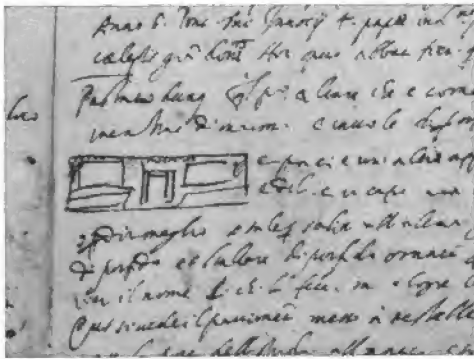
Fig. 136. S. Pancrazio, Interior, nave and chancel

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 156, dig. 1606-1609, and PANCIROLI, *Tesori nascosti*, 1625, p. 568.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 156 f., digs. 1662-1665, 1673; (see also FRANZINI, *Roma Antica e Moderna*, 1677, p. 53 and NESTORI, *op. cit.*, p. 220, n. 17).

<sup>3</sup> UGONIO's notes (Vatican Library, Barb. lat. 2160, f. 135<sup>r-v</sup>) are more exhaustive than his printed description (*Stazioni*, c. 323 ff.). His description only makes sense when it is understood that he is inconsistent in his use of the terms « left » and « right ». At the beginning, he describes the church as it would be seen by one who enters from the east end: that is to say, « il pulpito che si trova a man destra » is the one on the north side of the nave, and a little further on, the « altar che si trova a man dritta, detto di S. Vittore, trasportato dalla nave destra »,

(the former south aisle), a number of columns were still visible, and Ugonio also noted remains of marble pavement near the entrance and of *opus vermiculatum* pavement toward the opposite end of the nave<sup>1</sup>. He also found two cosmatesque pulpits in the nave, one of them bearing an inscription recording its construction in 1249. Only fragments, one bearing the date 1244, survive, but the pulpits are known from the drawings of G. de Sanctis<sup>2</sup>. Ugonio noted an altar “*in mezzo la chiesa*” covered by a marble ciborium resting on four porphyry columns, two smooth and two fluted. Some fragments of a Gothic arch which are now attached to one of the nave piers may come from the top of the ciborium, but the porphyry shafts have disappeared, presumably in the looting of 1798<sup>3</sup>.



(Barb. lat. 2160, f. 135)

Fig. 137. S. Pancrazio, Ugonio,  
Medieval jubé



Fig. 138. S. Pancrazio, View of chancel  
from left hand flanking bay

(Photo: Sansaini)

Behind the altar, Ugonio noted a screen wall of moderate height traversing the nave - a kind of jubé apparently of thirteenth century date. It was encrusted with plaques of marble and porphyry and with mosaics in various colors and gold, and it was pierced by a central doorway flanked by benches (fig. 137)<sup>4</sup>.

After passing through the doorway in the screen, Ugonio continued into the chancel in the western part of the church where he saw altars on each side and, in the middle, the high altar with its *fenestella confessionis*; it was raised on five steps and sheltered beneath another ciborium with four porphyry columns, presumably the same columns which were reused when Cardinal Ludovicus de Torres had the present canopy built. An episcopal throne stood at the apex

is also on the north side of the chancel. But when he has described the high altar, Ugonio turns about and, in referring to « *un scoperto lungo che era la nave destra* », he means the south aisle. Only thus can he be justified when he says that the stairs to the *confessio* lie on the right hand of one who passes from the chancel into the aisle. The proof of his *volte face* is found in the next section, when Ugonio again mentions the altar of S. Vittore, but this time says that it had been transferred from « *la nave sinistra* ».

<sup>1</sup> Barb. lat. 2160, f. 187: « *Anche (Ugonio is standing in the nave) il muro dove erano le colonne è imbiancato che ancor le colonne di dietro (?) si veggono assai belle. Il pavimento è di marmi bianchi nel principio, nel fine si vede vestigia di intarsia* ». (See also below, p. 163, n. 2).

<sup>2</sup> Rome, Bibl. Nazionale, Fond. MSS. 552; see above, p. 154, and p. 156, dig. 1244-1249.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 157, dig. 1798.

<sup>4</sup> Neither Ugonio's MS. description (Barb. lat. 2160, f. 187) nor *Stazioni*, c. 324, is fully explicit. In the former he speaks of « *un mezzo muro composto (?) di marmi e tavole di porfido con tassele doro e varie colori* », in the latter of « *un muro fatto di tavole di porfido e di altre pietre lavorate con i suoi sedili avanti* ». But the sketch which he inserts in the MS (our fig. 137) is unequivocal.

of the apse, and there were lower benches built of brick at each side, features which are still shown in one of de Sanctis' drawings. Ugonio noted that the apse was whitewashed and neither mosaic nor painting was to be seen in the vault<sup>1</sup>. The bema was flanked to north and south by walls, in place of the triple arcades which we now see (fig. 138). Upon passing through a small doorway in the southern side wall, Ugonio emerged in a long open area (*un scoperto lungo*) which had previously been the south aisle of the basilica. Here he noted some columns in the dividing wall: either the two which still stand between the chancel and the rectangular bay to the south, or columns in the eastern part of the south aisle proper, which he had already noted in his description of the nave<sup>2</sup>. On entering the roofless south aisle, Ugonio found the entrance to the annular crypt on his right hand, where it still is. The crypt was lined with marble slabs, some with epitaphs, including one from the grave of a spatharius who had fought for Belisarius in the Gothic siege. Ugonio saw other epitaphs in various parts of the church, among them two long commemorative poems: one, possibly of eleventh century date, recalling a young girl, Theodora, the other eulogizing a *dux* Crescentius, perhaps a member of the powerful tenth and eleventh century clan<sup>3</sup>.

## E. — ANALYSIS

The church interior displays few distinctively Early Christian features. The main exception is the crypt, which has the semi-annular pattern that first appeared under Gregory I at St. Peter's. A curved corridor, 2.50 m. high and 1.80 m. wide, follows the base of the apse wall; at its apex, a central passage branches off towards the chord of the apse and leads to the relics chamber which lies directly underneath the high altar (pl. VI). Some of the marble slabs noted by Ugonio are still on the walls, though apparently no longer in the original position<sup>4</sup>. A small panel of plaster removed in 1938 from the inner curved wall, at a point just in front of the doorway leading into the crypt from the north, exposed the *opus listatum* composed of alternate brick and tufa courses, with the latter occasionally doubled (fig. 139). A modulus of two brick courses and one tufa course measures 0.20 m. in height, the *tufelli* being 6.5 cm. high and the mortar beds having an average thickness of 2.3 cm.

A wall of *opus listatum* is exposed below the floor level of the nave in the north flank of the stairway which leads down to the catacomb below the north aisle, starting in the fourth archway on the right hand side of the Baroque nave arcade. This wall has been accepted as a portion of the original nave colonnade stylobate<sup>5</sup>, but it is not really so. Since the south face of the original clerestorey wall stands in a plane 6.50 to 6.60 m. distant from the north aisle wall, with which it is parallel, its center line (assuming a thickness of 2 R. ft.) would be about 7 m. from the wall. Hence, as the clerestorey wall, colonnade and stylobate must all have stood vertically above one another, the center line of the stylobate must also be about 7 m. from the aisle wall. The wall in the stairway, however, stands about half a meter too far north for this role, since its south face is only 6.80 m. distant from the aisle wall. Moreover, the modulus of the stairway wall differs from that of the basilica, two courses of brick and one of *tufelli* rising only 0.16 m. in height. We therefore presume

<sup>1</sup> Barb. lat. 2160, f. 135: « *Musaico nè pittura al presente non n'è vedo [?] e ogni cosa imbiancato anticamente verosimile ci fusse... ».*

<sup>2</sup> Barb. lat. 2160, f. 135<sup>v</sup>: « *Da qui si veggono le colonne che già furono spaccate [?] per le navi ».*

<sup>3</sup> UGONIO, Barb. lat. 2160, f. 135; IDEM, *Stazioni*, c. 323<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> NESTORI, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

<sup>5</sup> NESTORI, *op. cit.*, p. 229 ff.





(Photo: Sansaini)

Fig. 139. S. Pancrazio, Masonry in crypt



(Photo: Gab. Fot. Naz.)

Fig. 140. S. Pancrazio, Socle of column set up in nave

that the north flank of the stairway is antecedent to the church and that, when the church was built, a gap was left in the nave stylobate so as to avoid blocking the entrance to the catacomb. If we are right in deducing that there were eleven arches in the nave (see below, p. 170), the seventh intercolumniation would correspond with the stairway in question, making it possible for the stylobate to have been interrupted, as we suppose was the case.

The only other elements visible in the interior which may be Early Christian are the arcades which separate the chancel from the flanking bays (fig. 138). Unfortunately, the heavy plaster revetment makes it impossible at the present time to determine the masonry style of the parapet walls on which these arcades rest. At first glance, they seem to have been built along with the crypt walls since they contain the lintels of the doors leading into the crypt. But the sills of these doors are now one step above crypt level, and their lintels may therefore originally have been below the level from which the parapet walls start. The arcades which rise from these parapets, on the other hand, may well be Early Christian even though the walls which surmount them at clerestory level are of high medieval date. The columns are Roman spoils: shafts of grey granite, from 3.00 to 3.20 m. high; Corinthian capitals of varying styles and sizes; attic bases and plinths of varying heights<sup>1</sup>. The impost blocks which rest on the capitals are also apparently spoils. Their square shape and the strongly profiled rectangular panels carved on their sides suggest that they were originally column socles resembling, though simpler than those at S. Apollinare in Classe near Ravenna<sup>2</sup>, and thus presumably of a similar sixth century date. Indeed, a column which now stands in the courtyard to the south of the church still rises from a socle of this type, as does a column set up in the nave near the pulpit (fig. 140). On the other hand, the reuse of these socles as impost blocks at S. Pancrazio would hardly have occurred after the seventh century, when impost blocks in Rome became outmoded; the gallery arcades at S. Agnese f.l.m. offer a late example, securely dated in the pontificate of Honorius I<sup>3</sup>. Presumably no impost blocks would have been employed at S. Pancrazio if the arcades had been set up at the same time as the Romanesque upper walls which they carry. Thus it appears possible that the arcades antedate these upper walls and belong to the Early Christian

<sup>1</sup> The variation in height of these elements explains also why the column bases to the right rise from 15 cm. high plinths placed atop the parapet wall, while to the left the bases and low plinths of the columns were sunk as much as 10 cm. below the coping of the parapet. PESARINI, *op. cit.*, p. 80 has erroneously attributed the capitals to the reign of Theodoric, 490-526.

<sup>2</sup> MAZZOTTI, *La basilica di S. Apollinare in Classe (Studi di antichità cristiana, 21)*, Vatican City, 1954, fig. 17.

<sup>3</sup> See above, Vol. I, p. 29, figs. 18, 19.



structure. But we cannot be certain. The masonry of the arches and spandrels would give an important clue, but unfortunately it is covered by modern canvas paintings which we were not allowed to remove.

A number of column shafts and capitals, similar to those in the arcades of the chancel bay, survive in the surroundings of the church and have been identified as originally supporting the nave arcades<sup>1</sup>. One stands on the road at the entrance to the forecourt of the church; another inside that court; a third and fourth, the latter in fragments, are found in the courtyard along the left flank of the church; fragments of a fifth column shaft are in the lapidarium of the church. All are Roman spoils: grey granite shafts, averaging 2.90-3.30 m. in height with a diameter of 0.48 to 0.50 meters; Corinthian capitals of widely varying styles; and bases of varying design and height. Three more columns, apparently of the same set though cut down in height, were reused between 1606 and 1609 in the door frames of the façade; two are intact, but the third is split lengthwise into four sections.

On the exterior, vestiges of the Early Christian structure are more in evidence. The south wall of the south aisle is largely concealed by plaster revetment and by relatively modern patchwork, but here and there the plaster has fallen away to disclose *opus listatum* of the same modulus as noted in the crypt. Another stretch of wall of the same type is found near the eastern extremity of the north clerestorey wall, to the right of the fifteenth century pediment (figs. 141a, 142)<sup>2</sup>. It extends back from the corner of the façade for a distance of nearly five meters, after which a setback 0.30 m. deep marks the beginning of a clerestorey wall of a later period. The arch bricks of the first window in the early clerestorey protrude above the aisle roof, the apex of the archivolt rising some 0.60 m. above the roof tiles at a distance of 2.50 m. from the façade. The lower part of the same window and its blocking are seen in an attic which lies between the roof and the wooden ceiling of the aisle (pl. VI; fig. 141a)<sup>3</sup>. The window opening is framed in *opus listatum* and is 1.35 m. wide. Its sill level is badly defined because the masonry is broken, but it seems to have been not less than 10.30 m. above the present nave floor. The window opening is blocked up with brickwork which seems to be Romanesque, and the same type of brickwork completes the right hand portion of the wall, from a point about 1.20 m. west of the opening, as far as the setback which is just visible at the right hand edge of fig. 141a. Thus, this half-ruined stub of the early *opus listatum* clerestorey wall was completed and vertically stopped during the Romanesque building campaign. A patch of *peperino* masonry (lower left hand part of fig. 141a) must be an extension of the fifteenth century façade, designed to bond the façade and the clerestorey wall. Nestori reports that the gable of the nave façade is constructed of *opus listatum* on the side that is visible in the attic above the nave ceiling while the façade wall below ceiling level is lined with brick<sup>4</sup>.

The north clerestorey wall, to the west of the setback noted above, is evidently Romanesque, being constructed of brick laid in horizontal courses with thick mortar beds, at a frequency of twelve courses to the half meter or seven to the R. ft. (fig. 141b). Romanesque *falsa cortina* pointing occurs in the window arches. Five windows are traceable in the length of the clerestorey which lies between the *opus listatum* fragment at the east and the cross wall in line with the triumphal arch. Two are only 0.60 m. wide and 1.95 m. high, the three wider ones being 0.90 m. wide and 2.00 m. high.

<sup>1</sup> NESTORI, *op. cit.*, p. 226 ff. has identified these eight and lists another four or five columns, two of them grey granite, three *cipollino*, as coming from S. Pancrazio; these have been reused in a loggia of Villa Pamphili, but we are uncertain as to their provenance.

<sup>2</sup> Contrary to NESTORI, *op. cit.*, p. 243, we cannot find any difference between the *opus listatum* employed in this wall and that used in the apse and transept.

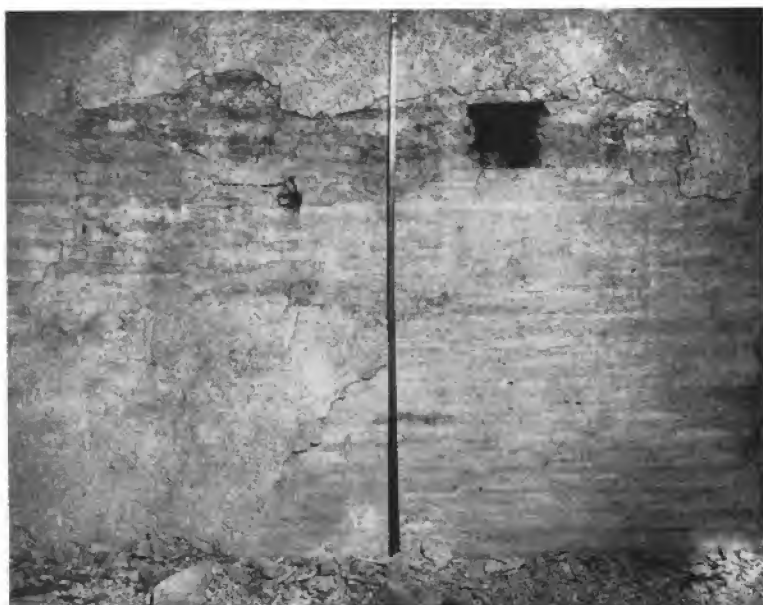
<sup>3</sup> The attic can only be entered from the roof, which is reached by a ladder in the campanile.

<sup>4</sup> NESTORI, *op. cit.*, p. 221, to whom these observations are due, assigns the façade substantially to the Early Christian period and the brick lining of the lower zone to the medieval period. We have been unable to examine these features.



(Photo: Sansaini)

Fig. 141a. S. Pancrazio, Clerestory wall, right hand side, near façade



(Photo: Sansaini)

Fig. 141b. S. Pancrazio, Brickwork of north clerestory wall



(Photo: Sansaini)

Fig. 141c. S. Pancrazio, Cross wall between aisle and north transept

The jambs are reported to be slanted<sup>1</sup>. It is probable that the plaster revetment conceals other openings.

The western end of the north aisle attic is closed by the transverse wall mentioned above, which continues the line of the triumphal arch and rises over the arched entrance to the north side chapel (fig. 142). As visible in the attic, the cross wall is built of *opus listatum* having the modulus of 0.20 m. for two courses of brick and one of *tufelli* (fig. 141c). In the center of this cross wall, we find traces of an arched opening, 1.50 m. wide, in which the intrados rises to a height of 10.70 m. above the nave floor level. The arch is made with bipedals, 0.60 m. long, set accurately in radius. The archway is sealed with a tympanum of fifteenth century masonry, which probably dates from a period when this part of the basilica was incorporated in the monastery. Although the arch now stands beneath the roof tiles, we know that the aisle roof was formerly lower (as witnessed by the sill level of the clerestory window). This opening must originally have been a window above the aisle roof, lighting that part of the church which is now the bay to the north side of the chancel. At the southern end of the cross wall, the *opus listatum* masonry is separated from the Romanesque brickwork of the clerestory wall (extreme left in fig. 141c) by an irregular vertical zone of masonry which is not less than 0.55 m. wide. We interpret this as a roughly executed patch, inserted at an unknown period to seal up the fissure which resulted from the demolition of the original *opus*

<sup>1</sup> NESTORI, *op. cit.*, p. 224. When investigating the clerestory wall in 1938, Frankl and I failed to observe this feature and circumstances forbade a control visit in 1962 (R. K.).

*listatum* clerestorey wall. For some unknown reason, the Romanesque clerestorey was built inside the line of the original one, making the nave about half a meter narrower than it was originally. At the east end of the wall, a setback showed the difference in alignment (fig. 141a). At the western end, it is indicated by the vertical patch of disparate masonry at the southern edge of the cross wall (fig. 141c).

The original form at ground level of this transverse wall is not known; at present a wide archway forms the entrance to the north corner chapel, but we do not know whether it retains its original

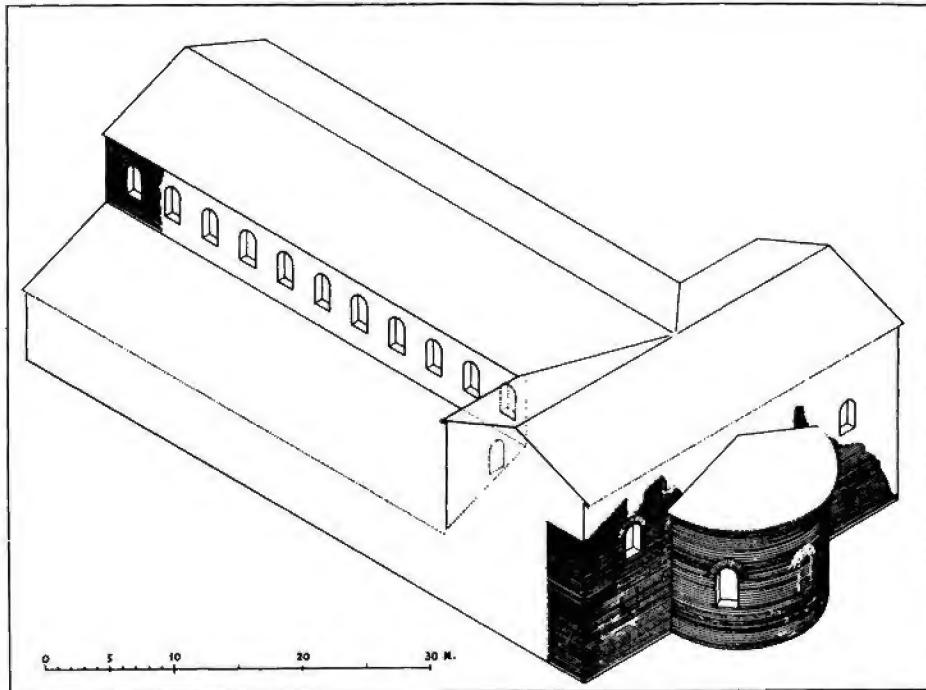


Fig. 142. S. Pancrazio, Exterior, reconstruction

(Drawing: Corbett)



(Photo: Sansaini)

Fig. 143. S. Pancrazio, North clerestorey and transept wall above roof level



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 144. S. Pancrazio, Northwest corner of transept



(Photo: Sansaini)

Fig. 145. S. Pancrazio, Rear wall of north transept and apse



(Photo: Gab. Fot. Naz.)

Fig. 146. S. Pancrazio, Rear wall of transept and apse, view from the southwest

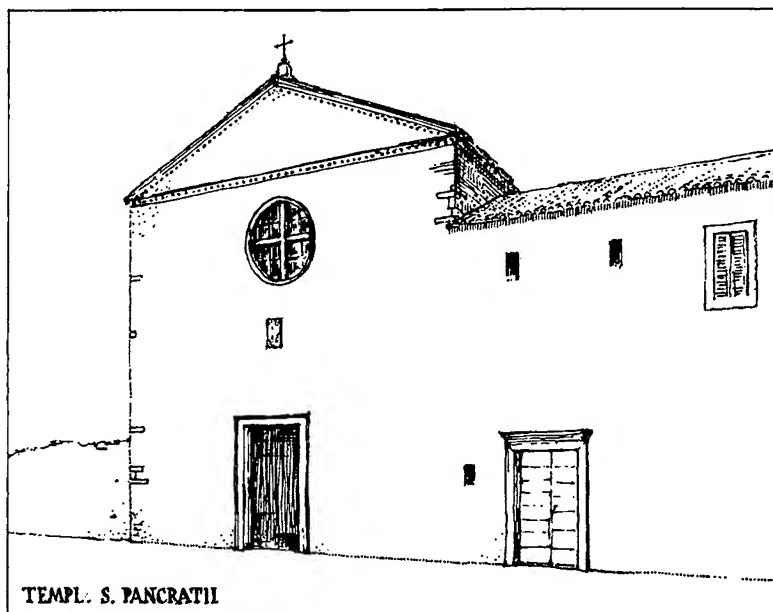
shape or not. It is likely to have been enlarged, since it is not on the same axis as the undoubtedly original window above it. Over the window, the transverse wall continues upwards and is cut off at the line of the north chapel roof, which is 1.40 m. higher than the tiles of the aisle roof (fig. 143). The vertical wall between the two roof levels is built of Early Christian *opus listatum*, with the same modulus noted earlier.

Behind the transverse wall, above ceiling level, the attic space of the north chapel is separated from the chancel by a wall of brickwork with the same features as — and thus contemporary with — the Romanesque north clerestory wall of the nave (pl. VI). In the stretch corresponding to the chancel, this wall is pierced by three window-like openings, each as much as 1.60 m. wide and 2.90 m. high, topped by round arches and blocked with a masonry of either fifteenth or seventeenth



century date. These openings correspond in position with the triple arcade which flanks the bema below, but their function remains to be clarified.

The west wall of the north bay flanking the chancel is well preserved up to the north springing of the apse which it oversails, and indeed above the apse roof (fig. 134). Only the top is disturbed by brickwork of presumable Romanesque date. Below it, in the original part, the wall was formerly pierced by an arched window which closely resembles that of the east wall noted above. Its outline appears on the exterior (figs. 142, 145); like its fellow, this opening is also partly closed by a tympanum of fifteenth century masonry, supported on a shallow segmental arch. The intrados of the original arch is 10.20 m. above floor level. Fig. 145 shows the character of the *opus listatum* masonry clearly. The arch is faced with bipedals, set accurately in radius. The coursing of the *listatum* is horizontal in spite of the use of all sorts of miscellaneous material. Many of the *tufelli* are square, having been used previously in *opus reticulatum*. Numerous blocks of marble are introduced, especially at the corner of the wall, where several large blocks are included to give strength. Among the latter are two chancel posts, one of them carved with a simple cross



(Drawing: Corbett)

Fig. 147. S. Pancrazio, Façade, 1588

in a style which may be recognized as of the fourth or fifth century (fig. 144). A window lower down was originally projected for this wall, but it was cancelled and walled up before being completed; presumably it was superseded by the opening above. Its two vertical jambs are seen in the lower part of the wall, the sill being about 3.60 m. above floor level. The opening was to have been 1.20 m. wide.

To the south of the apse the corresponding wall, which forms the west side of the south bay flanking the chancel (fig. 146), shows traces of another cancelled window opening in precisely the same place. The upper portion of the wall is obviously the work of the Cardinals Torres, as the rubble masonry and the oval Baroque window show, but there can be little doubt that an arched window, matching that of the north chapel, originally existed in place of the present oval opening. As in its counterpart to the north, the *opus listatum* masonry of the wall at its north end rises high and oversails the south springing of the apse and its roof before breaking off abruptly.

The apse is built of *opus listatum* with the usual modulus of 0.20 m. for two brick courses and one of *tufelli* (figs. 134, 145, 146). It appears originally to have had three windows: lateral ones set about half-way between the shoulders of the semicircle and the center line, and a third opening on the center line. It is reported that the lower part of each window is walled up with *opus listatum* exactly like that of the apse itself, leaving an oculus at the top, the original window arch forming the upper half of the round opening. Unlike the lateral windows, the internal face of the filling wall of the center window is of brickwork, which appears to be Romanesque; this suggests that the middle window remained partly unblocked, and served as a throne niche until it was finally abolished in the Romanesque period. For these details we are indebted to A. Nestori<sup>1</sup>.

NESTORI, *op. cit.*, p. 238 ff.



The entire structure of the apse arch is said to be of brickwork without any *opus listatum* and to resemble the masonry of the clerestorey wall in the nave<sup>1</sup>. We are not certain regarding the latter part of this statement; but no doubt, the arch is no longer the original one and appears to have been rebuilt simultaneously with the half dome of the apse in a position lower than the original apse arch and slightly to the west. Indeed, the wall which surmounts this apse arch (it is visible outside on either side of the half cone of the apse roof; figs. 134, 146) is built of brick and was clearly inserted at a later time between the *opus listatum* walls which terminate the side wings of the chancel on either side of the apse. The end gable of the chancel which rises above this wall, set back 60-70 cm. eastward and built of small tufa stones, is apparently earlier than the present apse arch and its crowning wall. The dates applicable to this relative chronology must at this point be left open.

## F. — RECONSTRUCTION

The elements which we have described suffice for a reconstruction of the original *opus listatum* basilica in its main outlines (fig. 142). The apse is still intact. It has an internal diameter of 10.60 m. and is semicircular in plan. Beneath the floor lies the semi-annular crypt, substantially in its original form (pl. VI). On each side of the apse, the west wall of the basilica had two arched window openings at quite a high level. They prove that the clerestorey windows and aisle roofs did not extend as far as the west wall: in other words, that the church had a transept. The east side of the transept is obviously the wall which still stands, parallel to the west wall, at a distance of 11.20 m., pierced in the middle by the triumphal arch and at the sides by the entrances to the north and south side chapels. The blocked-up window, which still exists above the entrance of the north chapel (figs. 141c, 142), evidently drew light from above the aisle roof for the illumination of the transept. It is set a little higher than the corresponding window in the west wall in order to clear the aisle roof.

The original nave is represented only by minor remains - the fragment of *opus listatum* at the eastern extremity of the north clerestorey and a faint trace of the original junction between the north clerestorey wall and the east wall of the north transept. The distance of the north clerestorey wall from the center axis of the church, as given by the apse, determines the original width of the nave as 12.40 meters clear, 13.00 meters from wall axis to wall axis. Correspondingly, the aisles had a clear width of 6.80 meters. The clear total width of nave and aisles is 26.69 meters, the rough equivalent being 90 R. ft.; since the stretch of the clerestorey wall is preserved to its full or nearly to its full original height, 12.70 meters, the original height of the nave, roughly 43 R. ft., is likewise ascertained. The clear length of the nave is 37.07 m. excluding chancel and apse (roughly 125 R. ft.), 55.50 meters including chancel and apse (roughly 190 R. ft.).

The fragment of clerestorey wall near the façade includes one clerestorey window, showing that they were round-headed openings, 2.60 m. high and 1.30 m. wide, with the window sills 10.10 m. above floor level. Given the size of the openings and the distance between the axis of the surviving window and the east wall of the transept, 34.80 m., it is practically certain that the range of windows numbered either eleven or twelve (fig. 142). Eleven seems more likely because a spacing of eleven windows corresponds better with the existing Romanesque openings than would a spacing of twelve; further, it seems likely that the Romanesque builders would have used the old col-

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 234.

umn foundations again (and therefore the old window spacing) rather than set up new colonnades at a different spacing. If there were eleven windows, there would then have been ten columns in the nave, spaced at intervals of 3.30 m. This is a rather wide interval for lintels, and we conclude that the original nave was arcaded. Given this span plus the approximate height of the columns, including capitals and bases, of roughly 3.90 meters, the apex of the arcades would have reached just over five meters, 17 R. ft., as against 43 R. ft. for the total height of the nave.

The number of 38 curtains which Hadrian I presented to the church is difficult to reconcile with our 22 hypothetical intercolumniations<sup>1</sup>. But if we assume xxxviii to be a *lapsus calami* for xxviii (an easy mistake with Roman numerals), we can muster 28 intercolumniations by counting 11 on each side of the nave, plus 3 (which still exist) on either side of the chancel bay. It would then follow that the transept was tripartite. Unfortunately we do not know at present whether the transept arcades are Romanesque or Early Christian; the doubt may be resolved when it is possible to remove the revetment from the low walls on which the columns now stand or the painted canvas decorations of the arch spandrels above.

We assume that the original east façade stood in the same place as the present one. The present exterior wall is Renaissance work, but as mentioned above, the inner face of its gable is reported to be lined with *opus listatum*<sup>2</sup>.

Evidently, the original basilica was badly damaged in some catastrophe and had to be rebuilt in the Romanesque period. In this reconstruction, the nave was reduced in width by one meter - to 11.40 m. - perhaps to simplify the problem of roofing. We have found no evidence to sustain the hypothesis that the aisles were closed off at this time and that the front halves of the piers facing the nave are in fact remnants of the blocking wall, built as support for the new clerestorey<sup>3</sup>. We consider it more likely that the church remained a basilica through the Middle Ages, with the nave columns shifted inward to a new foundation wall; the partitioning of the transept may have also been altered in the Romanesque period. While the triple arcades which divide the transept into three parts may be original, we know that the upper story which they support dates from the Romanesque remodeling. The three openings in this upper story may indicate side galleries situated in what had formerly been the transept wings; or they may be designed merely to diminish the weight of the superstructure, as do similar openings at S. Alessio, S. Paolo, S. Croce, S. Stefano Rotondo, and elsewhere<sup>4</sup>.

Subsequently, the side aisles and the wings of the transept were abandoned: the north aisle and north transept were incorporated in the monastery, while the south side fell into a state of ruin. When the east façade was rebuilt in the late fifteenth century, a wing wall may have been included to cover the end of the south aisle; but it is equally possible that the wall seen to the left in fig. 132 is a later addition. The quoins of the nave façade suggest that at the end of the sixteenth century the church resembled the building sketched in fig. 147, which is based partly on Fra Santi's woodcut and partly on the existing façade. In any case, we know that when Ugonio described the church in 1588, the south aisle had no roof.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 155 f., dig. 772-795.

<sup>2</sup> NESTORI, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

<sup>3</sup> NESTORI, *op. cit.*, p. 225 ff.

<sup>4</sup> See above, vol. I, p. 41 ff., 181 ff., and below, vol. IV

## G. — CHRONOLOGY

The catacomb below and behind the church may have been opened as early as the third century; burials in it continued at least through the first quarter of the sixth century<sup>1</sup>. The graveyard *sub divo* found below the forecourt and the front part of the church goes back even further, to the first and second centuries A.D.; converted from pagan to Christian use, it continued to be used until the Gothic siege and perhaps after<sup>2</sup>. It is perfectly possible that mausolea, including a martyr's chapel, were built on the cemetery during the fourth and fifth centuries, but no church building is mentioned prior to the one erected by Pope Symmachus<sup>3</sup>.

The size and plan of the church of Symmachus remain unknown, however; nor can we explain the meaning of Honorius' phrase that the old basilica (presumably that of Symmachus) was carelessly built "*extra corpus martyris*", that is, that it did not cover or only partially covered his grave; or else that the church included the martyr's grave in a side room rather than in its main body. Given the small size of the silver arch given to the church by the founder, a mere 15 lbs., it would seem to have been a small structure. Nor does Gregory of Tours suggest a larger building when he refers to the arch near the tomb "where the singing choir stands"<sup>4</sup>, possibly a pergola covered with silver under which a small group of singers stood. Also the presence in 521 of a mere *prae-positus sancti Pancratii* suggests a church of minor importance, as does the poor servicing of the church towards the end of the sixth century<sup>5</sup>. In any event, we have been unable to discern any part of a structure of Symmachus in the church as it stands, and we certainly cannot attribute to him the nave and aisles of the present basilica<sup>6</sup>. The sixth century base blocks which now surmount the columns flanking the chancel bay are the only elements that could possibly be vestiges of Symmachus' church.

The Early Christian remains in the basilica of S. Pancrazio (as it stands today and as far as it is Early Christian) are in our opinion the remains of a uniform construction which is dated between 625 and 638 by the dedicatory inscription of Honorius I, by the passage in his biography and by the *Epitome de locis sanctorum*<sup>7</sup>. The grave of St. Pancratius had apparently gained in importance since the mid-sixth century<sup>8</sup>; a large number of epitaphs, formerly reused in the pavement of the church and coming either from the catacomb or from the open cemetery, date from the sixth century<sup>9</sup>; a monastery had been attached to the site<sup>10</sup>; and Symmachus' church was apparently found to be insufficient. Hence Honorius built the large new church. The style of masonry and the use of impost blocks compare best with S. Agnese f.l.m., another church built by Honorius, while the insertion of an annular crypt into, and contemporary with, the building of the apse imitates the construction by Gregory I of just such a crypt at St. Peter's, 590-604. We cannot, however, interpret Honorius' statement regarding the position of the martyr's grave (in

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 155, dig. 521-537.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 155, dig. 521-537; the epitaphs of 425, 541 and 567, listed by BOLDETTI, *op. cit.*, p. 86, might have come from either the catacomb or the cemetery *sub divo*. DE ROSSI, *Inscriptiones*, I, p. 527, read an epitaph of 454 in the catacomb.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 155, dig. 498-514.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 155, dig. 590-604.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 155, dig. 521-537 and 594.

<sup>6</sup> NESTORI, *op. cit.*, p. 242 f., 245 and pls. I and his II. There exists in fact no difference in masonry between, on one hand, the east end of the north clerestorey of the nave, and on the other hand, transept and apse wall; nor does the different size of the windows, one lighting the nave, the others the transept wing, have any significance.

<sup>7</sup> See above, p. 155, dig. 625-638.

<sup>8</sup> See above, p. 155, dig. 556.

<sup>9</sup> See above, p. 155, dig. 521-537; also MARUCCHI, *op. cit.*

<sup>10</sup> See above, p. 155, dig. 594.

his new or in the old church?) “*ex obliquo aulae*”. Does he mean to say that, in the basilica which he planned, the grave which he wanted to honor would have lain obliquely, and that he therefore decided to provide a crypt into which to transfer the relics?

No documentary evidence helps to date the medieval rebuilding. The characteristics of the brickwork, as it appears in the north clerestorey of the nave and in the upper wall between the chancel bay and its north wing - always with *falsa cortina* pointing and with a modulus of six brick courses and six mortar beds per Roman foot - may denote any time between the late eleventh and the late thirteenth century. On the other hand the *opus saracinescum*, employed both in the end gable of the chancel bay and in the buttresses along the south aisle, occurs in Rome at any time between the late twelfth and the sixteenth centuries, with its high point in the thirteenth century, between the pontificates of Innocent III and Nicholas IV<sup>1</sup>. At S. Pancrazio, its use would appear to antedate the late fifteenth century, when the aisles were abandoned and thus no longer in need of buttressing. Hence the *opus saracinescum* parts of the church may well date from the thirteenth century and be linked to the refurnishing of the church around 1244-1249 with pulpits, bishop's chair and screen wall<sup>2</sup>. The parts built in brickwork with *falsa cortina* pointing, on the other hand, might belong to an earlier, possibly twelfth century, remodeling.

The transformation of the basilica as it still stood at that time into a single-naved building dates from the pontificate of Sixtus IV, as Fra Mariano's statement testifies<sup>3</sup>. S. Sisto Vecchio and S. Susanna show that the remodeling of Early Christian basilicas as single-naved buildings is common practice in fifteenth century Rome<sup>4</sup>. Possibly at that time the apse vault was also lowered and its triumphal arch built, since it was constructed against the *opus saracinescum* end gable of the chancel bay. But we know of no reason why the side wings of the chancel bay should have remained open until the pontificate of Pius IV<sup>5</sup>. Like the aisles, they were presumably walled off in 1475 but used as side chapels.

The remodeling of the seventeenth century, including the reopening of aisles and transepts, the construction of the nave piers, and the redecoration of the entire building is associated with the activities of the title holders, Lodovicus and Cosmus de Torres, and their successors in the pontificate of Alexander VII<sup>6</sup>.

## H. — HISTORICAL POSITION

The foremost fact about the basilica of S. Pancrazio as built by Honorius I is its size. Beginning with the last third of the fifth and continuing through the sixth and into the early seventh centuries, church buildings in Rome were comparatively small, roughly 30 meters long, such as S. Agata dei Goti, S. Giovanni a Porta Latina, or the catacomb churches with galleries, such as the East church of S. Lorenzo f.l.m., S. Agnese f.l.m. as built by Honorius I, and the basilica of SS. Nereo and Achilleo in the catacomb of Domitilla<sup>7</sup>. In contrast to this, S. Pancrazio with its total length of 55 meters recalls the equally large basilicas of the late fourth and early fifth centuries, such as S. Clemente,

<sup>1</sup> REDIG DE CAMPOS, « Monumenti, Musei e Gallerie pontificie... », II, Relazione », *Rendic. Pont. Accad.* 23/24 (1947-1949), p. 388 f.; *Ibid.*, 27 (1952), p. 403 f.; CELLINI, « Ricordi normanni e federiciani », *Paragone* 81 (1956), p. 3 ff., p. 89. ff.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 156, dig. 1244-1249.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 156, dig. 1475. NESTORI, *op. cit.*, p. 220, is obviously mistaken in assigning to a medieval rebuilding the transformation of the basilica into a single-naved Latin cross.

<sup>4</sup> URBAN, « Kirchenbaukunst », 1961, p. 75 ff., esp. p. 272 f.

<sup>5</sup> NESTORI, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 156, digs. 1606-1609 ff., 1627, 1662-1665, 1673.

<sup>7</sup> See above, Vol. I, pp. 10, 30, 311 ff.; Vol. II, p. 124; and above p. 128 ff.

SS. Giovanni e Paolo, S. Lorenzo in Lucina, S. Pietro in Vincoli, and S. Sabina<sup>1</sup>. Apparently, by the second quarter of the seventh century, the reputation of St. Pancratius had grown to a degree which made Honorius I feel it desirable to lay out a church that could compete with the churches which by then sheltered the relics or graves of the greatest martyrs of Rome. In plan, too, the new church of S. Pancrazio appears to take up the model of one of the outstanding fourth or fifth century basilicas. Indeed, while the nave flanked by arcades on columns appears to have displayed no outstanding features, the sanctuary of the church with its transept is extraordinary in plan, regardless of the specific shape of that transept. If the transept (as I believe it possible: R.K.) was of tripartite type, its closest prototype in Rome would have been S. Pietro in Vincoli in its second state<sup>2</sup>, where, in the chancel bay, the chains of St. Peter were venerated. If, on the other hand, S. Pancrazio had a continuous transept, the model could have only been the basilica of St. Peter or that of St. Paul, where in 385 a continuous transept appeared for the last time in Rome prior to S. Pancrazio.

In plan and size, then, S. Pancrazio represents a throwback to, or a renaissance of, earlier fourth or fifth century Christian models in Rome. In other respects, however, it coincides with contemporary building practice in Rome. Certainly the annular crypt at S. Pancrazio, laid out simultaneously with the rest of the church by Honorius I, is a first descendant of the crypt laid out at St. Peter's by Gregory the Great (590-604). The masonry in *opus listatum* finds its close parallel at S. Lorenzo f.l.m. and S. Agnese. The reuse of bases as impost blocks over columns throughout the chancel bay and transept wings recalls the similar pyramidal impost blocks in the gallery zone of S. Agnese. In contrast to S. Agnese and the east basilica of S. Lorenzo f.l.m., however, S. Pancrazio was not laid out in Byzantine feet. The foot measure used is apparently the Roman foot; it seems that a Roman workshop was in charge of building operations.

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<sup>1</sup> See above, Vol. I, pp. 132 ff., 295 ff.; Vol. II, p. 159 ff.; below, p. 178 ff.; and Vol. IV.

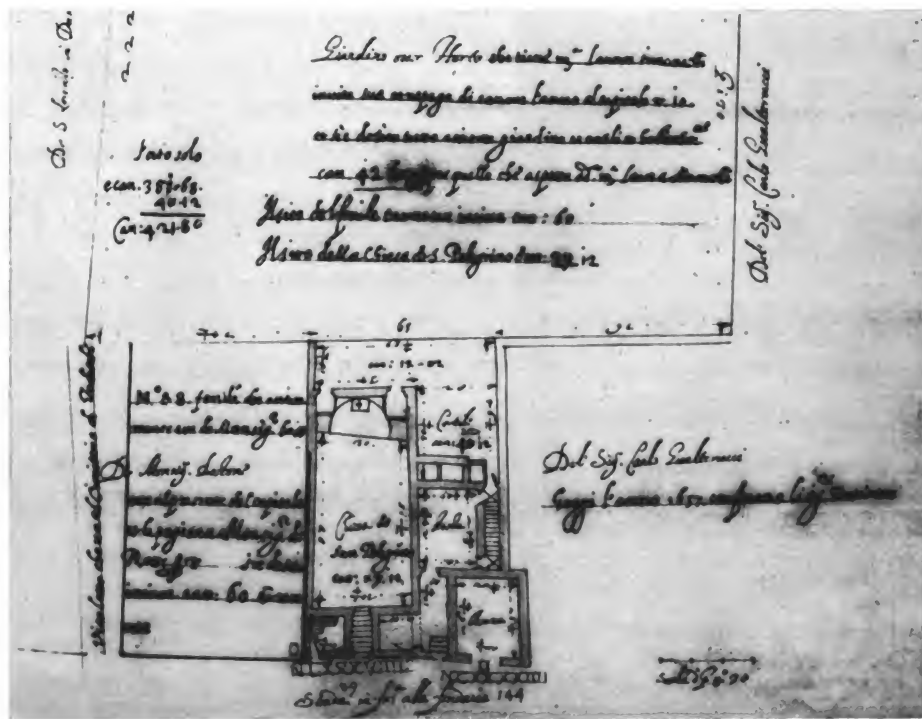
<sup>2</sup> See below, pp. 209 ff., 225 f., 231.



## S. PELLEGRINO DE NAUMACHIA

(R. Krautheimer, W. Frankl)

A chapel of S. Pellegrino<sup>1</sup>, attached to a hostel located “*ad Naumachiam*”, is first mentioned in the biography of Pope Leo III, who gave it a small silver lamp<sup>2</sup>. The documents are ambiguous regarding the foundation of both chapel and hostel. The biographer of Leo III reports that the pope, presumably in 809, built a hostel “*in Naumachia*” which he dedicated, together with its church, to Saint Peter, and that Leo endowed the hostel with extensive land holdings for the support of



(Rome, Vat. Lib.)

Fig. 148. S. Pellegrino, De Rocchi, Plan of church and adjoining buildings, 1600

the poor<sup>3</sup>. From the biography of Leo’s successor, Paschal I, on the other hand, we learn that Paschal gave both the “hostel of S. Pellegrino situated at St. Peter’s in the place called the Naumachia which his predecessor had built” and its rich land holdings to the monastic congregation of SS. Agatha and Caecilia *ad Colles iacentes* which serviced the church of S. Cecilia<sup>4</sup>. Three pos-

<sup>1</sup> Bibliography: CHATTARD, *Nuova descrizione del Vaticano*, III, Rome, 1767, p. 339; FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, VI, 1875, p. 274 ff.; A. DE WAAL, « Ein Christusbild aus der Zeit Leo’s III, » *R. Q. Schr.* 6 (1889), p. 386 ff.; NAEF, « L’église de San Pellegrino ... », *Anzeiger für schweizerische Altertumskunde*, N. F. XIII (1911), p. 82 ff.; HÜLSEN, *Chiese*, 1927, p. 416; KRIEG, « La chiesa di S. Pellegrino degli Svizzeri », *L’Illustrazione Vaticana* 3 (1932), p. 941 ff.; ARMELLINI-CECCHELLI, *Chiese*, 1942, pp. 970 f., 1490.

<sup>2</sup> L. P. II, p. 25: « ... in oratorio sancti Peregrini qui ponitur in hospitale domicilio ad Naumachiam ... canistrum ex argento... ».

<sup>3</sup> L. P. II, p. 28: « ... hospitalem beato Petro ... in loco qui Naumachia dicitur a fundamentis noviter construens ... atque ecclesiam in honore beati Petri ... a novo construxit ... et omnia quae in praedicto hospitale erant necessaria construxit. Praedia etiam illic urbana vel rustica pro alimoniis Christi pauperum seu advenis vel peregrinis ... obtulit ... ». Regarding the date 809, see HÜLSEN, « Osservazioni sulla biografia di Leone III », *Rendic. Pont. Accad.* I (1922), p. 107, ff. esp. p. 111.

<sup>4</sup> L. P. II, p. 57: « ... hospitale Sancti Peregrini, positum ad beatum Petrum apostolum, in loco qui vocatur Naumachia, quod idem praedecessor suus construxerat, et ob neglectum atque destitutionem praepositorum, paupertatis inopia consumi videbatur ... cum fundis et casalibus atque massis, seu etiam colonis sive domibus ... tam eis quae a praedecessore suo in iamfato hospitale donata sunt, quam quae ab ipso ... ad augmentum iamdicti monasterii adiuncta sunt ... pro iam nominata monachorum congregatione in eodem monasterio confirmavit ». See also FERRARI, *Monasteries*, 1957, p. 23 ff.

sible interpretations of the passage exist, depending upon whether the relative clause refers to S. Pellegrino or to St. Peter in Naumachia: that Leo added a hostel dedicated to Saint Peter to an existing one dedicated to S. Pellegrino; that he founded both; or that the words “*beati Petri*” in the Leo biography are a *lapsus calami* for “*beati Pellegrini*”, while in the Paschal biography the phrase “*ad beatum Petrum apostolum*” refers to the Vatican basilica. The last suggestion seems to us the most likely since only S. Pellegrino is mentioned in later documents. Under Leo IV (847-855), S. Pellegrino came under the jurisdiction of S. Stefano Maggiore<sup>1</sup>, a transfer confirmed by a bull of Leo IX, dated March 24, 1053<sup>2</sup>. Boniface IX found the church and monastery in ruins



(Photo: Arch. Fot. Mus. Vat.)

Fig. 149. S. Pellegrino, North wall, masonry

and charged Bartolomeo di Piacenza with its restoration in 1392<sup>3</sup>. In 1590 it was again restored by the canons of S. Peter's, as an inscription on the façade attests<sup>4</sup>; Rocchi's plan shows the building at about this date (fig. 148). Further restorations were effected in 1671 when the floor and roof level were raised and the Baroque altar and other decorations were installed<sup>5</sup>. Alexander VII assigned it to the special use of the Swiss Guard, whence it was called S. Pellegrino degli Svizzeri. It is now the chapel of the Vatican Gendarmerie.

The building stands at the foot of the Vatican hill on the east side of the Via del Pellegrino,

a street inside the Vatican city, following the lines of the ancient road which formerly led northwards from the Porta S. Pietro and skirted the foot of the eminence on which Innocent VIII's Belvedere now stands. Until about 1561, when Pius IV built the line of fortifications between the Belvedere and Castel S. Angelo, the road passed through open fields outside the city defences. The church is too small to be marked on any of the Renaissance plans of Rome, and if any church is depicted in this area it is always the more prominent S. Egidio<sup>6</sup>; it is possible, however, that the gabled building seen in Dosio's plan on the east side of the above-mentioned road, about half way between Nicholas V's tower and the bastion of the Belvedere, represents the little church of S. Pellegrino.

The church (pl. VII) is oriented slightly to the north of due east. The importance attached to correct orientation in the original layout of the building is indicated by the marked obliquity of the west front which stands more or less parallel with the line of the road but at an angle of 80° to the axis of the nave. The church has a simple apsed nave without aisles. Its overall width is 8 m. and the external diameter of the apse is 5.70 m. The north wall is 14.25 m. in length but the south wall is about 1 m. shorter because the west front is oblique; Rocchi misinterpreted this fact (fig. 148) and, in consequence, showed the apse incorrectly as oblique. The walls are 0.70 m. thick and are built of heavy blocks of travertine in the lower courses, excepting a few patches of brick, and of brick in the higher parts. The travertine blocks, evidently taken from an ancient

<sup>1</sup> KEHR, *It. Pont.*, I, p. 147, no. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 6, quoting *Bullarium Vat.*, I, p. 29; MIGNE, *P. L.*, 143, col. 717, no. 80; *Arch. Soc. Rom. St. Patria* 24 (1901), p. 473 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Bullarium Vat.*, II, p. 40.

<sup>4</sup> FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, VI, p. 251, no. 935.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 253, no. 941.

<sup>6</sup> For instance in LAFRÉRY-DUPÉRAC, *Map of Rome*, 1577 (ed. EHRLE, Rome, 1908).

classical structure, are laid in courses 0.60 m. high. Four courses are visible in the part of the wall which has been exposed; there is probably at least one more course below ground (fig. 149). The travertine construction occurs in the apse and in the north wall. The south wall, on the other hand, uses the remains of a classical brick-faced wall in which are the remains of two openings outlined in travertine, as well as traces of a concrete vault which sprang from the southern wall face. The heavy blocks of the apse and north wall rise to the same height as the pre-existing Roman brick structure; above this level, the rest of the church is built in brickwork of the usual Carolingian type, with a modulus of approximately 6 courses to the R. ft.

The extent of the restorations undertaken by the canons of S. Peter's in 1590 is not known, but in 1671 the building was again restored and redecorated, and the nave floor was raised considerably above its former level. The original pavement has not been identified, but the floor of a cellar underneath the nave lies 1.75 m. below the present level and, to judge by the proportions of the apse, the original floor was even lower than the cellar. Several small windows, spanned with brick arches in which the bricks are set almost vertically, illuminate the side walls of the nave; the openings are 1.0 m. wide and 1.50 m. high (pl. VII; fig. 149, top). If they were arranged symmetrically, there would have been four openings on each side. There are no traces of windows in the apse or east wall and no evidence survives of the original doorway which was presumably in the west wall. The building has always been attributed to the pontificate of Leo III on the basis of the documents<sup>1</sup>. The date is confirmed by the technique of construction including the use for foundation walls of travertine blocks taken from a classical structure, a custom characteristic of Roman building methods from the late eighth through the middle of the ninth centuries<sup>2</sup>.

Inside the church the apse and east walls are decorated with fourteenth century paintings which doubtless date from Boniface IX's restoration, but the central figure in the vault of the apse belongs to an earlier period. De Waal, who discovered it, assumes that it belongs to the original decorations of Leo III<sup>3</sup>, while Cecchelli prefers to place it in the tenth century<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> DE WAAL, *op. cit.*, NAEF, *op. cit.* See above, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> See above, Vol. I, p. 68 and fig. 51; Vol. II, p. 177 and fig. 153, p. 297; above, p. 109 and figs. 96a-f, and below, p. 243.

<sup>3</sup> DE WAAL, *op. cit.*, p. 386 ff.

<sup>4</sup> ARMELLINI-CECCELLI, *Chiese*, p. 972.

## S. PIETRO IN VINCOLI

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(R. Krautheimer, S. Corbett, W. Frankl) \*

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## B. — ANCIENT DESCRIPTIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

### I. DESCRIPTIONS

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### II. ILLUSTRATIONS<sup>2</sup>

- 1474 ANONYMOUS, View of church façade, pen and ink; Map of Rome, Florence, Bib. Laurenziana, Red. 77 (DE ROSSI, *Piante*, pl. IV).  
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 1534 ANONYMOUS, Schematic view of church from northwest, fresco; Map of Mantua, probably from prototype antedating 1483 (DE ROSSI, *Piante*, pl. VII/VIII).  
 ca. 1540 ANTONIO DA SANGALLO THE YOUNGER, Measured halfplan of church, pen and ink; Uffizi, Dis. arch. 1160 (BARTOLI, *Monumenti*, III, pl. CCLXXXIV, fig. 470; our fig. 154).  
 1550-1551 ANONYMOUS, View of church, palace and convent from northeast, pen and wash; formerly Rome, Coll. Ludwig Pollak (EGGER, II, pl. 48; our fig. 156).  
 1551 BUFALINI, Plan of church, palace, and convent, woodcut; Map. of Rome (ed. EHRLE, Rome, 1911); FRUTAZ, *Piante di Roma*, II, pl. 198.  
 ca. 1554 GIOVANNI COLONNA DA TIVOLI, Measured plan of church and sketch of wooden door, pen and ink; Cod. Vat. lat., 7721, f. 20<sup>v</sup> (our fig. 155).  
 after 1578 ANONYMOUS, View of portico and tower, pen and ink; Stockholm, Nat. Museum, Coll. Tessin-Harleman No. 3278 (our fig. 152).  
 1588 FRA SANTI, View of façade of palace and church, woodcut; *Cose maravigliose*, c. 54<sup>v</sup>.  
 1593 TEMPESTA, View of façade, woodcut; Map of Rome [Urbis Romae Prospectus], Stockholm, 1915, FRUTAZ, *Piante di Roma*, II, pl. 266; edition of 1606 (ed. EHRLE, Vatican City, 1932; our fig. 150).  
 1619-1629 B. BREENBERGH, View of apse and transept from northeast, pencil and wash; London, British Museum, Sheepshanks 1831-8-11-89 (our fig. 171)<sup>3</sup>.  
 1625 MAGGI, View of church and cloister, engraving; Map of Rome (ed. EHRLE, Rome, 1915); FRUTAZ, *Piante di Roma*, II, pl. 310.  
 1747-61 VASI, View of façade of church, palace and convent, engraving; *Delle magnificenze di Roma*, 1747-61, III, pl. 45.

<sup>1</sup> While reading proof we learn with pleasure of the forthcoming publication in the *Memorie Pont. Accad.* of the report by Professors Colini and Matthiae on their findings at S. Pietro in Vincoli. A conversation with Professor Matthiae has shown us that regarding the church buildings his results appear to coincide more or less with ours and we are greatly pleased by this.

<sup>2</sup> We omit a number of views taken from a distance, e. g.: the anonymous panorama of Rome, ca. 1491, in the Codex Escorialensis (EGGER, II, pl. 104); the small sketches of Heemskerk (HÜLSEN-EGGER, *Heemskerk*, II, pls. 74, 121) and the anonymous panorama based on Heemskerk (EGGER, II, pl. 106); the panoramic views of ca. 1560 by G. A. Dosio (BARTOLI, *Monumenti*, V, pl. CDXII, figs. 748-9) and by Fabrizio Parmigiano (*ibid.*, pl. CDVI, fig. 737); and the view of ca. 1675 by Lieven Cruyl (EGGER, II, pl. 22). For a list of copies after the mosaic of Saint Sebastian, see WAETZOLDT, *Kopien*, p. 72.

<sup>3</sup> Regarding Breenbergh's stay in Rome, see VAN REGTEREN ALTENA, *Vereenwigde Stad Rome*, Amsterdam, 1964, p. 115.



- before 1789<sup>1</sup> SEROUX D'AGINCOURT, Plans of church and details of columns, engravings; *Histoire de l'Art*, IV, 1, pls. XXI and XXV, figs. 1-2.
- 1809<sup>2</sup> ROSSINI, View of cloister wellhead and interior view of church showing nave and apse, engravings; *I Monumenti più interessanti di Roma...*, Rome, 1818, pls. 4, 47 (unnumbered).
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- 1820-22 PROSPER BARBOT, Plan of church, pen and wash; Louvre, Cab. des Dessins, 27893, f. 3.
- 1821-1845<sup>3</sup> LETAROUILLY, Façade and plan of church, plan of cloister and details of cloister courtyard, engravings; *Edifices*, II, pls. 140, 141-2.
- 1829 J. M. KNAPP, Interior of apse, watercolor; London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Q 4c, D 1399-98 (our fig. 177).
- ca. 1840 ROSSINI, View from north aisle across nave into south transept, and plan, engravings; *Scenografia degl'interni delle più belle chiese...*, Rome, 1843, pls. V and XXIX.
- 1846 CANINA, Plan and section of church, engraving; *Tempi cristiani*, pl. LVI.
- 1855 FONTANA, Views of church interior and plan, engravings; *Chiese di Roma*, II, pls. I-IV.
- 1863 HÜBSCH, Reconstruction of church interior, engravings; *Altchristliche Kirchen*, pl. IX, figs. 7, 8.
- 1876 VESPIGNANI, Section and elevation of new confessio and plan of excavations, pen and wash; Rome, Istituto di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte, Palazzo Venezia, Racc. Lanciani, XXXIX, vol. I, f. 46, 47, 49, nos. 30923, 30924, 30930 (our fig. 159).
- prior to 1920 View of church interior prior to remodeling; Alinari photo No. 6198.

### C. — DATES

- after 419 Achillis, bishop of Spoleto (appointed in 419; date of death unknown) builds in Spoleto a church to Saint Peter containing a dedicatory poem which includes specific references to the chains of the Saint:

*Qui romam romaue uenis hunc aspice montem  
eque petri sede pone uiator opem  
Quae meritis quae sca fide distant ab illa  
crux illic regnum hic quoque uincla petrj  
Omnia magnanimus pastor construxit achillis  
sollicitos populi huc adhibete praeces*

(DE ROSSI, *Inscriptiones*, p. 114, no. 81; see also see DE ROSSI, *B.A.C.* 2 (1871), p. 118 ff. and Grisar, *op. cit.*, p. 211 ff.).

- 431 Philippus, legate of the Roman See to the Councils of Ephesos and Constantinople, co-signs numerous official documents as "*presbyter ecclesiae apostolorum*" (MANSI, *Sacrorum Conciliorum collectio...*, IV, Florence, 1760, col. 1303 and *passim*; SCHWARTZ, *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, Tome I, vol. I, Berlin and Leipzig, 1923-27, pt. 3, p. 13 and *passim*; pt. 7, p. 88 and *passim*; see also PAULY-WISSOWA, *Real-Encyclopädie*, XIX, Stuttgart, 1938, col. 2375 f.).

- 431—432 or earlier Mosaic inscription in the apse referring to the chains of Saint Peter as the main relic of the church:

*Inlesas olim servant haec tecta cathenas  
Vincla sacrata petri ferrum pretiosius auro*

Preserved in the syllogai of Verdun ("*isti versiculi scripti sunt ad sci Petri vincula*") and Würzburg (DE ROSSI, *Inscriptiones*, II, p. 134, no. 1, p. 157, no. 10; DIEHL, *Inscriptiones*, p. 348, no. 1781). Copied by Nicola Signorili ca. 1420 ("*... sunt scripti de musaicis in tribuna ... hi versus*") and ca. 1454 by Cyriacus of Ancona (DE ROSSI, *Inscriptiones*, II, p. 134, note to no. 1, and p. 352, no. 1), but as indicated by Petrus Sabinus, no longer extant ("*legebantur*") when published by him ca. 1493-94: "*in apside templi s. petri ad vincula ex opere vermiculato legebantur haec litteris vetustissimis...*" (DE ROSSI, *Inscriptiones*, II, p. 134).

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 81, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Date as given by Hermanin, « Appendice », p. XV, n. 66.

<sup>3</sup> For the dating of the drawings of *Edifices*, see above, Vol. II, p. 5, n. 7.

- 432—440 A church, dedicated to the Princes of the Apostles (Peter and Paul) and replacing an earlier ecclesiastical building of different designation, is completed under Pope Sixtus III. The new construction, wholly or in part preserved in the present building, was apparently supported by imperial donations (*regia ... vota*) promised by Theodosius and his wife Eudocia (see following digest) and either initiated or supervised by the presbyter Philippus (see above), who in his old age (*senex*) had represented the Papal See at Ephesos. Inscriptions read by the compilers of the syllogai of Lorsch IV and Verdun in various parts of the church:
- a. “... *in occidentali parte ipsius ecclesiae*” (presumably the interior facade):  
*Cede prius nomen nouitati cede uetustas*  
*regia laetanter uota dicare libet*  
*Haec petri paulique simul nunc nomine signo*  
*xystus apostolicae sedis honore fruens*  
*Unum quaeso pares unum duo sumite munus*  
*unus honor celebrat quos habet una fides*  
*Presbiteri tamen hic labor est & cura philippi*  
*postquam effesi xps uicit utrique polo*  
*Praemia discipulis meruit uincente magistro*  
*hanc palmam fidei rettulit inde senex*  
 (DE ROSSI, *Inscriptiones*, II, p. 110, no. 67, p. 134, no. 3).
- b. “*in altera abside*”<sup>1</sup> (that is, not in the main apse, but apparently under a representation of Christ amid the Four and Twenty Elders):  
*In medio regum celestem respice regem*  
*Nec desunt tua signa fides antisite xisto*  
 (DE ROSSI, *Inscriptiones*, II, p. 134, no. 2).
- 438—455 Eudoxia, Empress of the West 438-455, carries out the promises of her parents Theodosius II and Eudocia either by supporting the building activity of Sixtus III after her arrival in Italy in 438, or independently afterwards, and possibly even after the death of her father in 450. Inscription transmitted by the sylloge of Lorsch IV, but without exact location:  
*Theodosius pater eudocia cum coniuge uotum*  
*cumque suo supplex eudoxia nomine soluit*  
 (DE ROSSI, *Inscriptiones*, II, p. 110, no. 66; DIEHL, *Inscriptiones*, I, p. 348, no. 1779).
- 440—461 Pope Leo I is presumed to have delivered, in an unspecified church, a sermon in honor of the feast of the Maccabees, *P.L.*, 54, col. 517 ff.; see also *AA.SS.*, *Nov. II*, *pars posterior* [*Martyrologium Hieronymianum*], ed. DELEHAYE, Brussels, 1931, p. 409 f. with attribution to Leo I. The sermon links the day of the Maccabean festival with the consecration of the church by its unnamed founder (*magnificus structor parietum*). The last are possibly references, respectively, to S. Pietro in Vincoli and Sixtus III (see FERRUA, *op. cit.*, pp. 234 ff., 318 ff.; Delehaye, *op. cit.*); however, the questionable attribution of the sermon (MORIN, *Miscellanea Augustiniana* I, Rome, 1930, p. 742, doubts the attribution to Leo I) and the omission of specific reference to the festival of the chains (celebrated on August 1, the same day as the Maccabean festival; see below, VII century digest) leaves this suggestion open to doubt.
- 499 Signatures of three presbyters “*tituli apostolorum*” confirming the decisions of the Roman synod of 499 (*M.G.H.*, *Auctores antiquissimi*, XII, p. 413 f.).
- 501—502 Dignissimus, a presbyter “*a vincula sancti Petri apostoli*”, is killed in a street riot (*L.P.* I, p. 261). This is the first mention of the church with this designation despite the earlier references to the chains of Saint Peter occurring in the mosaic inscription dated ca. 431-432, and in the verses of the bishop of Spoleto, both quoted above.
- 519 Justinian, then heir to the throne, attempts to acquire relics of the “chains of the Apostles” for the church of Peter and Paul he has founded at Constantinople (letter of the papal legate to Pope Hormisdas, *Epistulae imperatorum pontificum...*, ed. GÜNTHER [*CSEL* 35], Vienna, 1895, p. 679 f.).

<sup>1</sup> The reading « *in altera abside* » is doubtful; see below, p. 227.

- 533 An ex-voto inscription, still preserved in the church, is offered in honor of Pope John II by the presbyter Severus:  
 ... BEATO PETRO AP. PATRONO SVO A VINCVLIS EIVS SEVERVS PB OFERT (*L.P.* I, p. 285, n. 1; DIEHL, *Inscriptiones*, p. 348, no. 1780).
- 544 Arator's long poem in honor of the two Apostles is presented to Pope Vigilius and read publicly in "*Ecclesia beati Petri quae vocatur Ad Vincula*" (*P.L.*, 68, col. 55). Possibly shortly afterward, Book I, lines 1070-1076 of the poem are reproduced in an inscription in the church:  
*His solidata fides his est tibi roma catenis ... qui portam pandit in astris*  
 (DE ROSSI, *Inscriptiones*, II, p. 110, no. 64).
- 556—561 (?) or 579—590 (?) The church is supposedly rededicated by a Pope Pelagius (either the first or the second) and endowed with the relics of the Maccabees. The opening lines of the inscription (known only from Martinelli, *op. cit.*, p. 284) maintain that the church had been originally dedicated to Saint Peter and then was rededicated by Sixtus III, destroyed in a civil war and rebuilt by Eudoxia:  
*Hoc Domini templum Petro fuit ante dicatum,  
 Tertius Antistes Sixtus sacraverat olim  
 Civili bello destructum post fuit ipsum,  
 Eudoxia quidem totum renovavit ibidem  
 Pelagius rursus sacravit Papa Beatus,  
 Corpora sanctorum condens ibi Machabaeorum,  
 Apposuit Petri pretiosa Ligamina ferri,  
 Illustris mulier quae detulit Hierusalem.  
 Et quibus est Petrus, Neronis tempore vincus,  
 Augusti mensis celebrantur festa calendis.  
 Huc accedenti purgantur crimina cuncta.*  
 (MARTINELLI, *Roma ex ethnica sacra*, 1653, p. 284 f., but without source).  
 The inscription is not known from any of the syllogai, and Martinelli indicates ("*haec olim inibi extabant*") that he had not seen it *in situ*. Hence authenticity and date are questionable<sup>1</sup> (see DE ROSSI, *op. cit.*, *B.A.C.* I [1876], p. 73 ff., with a discussion of the Maccabean relics).
- VI century (?) Inscriptions supposedly under paintings: "*Laetior procubuit palus ceruice secunda cui caput est xps despicit ipse suum*" and "*Conspectis properanter aquis ardescere cepit*" (DE ROSSI, *Inscriptiones*, II, p. 110, no. 68 and 65; although maintained by De Rossi, date and attribution of the distichs to S. Pietro in Vincoli are questionable).
- 594 Gregory the Great, though without referring to S. Pietro in Vincoli, mentions the chains of Saint Paul preserved in Rome in a letter (*Epist.*, Lib. IV, 30) to the Empress Constantina (*P.L.*, 77, col. 704; *M.G.H.*, *Epistolae*, I, p. 263 ff.).
- 595 and 600 Signatures of Andromachus and Agapitus, presbyters "*tituli sanctorum Apostolorum*" and "*tituli Apostolorum*" respectively, are recorded at the synod of 595. In a letter dated 600, Gregory the Great mentions the two as presbyters of the "*titulus Eudoxiae*", the first informal mention of the church with this designation (*M.G.H.*, *Epistolae*, I, p. 366 f.).
- VII century A number of martyrologies dependent on the early V century *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* interpolate on August 1 into the original text the festival of a church built by Saint Peter in Rome ("*Rome dedicatio ecclesie a beato Petro constructe*"), which later becomes the festival of the veneration of the chains of Saint Peter. (The *Gelasianum* assigns to the same day the festival of the Maccabees; KIRSCH, *op. cit.*, 1925, esp. p. 80 ff.; IDEM, *Titelkirchen*, p. 50 f.).
- 772—795 Pope Hadrian I restores the church, to which the name of Eudoxia is now officially linked ("*titulum Apostolorum quae appellatur Eudoxiae ad vincula, totam eius noviter restauravit ecclesiam*") and donates "*in titulo Eudoxiae, videlicet beati Petri apostoli ad vincula*" various lighting fixtures: 12 *canistra* (baskets?) and a number of lighting "hoops" ("*delphinos per diversas coronas XXXV*"); *L.P.* I, p. 508, 512.

<sup>1</sup> H. GRISAR (*op. cit.*, p. 205 ff.) refers to the appearance of this inscription in *De mirabilibus urbis Romae*, Rome, 1511, c. F. VIII.

- 795—816 Pope Leo III donates “*in titulo Eudoxie*” (alternately designated as “*in titulo beati Petri apostoli qui appellatur Eudoxiae*”) textiles and a sizable silver crown (*L.P.* II, pp. 3, 11, 19)<sup>1</sup>.
- 816—817 Stephen IV donates “*in ecclesia beati Petri apostoli ad Vincula*” a silver censer, lighting fixtures, textiles, altar vessels, and a crown (*L.P.* II, pp. 49, 50).
- 827—844 Pope Gregory IV presents a textile “*in ecclesia Apostolorum ad Vincula*” (*L.P.* II, p. 76).
- 1448—1464 Nicolaus Cusanus, as titular cardinal, begins restoration of church: repairs roof (CIACONIUS, *Res gestae pont.*, II, 1677, c. 975); erects altar for the chains of Saint Peter in the north transept “below the organ loft” (UGONIO, *Stationi*, c. 55; MARTINELLI, *Roma ex ethnica sacra*, 1653, p. 284; MELLINI, *Cod. Vat. lat.* 11905, f. 137), where he is later buried, and bequeaths funds “*pro reparatione ecclesiae S. Petri ad Vincula*”; Pope Sixtus pays the funds to Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, Jan. 15, 1472 (MÜNTZ, *Les arts à la cour des papes*, III [*Bibliothèques des Écoles Françaises d’Athènes et de Rome*, fasc. 28], Paris, 1882, p. 165).
- 1467—1471 The new titular cardinal Francesco della Rovere (later Pope Sixtus IV), subsidized by Pope Paul II (PASTOR, *History of the Popes*, St. Louis, Mo., IV, 1923, p. 29), repairs the church and builds the palace adjoining the north flank of the church (MAGNUSON, *op. cit.*, p. 328 ff.; MÜNTZ, *op. cit.*, p. 164 f.: “*recoprare li tecti de la giesia e de lo palazzo...*”).
- 1471—1492 Giuliano della Rovere (later Pope Julius II), as titular cardinal, remodels the church both under the pontificate of Sixtus IV and thereafter, presumably until exiled from Rome in 1492: “*Sedente Sixto IIII Pontif. Max. Jul. Car. S. Petri ad Vinc. nepos hanc basilicam pene collabentem restituit. Ecclesia S. Petri ad Vincula cum habitationibus fratrum a tua beatitudine maxima impensa instaurata est*” (ALBERTINI, *op. cit.*, c. 78<sup>v</sup>). The lower story of the portico dates prior to 1483, and perhaps even prior to 1475 (Maps of Rome: Laur. Red. 77 and, later, the Mantua map [DE ROSSI, *Piante*, pls IV, VII-VIII]); Rovere arms and inscription, now lost, were inside the portico: “*Astra palatinis quae tangit ad aedibus hospes | Hac primum nata est Iulia quercus homo*” (ALBERTINI, *op. cit.*, 1519, c. 88); Giuliano della Rovere sets up the main portal and its wooden door (arms of Sixtus IV on lintel and inscription IVL. CAR. on door; see G. A. COLONNA, *Vat. lat.* 7721, f. 20<sup>v</sup>, our fig. 155); places vaults over transept (Rovere arms in keystone) and aisles; and in 1477 sets up the shrine of the chains in the north transept, above or near the altar of Nicolaus Cusanus, where it stood until 1876/77 (bronze doors with reliefs, arms of Sixtus IV and Giuliano, and inscription:
- IVL. CARD. S.P. AD VINCULA  
S. ROMANAE ECCL. MAIOR  
PENITENTIARIVS. MCCCCLXXVII.
- [A. VENTURI, *Storia dell’arte italiana*, VI, Milan, 1908, p. 928]; cf. ALBERTINI, *op. cit.*, c. 79<sup>v</sup>: “*Est et alia capella parva sed pulchra in ecclesia Sancti Petri ad Vincula cum ferreis catenis Sancti Petri apostoli quam tua beatitudo aeneis intrinsecus et extrinsecus sculptis exornavit tabernaculis*”). South of the church he begins to build the convent for the canons and its cloister (inscription on lintel of door, leading originally from cloister to south aisle of church: IVL. CAR. S. PET. AD VIN. [LETAROUILLY, *Édifices*, pl. 142]), the cloister being completed only after 1503<sup>2</sup>.
- 1507—1517 Cloister in canons’ convent completed by the new titular cardinal Sixtus della Rovere, with the support of Julius II (Rovere arms alternating with cardinal’s hat and papal tiara — the latter referring to Julius II, the former to Cardinal Sixtus — on capitals of cloister; arms of Julius II on wellhead; inscription on architrave of cloister door: XIST. CAR. S. PET. AD VINCULA [LETAROUILLY, *Édifices*, pl. 141]).
- 1517—1520 Cardinal Leonardo della Rovere erects colonnaded structure over wellhead in cloister (Inscription: OPVS. PER. IV. II. AFFECTVM. LEONAR. C.S.P. AD. VINC... [LETAROUILLY, *loc. cit.*])<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The exact dates are presumably 796, 799 and 806; see HÜLSEN, “Osservazioni sulla biografia di Leone III”, *Rendic. Pont. Accad.* 1 (1922), p. 107 ff., esp. p. 110.

<sup>2</sup> See the older descriptions, e. g. MELLINI, *op. cit.*, f. 216<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> See also ALBERTINI, *op. cit.*, c. 78<sup>v</sup>, as quoted and below, digs. 1507-1517 and 1517-1520.

- 1530—1542 Cardinal Alessandro Cesarini donates wooden door to sacristy (PAOLUCCI, *op. cit.*, p. 23 ff.) and erects organ loft in north transept of church (UGONIO, Cod. Barb. lat. 2160, f. 172).
- 1542—1545 Michelangelo erects tomb of Julius II against south wall of south transept (DE TOLNAY, *Michelangelo*, IV, Princeton, 1954, p. 64 ff.).
- 1570—1578 The titular cardinal Antonio Granvella places the upper story atop the fifteenth century portico (Inscription on the window lintels: ANT. CAR., GRANVELANUS; see also UGONIO, Cod. Barb. lat. 2160, f. 172: “*Ne’ il Cardl. presente Granvelano ha mancato di farvi fabriche et sue sono quelle sopra il portico della chiesa...*”), In 1577, Jacopo Coppi of Florence redecorates the wall and vault of apse with frescoes signed: OPUS JACOBI COPPI CIVIS FIORENTINI F.A.D. MDLXXVII (Ugonio, Cod. Barb. lat. 2160, f. 172, was not quite sure of the date: “*La tribuna e stata fatta dipingere l’anno 157. dal R. P. ... il 3° Anno del suo Generalato*”). Also in 1577, various repairs were effected: two large rectangular windows set into apse, apse exterior buttressed; rectangular windows placed in lateral apse, east wall of transept and in north clerestorey of nave, with, presumably, corresponding sham windows in south clerestorey (MELLINI, Cod. Vat. lat. 11905, f. 125 ff.: “*La nave trasversa ... piglia il lume a oriente da quattro finestre quadre ... due sopra le cappelle e due nel semicircolo della Tribuna ... il lume ad occidente da una finestra tonda a settentrione da tre finestre quadre a mezzogiorno le finestre son finte...*”).
- 1683 Altar of St. Sebastian removed from west wall of North aisle to the middle of left aisle:  
 ... REGVLARES DTI MONASTERII ... NVPER EXPONI FECERVNT // IPSI ALTARE PRIMO DICTVM QVOD MVRO PRAEFATAE EORVM ECCLESIAE PROPE ILLIVS JANVAM // ADHEREBAT ITA VT SACERDOTES AD ILLVD CELEBRANTES HVMEROS ALTARI MAJORI IPSIVS // ECCLESIAE OBVERSOS HABERENT INDE IN EIVSDEM ECCLESIAE NAVEM SEV ALAM LATERALEM A // SINISTRO INGREDIENTIVM TRANSTVLERVNT IBIQVE DECENTIVS COLLOCAVERVNT...” (FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, XIII, p. 425).
- 1705 Coffered wooden barrel vault, designed by Francesco Fontana and incorporating paintings by G. B. Parodi, jointly financed by the title holder Cardinal Marcello Durazzo (1686-1710) and Prince G. G. Pamphili; inscription of 1706 painted above triumphal arch, now lost, but recorded by FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, IV, p. 91: *Clemente XI pontifice maximo ... Marcellus Cardinal Duratius ... Ac munificentissimus princeps D. Joannes Baptista Pamphilius ... robusta et ineluctabili contignatione ... Eudoxianam basilicam ... exornavi ... MDCCVI* (see also, PANCIROLI-POSTERLA-CECCONI, *op. cit.*, 1725, p. 94: “*Dal Prencipe D. Gio. Battista Panfilij si assegnarono scudi tre mila e cinque*”; TITI, *op. cit.*, 1763, p. 478; ROISECCO, *op. cit.*, 1765, p. 481 f.). Paintings in apse repaired by G. Carboni (TITI, *ibid.*).
- 1700—1721 General renovation of interior decor: columns of nave, apse paintings, and right lateral apse restored. Ceiling of front portico redone by Cardinal Giovanni Antonio Davia and grills added bearing the arms of Clement XI (TITI, *op. cit.*, p. 478; see also Krautheimer, *op. cit.*, p. 359, n. 21).
- 1765 Nave pavement laid, main portal embellished on interior; inscription inside church over main entrance (FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, IV, p. 92).
- 1876—1877 The high altar is rebuilt at the borderline between apse and transept and is surmounted by a canopy. The sunk confessio in front of the altar is opened sheltering the shrine with chains, transferred from north transept. A crypt is built below this altar for Maccabean relics. The chancel is repaved, and repairs are executed above the transept vaults (MENCACCI, *op. cit.*, *passim*, with confessio inscription).
- ca. 1920 The triumphal arch is redecorated and given classical moldings (see Alinari photograph No. 6198, prior to remodeling).
- 1957—1960 The nave and side bays of transept are excavated (see fig. 157); the nave is recovered with glossy modern stone pavement.



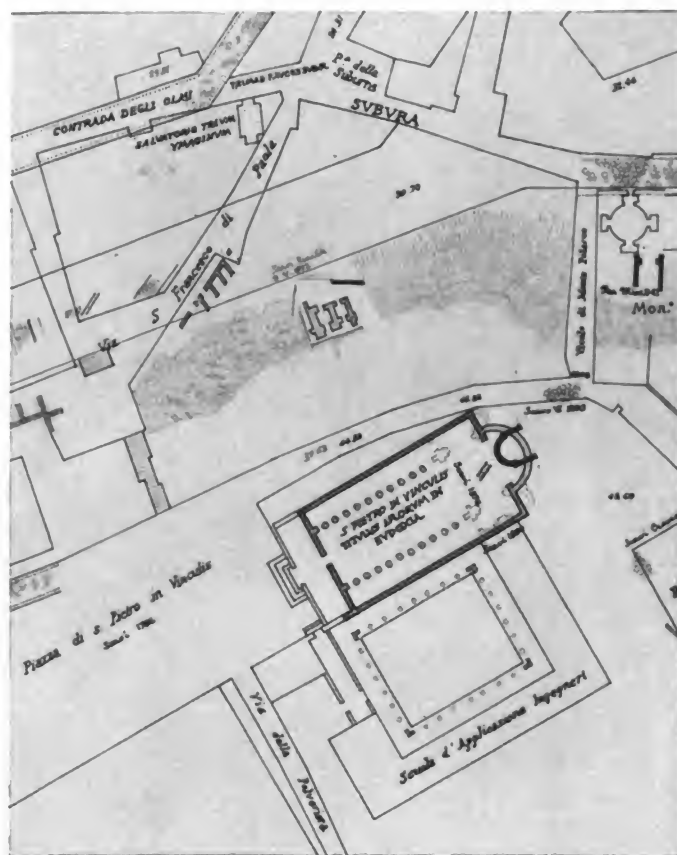
## D. — GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The church stands on the brow of the Oppian hill at the point where its westernmost spur begins to descend towards the valley of the Imperial Fora (fig. 150). To east and south the level plateau is strewn with the vast ruins of Trajan's Baths, while immediately to the north the hillside slopes precipitously down to the valley of the Argiletum, now Via Cavour (fig. 151). In orientation the axis of the nave runs from southwest to northeast, being dictated by the reuse of ancient founda-



Fig. 150. S. Pietro in Vincoli, A. Tempesta, View of church from west

tions; for brevity, we will generally speak simply of east and west, the entrance being at the west and the apse at the east end. The church is very large, consisting of a nave, single aisles, transept and three apses (pl. VIII). The single western doorway is sheltered by a narthex, originally built - possibly before 1475 and certainly before 1483 - with a single story and a lean-to roof, an upper story being added about a hundred years later (fig. 152)<sup>1</sup>. On the north side of the church, a narrow site between the aisle and the adjacent street is occupied by the palace which Sixtus IV built when still Cardinal Francesco della Rovere<sup>2</sup> (fig. 156). To the south, a more spacious area is given up to the convent building which Sixtus IV's nephew, Giuliano della Rovere (afterwards Pope Julius II) provided between 1471 and 1492<sup>3</sup>. The northern palace now serves as the residence of the canons attached to the basilica, while the building to the south has become part of the University of Rome.



(Lanciani, *Forma Urbis Romae*, pl. 22, 23)

Fig. 151. S. Pietro in Vincoli, Plan of surroundings and Roman ruins

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 183, 184, digs. 1471-1484, 1570-1578; also KRAUTHEIMER, *op. cit.*, p. 360, 366, MAGNUSON, *op. cit.*, p. 350, and URBAN, « Kirchenbaukunst », p. 104 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 183, dig. 1467-1471; also KRAUTHEIMER, *op. cit.*, p. 366, and MAGNUSON, *op. cit.*, p. 328-351.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 183, digs. 1471-1492 and 1507-1517; also KRAUTHEIMER, *op. cit.*, p. 366, and URBAN, « Kirchenbaukunst », p. 104 f.

The nave (fig. 153) is flanked on each side by twelve well-matched monolithic columns of Aegean marble; they are of the Greek Doric order and probably date from the first century A.D.<sup>1</sup> The present column bases were inserted in the eighteenth century<sup>2</sup> to replace others similar in design but less consistent in size<sup>3</sup>. The columns support arcades, above which rise the upper walls, all built of brick. The clerestory walls originally had rows of arched windows but now contain only three rectangular windows on the north side, balanced by three imitation windows in the south wall. The windows and their



(Stockholm, National Museum)

Fig. 152. S. Pietro in Vincoli, Anonymous, View of west front of church, after 1578



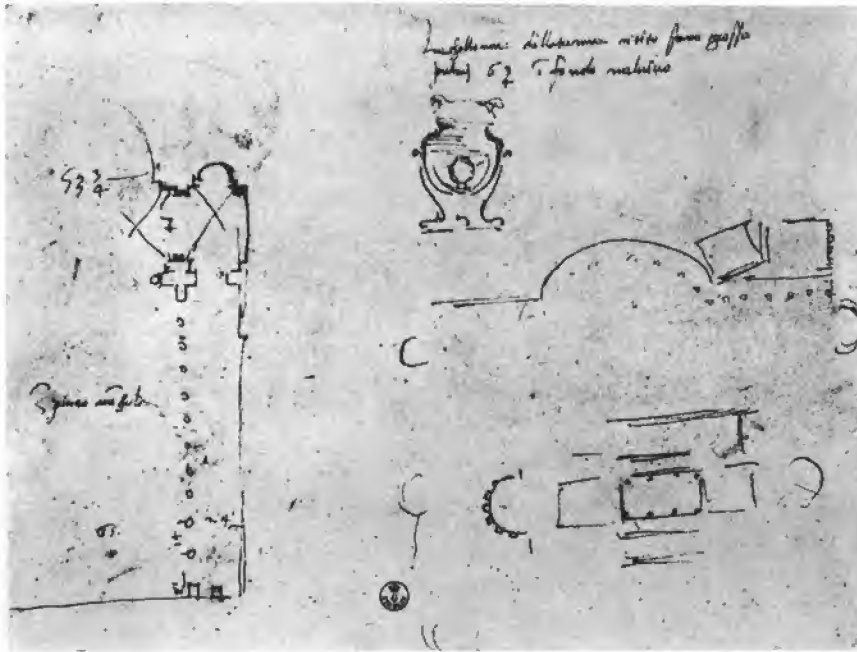
(Photo: Sansaini)

Fig. 153. S. Pietro in Vincoli, Nave, 1930

<sup>1</sup> The closest analogies known to us are in the Doric colonnade of the agora at Ephesus, dated in the reign of Nero (WILBERG, *Forschungen in Ephesos* [Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut], III, p. 79 ff., esp. figs. 131, 135).

<sup>2</sup> KRAUTHEIMER, *op. cit.*, p. 358.

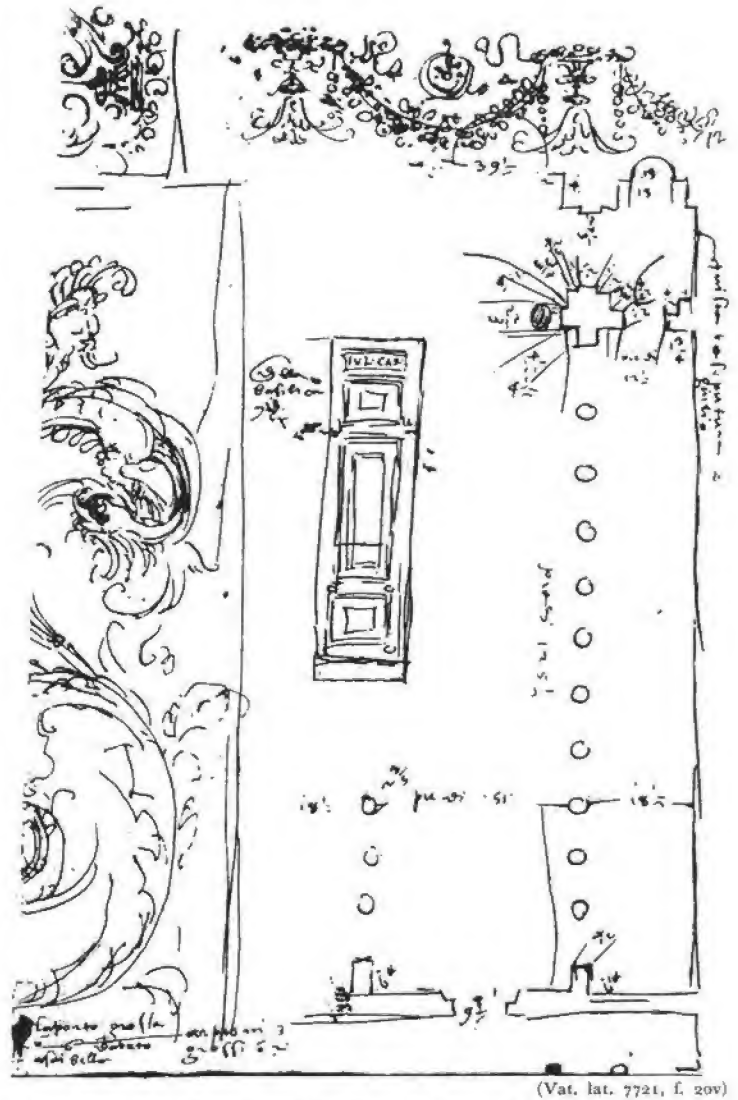
<sup>3</sup> See below, pp. 197 ff. and 224.



(Uffizi, dis. arch. 1160)

blind counterparts probably date from about 1570-1580<sup>1</sup>. The nave roof is concealed by an elliptical coffered barrel vault of wood and plaster erected in 1705 to the design of Francesco Fontana; above it, the beams of an open timber roof rest on carved wooden brackets of fifteenth century date which evidently were originally visible. The aisles, on the other hand, are roofed with groin vaults, also dating from the last quarter of the fifteenth century<sup>2</sup>.

At the east end of the nave and aisles, wide archways lead to the transept, which extends across the whole width of the basilica and protrudes on either side. The central arch rests on a pair of columns with monolithic grey granite shafts, antique Corinthian capitals and modern marble bases. The transept is vaulted in three bays, a square groin vault over the central area and oblong groin vaults over the wings. The central vault boss is carved with the papal arms of the Rovere, and therefore must date from the overall restoration of the church, 1471-1492<sup>3</sup>. The bulky piers which support these vaults are seen in the plans of Antonio da Sangallo the Younger and G. A. Colonna



(Vat. lat. 7721, f. 20v)

Fig. 155. S. Pietro in Vincoli, Antonio Colonna da Tivoli, Sketch plan and sketch of one wing of door, ca. 1554

<sup>1</sup> They were noted by MELLINI, Vat. lat. 11905, f. 125 ff., about 1660 (KRAUTHEIMER, *op. cit.*, p. 360, n. 29, and above, p. 184, dig. 1570-1578).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 366, and URBAN, «Kirchenbaukunst», p. 104 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 183, dig. 1471-1492.



da Tivoli (ca. 1554) (figs. 154 and 155). East of the transept lies the main apse, illuminated by two oblong windows and decorated with frescoes by Jacopo Coppi<sup>1</sup>. The wings of the transept have small apses illuminated by side windows; above the openings of these apses, large rectangular windows, cut into the upper part of the east wall, light the transept wings. The rectangular windows of both the main apse and the transept date from the latter part of the sixteenth century<sup>2</sup>. Previously, the apse had been illuminated by three pointed windows with Gothic tracery, as shown in an anonymous sixteenth century drawing (fig. 156), and the outlines of the openings



(Formerly: Rome, L. Pollak Collection; Egger, *op. cit.*, II pl. 48)

Fig. 156. S. Pietro in Vincoli, Anonymous, View of church adjoining convent and palace, from northeast

are still visible. They were without archivolts, simply cut through the brickwork, a method also adopted by the builders of Sixtus IV at SS. Nereo and Achilleo<sup>3</sup>.

Hence these pointed windows at S. Pietro in Vincoli are presumably part of the overall Rovere remodeling effected during the last third of the fifteenth century. Before this time, the apse had been lit by small round-headed Romanesque windows (figs. 172, 173, 174). Likewise, it is clear from the exterior that the small lateral apses are much later than the large central one and that they also date from the period of the Rovere.

The southern wall of the transept is masked by the great tomb façade which Michelangelo designed for Julius II, the principal feature being the celebrated statue of Moses. The central zone of the transept is taken up by an ornate ciborium and sunken confessio, both designed by Vespignani in 1876<sup>4</sup>. The excavation of the confessio at this time disclosed a number of antecedent walls, the

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 184, dig. 1570-1578.

<sup>2</sup> KRAUTHEIMER, *op. cit.*, p. 364 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 147, fig. 128.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 184, dig. 1876-1877.

majority pertaining to *balnea*, which Vespignani recorded in a sketch plan (fig. 159). More recently, the lateral areas of the transept and the whole of the nave were excavated by the Soprintendenza ai Monumenti del Lazio during the years 1957-1959, and the nave pavement has since been reconstructed on a steel and concrete platform, allowing the Roman structures uncovered in the excavations to stay open for continued study<sup>1</sup>.

## E. — ANALYSIS

### 1. Pre-existing Structures

The excavations of 1957-9 revealed numerous walls and foundations belonging to earlier buildings which were demolished when the church was laid out, apart from portions utilized in the new foundations (fig. 157). A detailed description of these pre-existing structures is outside the scope of this work. They will only be mentioned in so far as they affected the building of the church<sup>2</sup>.



(Photo: Soprint. ai Mon. del Lazio)

Fig. 157. S. Pietro in Vincoli, Nave during excavations of 1958

<sup>1</sup> In this connection we express our sincere gratitude to the former Soprintendente ai Monumenti, Prof. C. C. Geschi, and to Professors A. M. Colini and G. Matthiae for generous and cordial help in opening the field of their researches to the present writers.

<sup>2</sup> For a preliminary account see MATTHIAE, *op. cit.*, 1961, p. 10 ff. The final report by Colini and Matthiae is in the press; see above, p. 179, note 1.



## a) FINDS BELOW THE NAVE

(i) At the lowest level lies a series of stone walls and mosaic floors of fine quality, apparently belonging to a richly appointed structure of Flavian date. They are distinguished from what was built later by a slightly different orientation: all succeeding buildings are oriented  $58^{\circ}$  east of north, while these earliest walls face the  $65^{\text{th}}$  degree. They had no effect on the layout of the church and are not included in our survey.

(ii) The first century construction was replaced by a network of more solidly built Roman walls which date from the second century. Some of these later walls were subsequently reused in the church foundations, and it is from them that the orientation of the basilica is derived (pl. VIII; fig. 158). The principal floor level of the second century complex lies about 0.55 m. below the present nave pavement, with the exception of a deep cryptoporticus which lies more than 5 m. lower. One wing of the cryptoporticus stands at right angles to the axis of the church, crossing the nave 25 m. east of the façade wall. Internally, the gallery of the cryptoporticus is 3.50 m. wide; its length is unknown as it extends, to each side, beyond the line of the nave colonnades. The walls are 0.75 m. thick and are faced with *opus reticulatum*; the barrel vaulted concrete roof rises to an apex 1 m. below the church floor. Another cryptoporticus, parallel to the one in the nave and at the same level, lies farther west beneath the narthex of the church. Finally, a third gallery, somewhat narrower than the other two and at right angles to them, lies in the region of the south aisle. The fourth gallery (assuming the cryptoporticus to have had the usual four sided plan) has not yet been discovered. The cryptoporticus seems to have surrounded an ornamental garden which contained fountains and water tanks, the whole recalling the quadriporticus, cryptoporticus and fish tanks of Hadrian's villa, although on a smaller scale<sup>1</sup>.

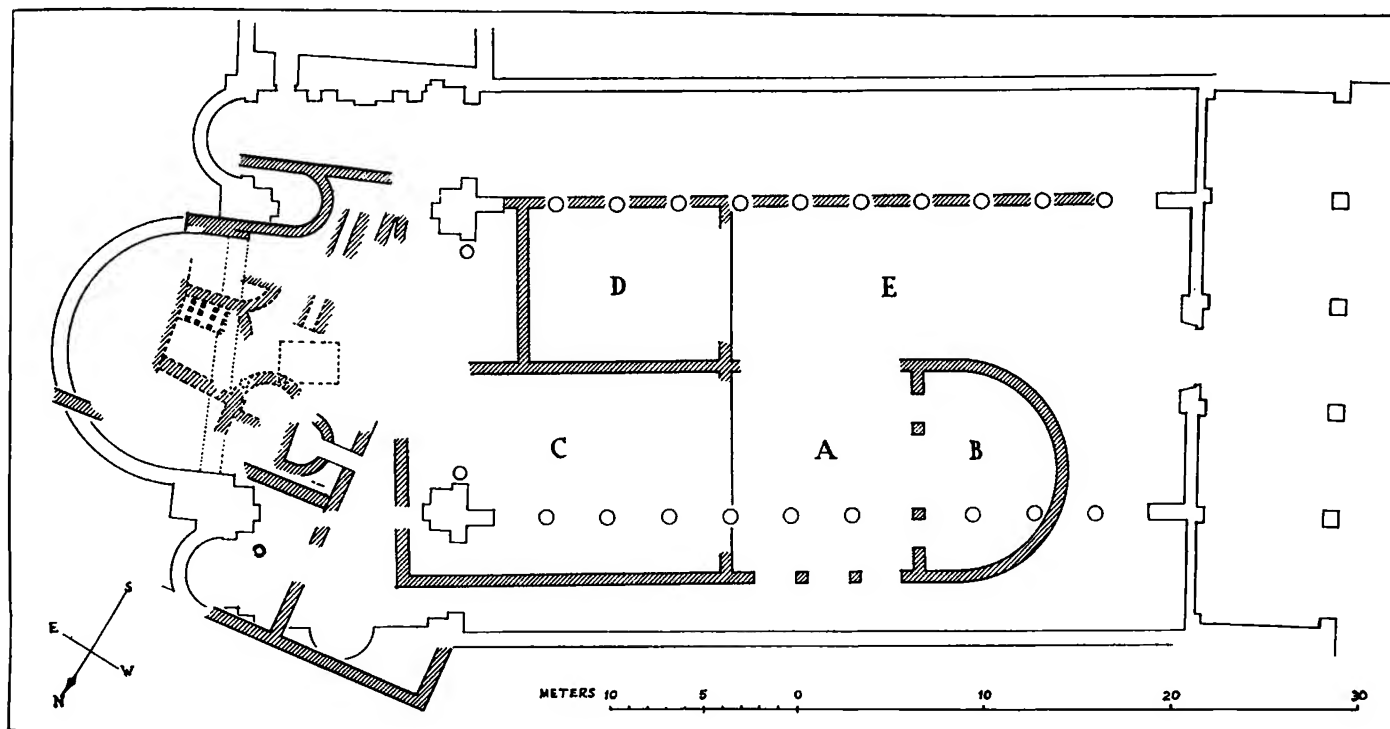
(iii) The cryptoporticus complex was replaced, perhaps in the third century, by a new structure, traces of which survive in numerous walls and pavements. The new complex partly obliterated the water garden but corresponded with the original plan in several respects: the orientation is the same; a number of the cryptoporticus walls were reused as foundations, and it is possible that the axis of the garden was repeated in the later complex; also, the cryptoporticus galleries, being at a lower level, probably continued to be used.

The most prominent feature of this third structure is a square hall. It measures 9.50 m. by 10.50 m. in plan and opens on the west side through a triple colonnade into a semicircular apse (A and B on fig. 158). Another triple colonnade forms the north side of A and it is possible, though not by any means certain<sup>2</sup>, that similar colonnades stood to east and south. On the east side of structure A lies a somewhat larger rectangular enclosure (C), paved with large slabs of *cipollino* marble. Enclosure C is 16.50 m. long and extends eastward into the area of the present transept. To the south lies chamber D, 8 m. by 10 m. in plan and paved with *opus sectile*. Its west wall coincides with the west side of the cryptoporticus, while its south wall is now incorporated in the foundations of the nave's south colonnade. The eastern flank has perished but its location is shown by the foundation. West of D lay another chamber (E) paved with small rectangular marble slabs; its south wall continues the line of the south wall of D and, like it, is embedded in the nave colonnade stylobate<sup>3</sup>; a few fragments of its rich marble wall revetment survive (see fig. 164, lower right). The westward extent of chamber E is unknown. The brick walls of this whole complex (A to E) are only 0.60 m. thick, but they are set on solid foundations of shutter cast concrete 1.0 m.

<sup>1</sup> AURIGEMMA, *Villa Adriana*, Rome, 1961, p. 150 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See however, MATTHIAE, *op. cit.*, p. 11 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. 196.



(Drawing: Corbett)

Fig. 158. S. Pietro in Vincoli, Plan of former hall below the nave, and of adjoining structures below the transept and the arch

thick and at least  $1\frac{1}{2}$  meters deep. In several places, where the upper walls have perished, the remains of these distinctive foundations enable the further extent of the complex to be traced. Parts of the structures below the nave were seen in 1764/5, when an opus sectile pavement came to light, fifteen palmi (3.35 m.) below nave level. The level of 15 palmi corresponds to none of those established now. In their report, the excavators maintained that the buildings they saw had been destroyed by fire<sup>1</sup>.

#### b) FINDS BELOW TRANSEPT AND APSE

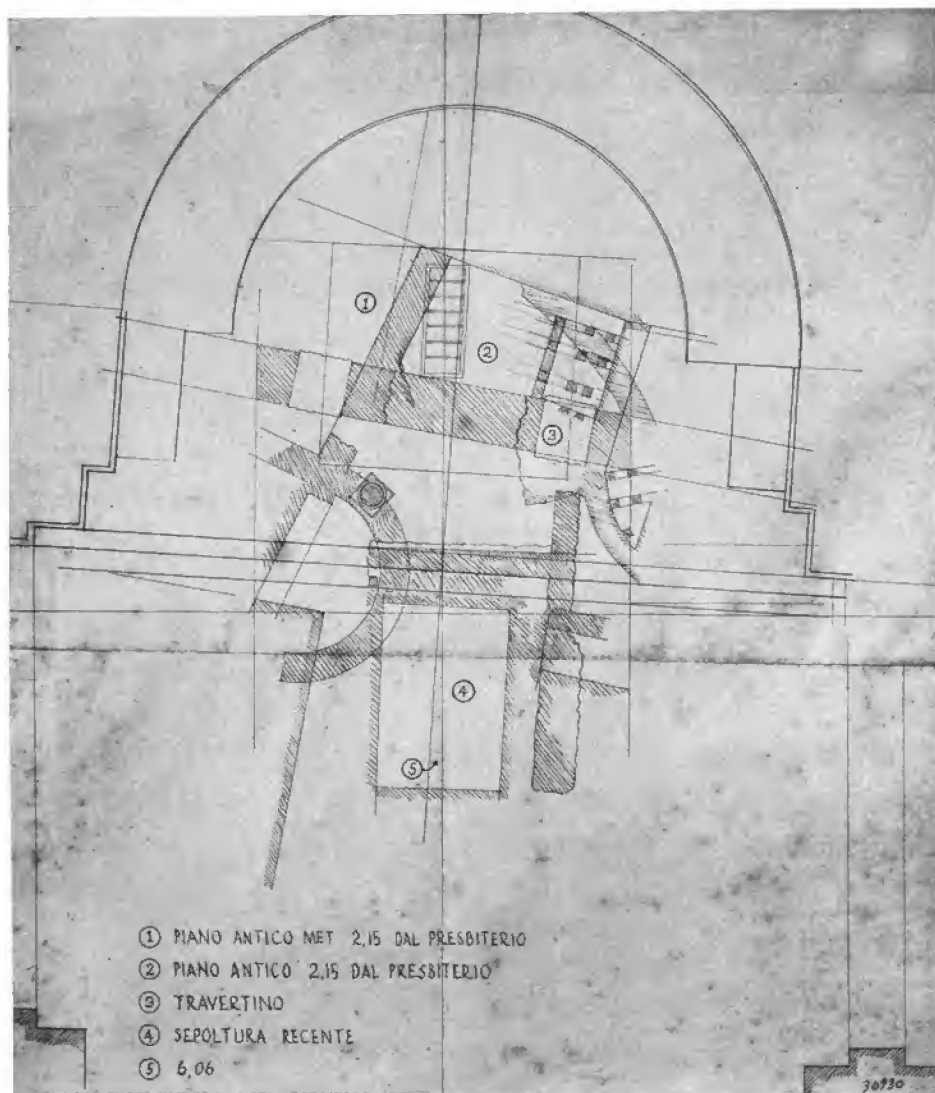
(i) On the east side of compartment D the strata have been disturbed, but the remains of a hypocaust lying underneath a cement-lined water tank seem to be discernible. The area surrounding the tank was paved with mosaic. Further east, in the area of the church transept, the pre-existing Roman remains become more confused and fragmentary. They may have been coexistent with the cryptoporticus complex, and they seem, in any case, earlier than the buildings of the third period which include the apsed hall and its annexes (chambers A-D).

A Roman brick wall running east-west crosses the southern part of the transept, a little south of the alignment of the nave colonnade, and a U-shaped exedral chamber 3 m. wide, probably another water tank, stands to the north of this wall just at the base of the southeast pier of the central bay of the transept (fig. 158). The north side of the tank continues eastward to protrude beyond the east wall of the transept and appears in the foundations of the main apse. It is also visible from the exterior, where it reaches a level of about 2 meters above nave level. The brickwork is neatly executed: the mortar is struck off flush with the brick face; mortar beds are thin, about 22-25 mm., and horizontal. A modulus of 6 courses per R. ft. is measured. A drain passes about

<sup>1</sup> Oñatibia, *op. cit.*, p. 10, quoting a manuscript (*Notizie varie*, f. 20) from the archives of S. Pietro in Vincoli: «... ad 15 circiter palmorum altitudinem ... detecta est pars quaedam pavimenti musivi operis ex quo in parte sectae 14 mensae confectae sunt ... Inventa sunt etiam plura marmorea frusta inter quae non nulla ad calcis speciem pene redacta plane demonstrabant locum vim ignis magni passum fuisse, quod ipsum ostendant plumbi olim lignati reliquiae ... ».

1 m. to the west of the tank, running due north-south and oblique to the general layout of chambers A-E. Two brickstamps identified in this drain in 1942 suggest a date in the second half of the second century<sup>1</sup>.

(ii) Numerous Roman walls were discovered and destroyed in 1876 when Vespignani excavated the central portion of the transept in preparation for the construction of the present confessio and baldacchino<sup>2</sup>. The sketch plan<sup>3</sup> which Vespignani made, while insufficiently annotated, re-



(Redrawn from the original, Racc. Lanciani 30930)

Fig. 159. S. Pietro in Vincoli, Vespignani, Excavations in area of high altar, 1876

mains useful (fig. 159; pl. VIII). The northern portion of the oblique drain noted above appears near the center in the lower right hand quarter of his sketch. The more recent excavations prove that the conduit is wrongly oriented on Vespignani's sketch and thus indicate that the whole plan is only approximately accurate. To the east of the oblique drain, Vespignani noted part of another exedral tank with a hypocaust and, to the north of this, still another hypocaust. In the northern portion of his plan he showed across the chord of the apse a semicircular feature with a column base perched on its rim; this seems to be yet another water tank, and the small square drawn adjoining the interior curve of the hemicycle may indicate that it, too, was heated by a hypocaust. The

<sup>1</sup> Oñativia, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Krautheimer, *op. cit.*, p. 387 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Racc. Lanciani 30930 (XXXIX, Vol. I, f. 95).

brick stamps extracted in 1876 from these structures range from the first through the entire second century, but the majority date between 161 and 190<sup>1</sup>. Finally Vespignani noted a strong wall, about 1 m. thick, passing across the main apse of the church; he showed it as slightly oblique to the chord of the apse. Two large blocks of travertine were set on this wall (the word *travertino* is written on the right hand block), placed symmetrically in relation to the axis of the church and set about 4½ m. apart. These features will be discussed in greater detail below. It should be noted, however, that the northern extremity of this Roman wall was rediscovered in 1958 precisely 1 m. west of the place indicated by Vespignani, whereas its southern extremity was found to agree with his sketch plan. Hence the obliquity of the "chord wall" is less than Vespignani thought.

(iii) The excavations of 1959 in the northern portion of the transept (pl. VIII; fig. 158) disclosed yet another small semicircular tank. It is difficult to believe that this tank and the one shown by Vespignani with a column base on its rim are not one and the same thing, either a single tank or a tri-lobed affair. The problem still has to be elucidated, but it need not detain us here as these small tanks play no part in the evolution of the church; they are merely buried beneath its pavement. On the north side of the tank last mentioned the recent excavations disclosed a diagonal wall running nearly due east-west (fig. 158). It stands exactly in line with and is presumably the continuation of a wall which protrudes externally from the foundations of the main apse nearly at its apex<sup>2</sup>. The diagonal east-west wall is nearly parallel with the north wall of the transept, and both stand totally out of line with all other walls in and beneath the church. On the west side of the little semicircular tank a cross wall runs nearly at right angles to the two parallel east-west walls and terminates against the base of the north transept wall. At the level where it was examined (immediately below the present floor), the obliquely set north-south cross wall is neatly constructed of brickwork having a modulus of exactly five courses per R. ft.; the horizontal mortar beds are finished with slightly concave pointing. Although the cross wall seems only to butt against the north transept wall at the point of intersection, it is probable that they belong to a single edifice. In any case, the base of the north wall is undeniably older than the colonnades of the church, which formerly crossed the area of the transept. The brickwork of the three oblique walls has the general character of fourth century construction, but too little was seen for precise analysis. All three walls, however, seem to belong to a building more or less rectangular in itself but set at an angle to the structures noted in the western and southern section of the site, i.e., chambers A-E. Since both groups of chambers contained hypocausts and water tanks, they seem to have had something to do with *thermae*, but whether it was a single establishment or two independent ones remains to be elucidated.

Other Roman walls are incorporated in the foundations of the apse (pls. VIII, IX). At the southern shoulder, on the exterior, is exposed the extremity of the side wall of the U-shaped water tank<sup>3</sup>, used by the apse builders to supplement their foundations. About 0.60 m. east of this, another Roman wall appears at a lower level. The end of still another brick wall protrudes nearly at the apex of the apse; it may be the wall drawn by Vespignani parallel with and about 2 m. south of the axis of the church, but it is 9 m. distant from the location given by Vespignani and the identification is uncertain. Lastly, 4½ meters further north, the extremity of the diagonal wall which stands parallel to the north wall of the transept protrudes from the east side of the apse foundation concrete (fig. 158).

<sup>1</sup> DE ROSSI, *op. cit.*, 1876, p. 73 ff.; FIORELLI, *op. cit.*, p. 138; OÑATIBIA, *op. cit.*, p. 4 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See below.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 191.

## 2. The Church Buildings

In order to prepare a platform for the erection of a church on this site, the whole of the pre-existing complex A-E and the obliquely set buildings which rose to the east of C and D, with the several small bath tanks which they contained, were all razed to a common level about 0.30 m. above the marble pavement of compartment C. The galleries of the cryptoporticus, which lay below this level, were left untouched. In setting out the plan of the new basilica a few of the older walls were reused as foundations but the majority were ignored. In the eastern part of the church the builders used a portion of one of the water tanks to supplement the foundations of the south shoulder of the main apse; likewise, the obliquely set wall which formed the northern boundary of the site was incorporated in the church as the north wall of the transept, even though the alignment of the wall is quite incongruous with the rest of the layout. In the western part of the church, the foundations of the south walls of compartments D and E (incorporating the north side of the cryptoporticus gallery) were employed in the foundations of the south nave colonnade. On the other hand, the north colonnade did not coincide with any of the walls in compartments A, B and C, and new foundations had to be made. The 1957-60 excavations made possible the detailed examination of most of these foundation walls and established that two successive church buildings existed. For brevity, we will distinguish them as church A and church B (pls. VIII, IX; figs. 163-170, 193).

### a) THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE NAVE

*The west wall.* The foundations of the west façade wall go back to the period of church A and also incorporate earlier features. The northwest corner pier of the nave is built in brickwork of the type usually associated with fourth and fifth century building (figs. 160, 161, 193), brickwork in which large bricks, not obviously second hand and possibly new, are laid in level courses with mortar beds of uniform thickness with a general modulus of five brick courses and five mortar courses in a height of 1 R. ft. In the pier under discussion, however, the mortar beds average only 0.03 m. in height and the modulus is only  $4\frac{1}{3}$  per R. ft.; the pointing is smooth and worked with the trowel in continuous, slightly concave horizontal channels (fig. 198a). The bricks at the re-entrant angle are perfectly bonded, and there can be no doubt that the whole corner pier is an integral unit. At the base, it uses for its foundations a mass of concrete which belonged originally to the complex of the cryptoporticus water garden, including a small semicircular water tank (fig. 161). The brickwork of the western wing of the corner pier extends southward for a distance of 1.18 m. from the angle and then ceases in a vertical plane, beyond which the character of the brickwork changes (fig. 198g): the coursing becomes less horizontal and the mortar beds are less uniform in thickness. At a distance of 3.20 m. from the northwest corner this inferior brickwork is interrupted by a roughly rectangular block of travertine, 0.60 m. wide, 0.40 m. thick and protruding 0.18 m. from the wall face (fig. 193). The travertine block supports a crudely profiled granite column base, 0.80 m. wide and 0.40 m. high, now embedded in the west wall of the church and resting only a few centimeters below the level of the present nave pavement. The concrete of the water garden feature does not extend far enough to provide a foundation for the travertine base block, and its place is taken by a massive concrete foundation wall, about 1.20 m. thick and 1.50 m. deep. The concrete was poured directly into a roughly excavated trench and therefore has a rough and shapeless profile which deceptively resembles rubble (see fig. 160); nevertheless it is, in fact, a foundation wall of considerable strength. Near the center of the west wall, to the east of the main



threshold, the foundations of the doorway include a fragment of a white marble column shaft 0.60 m. in diameter. The middle part of the west wall foundations are obscured by the footings of the door frame, but to the south, in the space between the doorway and the southeast corner, we again find trench-cast concrete foundations, continuing as far as the angle of the nave. Above this concrete base we find the features of the northern part of the wall repeated in reverse, i.e., a granite column base is embedded in the nave wall at a distance of 3.10 m. from the corner while the west wing of the south corner pier reaches towards it for a width of 1.19 m. As before, the column base rests on a rough block of travertine, and between this block and the well-constructed brickwork of the corner pier we note, below floor level, another stretch of brickwork, 0.27 m. high, not dissimilar in character except that the coursing is less horizontal and is separated from the pier by a vertical joint (figs. 161, 193). The trench-cast foundation wall rises to a level 0.42 m. below the modern nave pavement while the granite column base lies on its travertine under-base at a depth of 0.80 m. below the same level. Like its northwestern counterpart, the west wing of the corner pier is well built with large bricks and horizontal coursing, and here we note that the horizontal mortar beds are occasionally pointed with convex double-faceted tooling. Again the corner is tightly bonded and the whole L-pier is certainly a homogeneous unit. As the plans show (pl. VIII), the west wall is not quite at right angles to the sides of the nave; the reason is not known.

*The foundations of the south colonnade* (fig. 162a-c). The eastern wing of the southwest corner pier is built of the same good quality brickwork as noted before and shows the same double-faceted mortar joints (fig. 198b). It extends eastward 1.91 m. from the angle and forms the long tongue wall or end pier which is the terminal feature of the colonnade. Below floor level the brickwork continues eastward as the colonnade stylobate, standing on top of the trench-cast concrete foundation wall, as figs. 161 and 162a show. Unfortunately, the north face of the stylobate, between the end pier and the first column, is concealed by a large, unexplained platform, 3.70 m. × 3.40 m. in area, built up in three or four courses of big, roughly hewn tufa blocks, which touches the north face of the stylobate. It appears to be the foundation for some heavy feature which once stood near the southwest corner of the nave (fig. 162a). When the stylobate emerges on the east side of the foun-



(Photo: Sansaini)

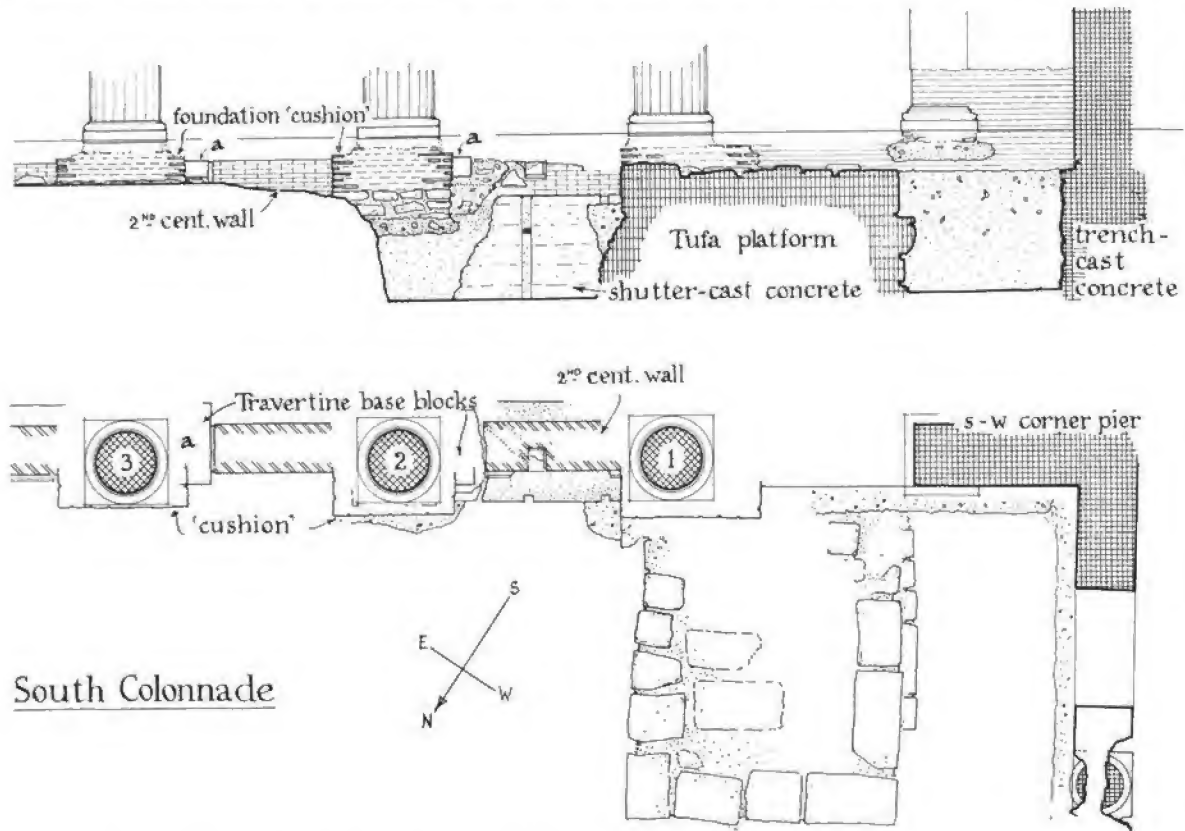
Fig. 160. S. Pietro in Vincoli, Northwest corner of the nave, part of earlier buildings



(Photo: Sansaini)

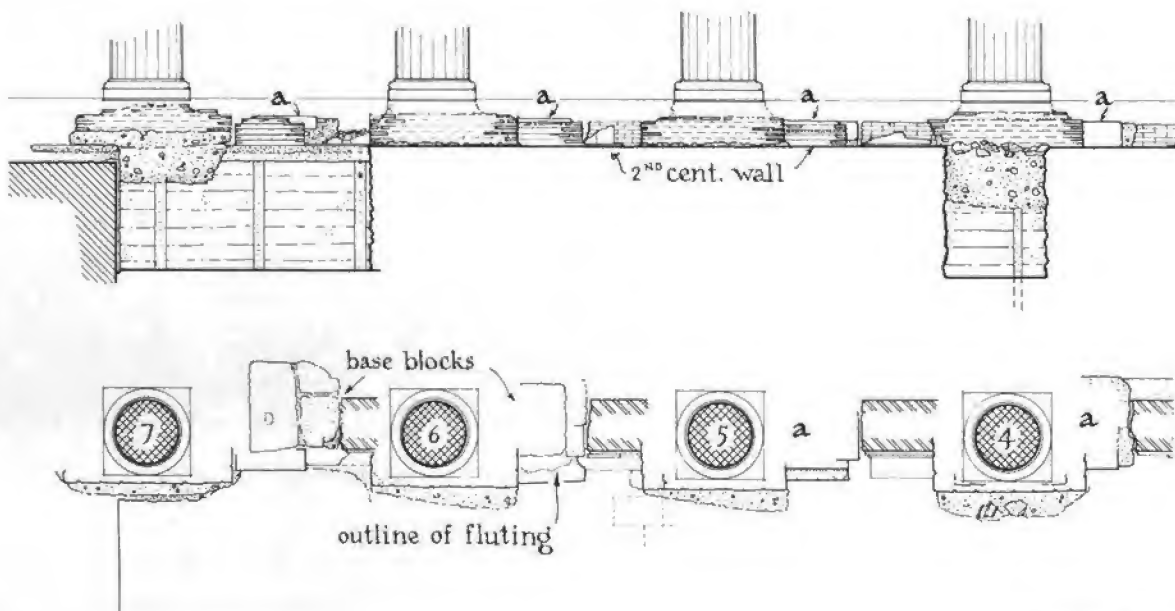
Fig. 161. S. Pietro in Vincoli, Southwest corner of the nave

foundation block, its character changes: instead of the rough concrete foundation wall, we now find a piece of shuttercast concrete, evidently surviving from an earlier building, used as the colonnade foundation. It is, in fact, part of the south side of compartment E in the apsed hall complex. The cast concrete rises to a horizontal surface 0.70 m. below the present floor, and upon this stands a brick



(Drawing: Corbett)

Fig. 162a. S. Pietro in Vincoli, South colonnade, plan and elevation of footings

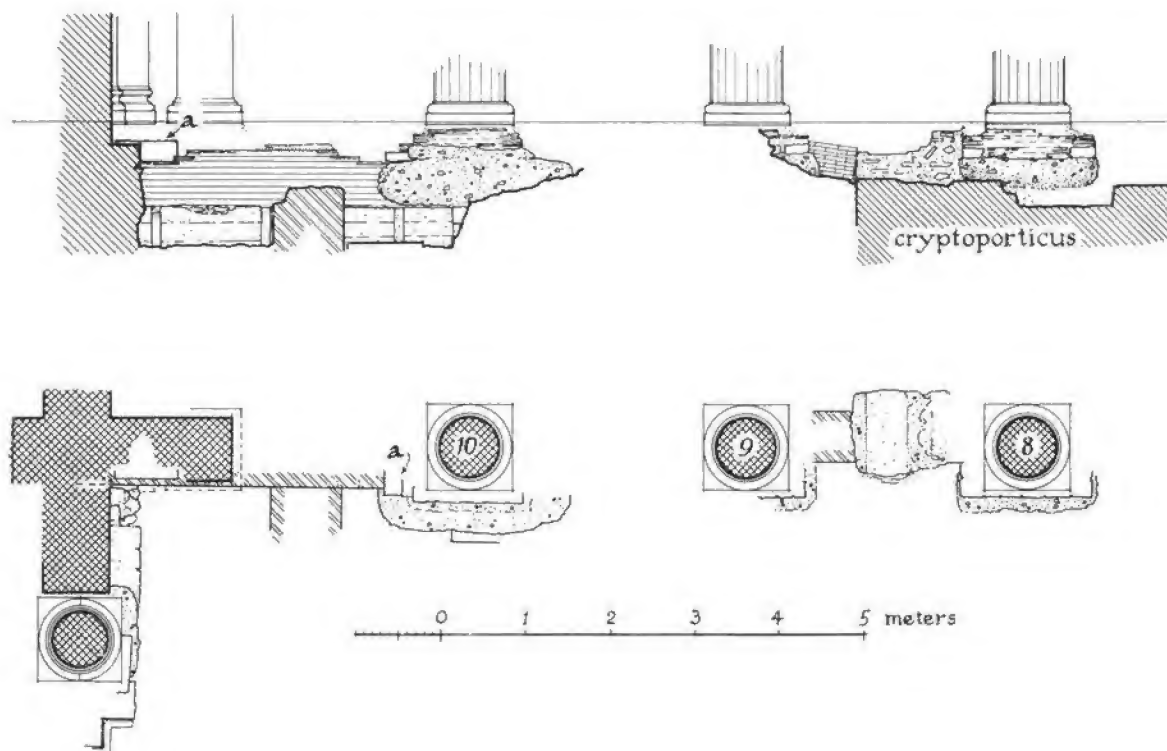


(Drawing: Corbett)

Fig. 162b. S. Pietro in Vincoli, South colonnade, plan and elevation of footings

wall 0.59 m. thick. Only six courses of brickwork survive, but that is enough to show a very finely constructed building: the bricks are new and set in regular courses with mortar beds less than 1 cm. thick (the modulus is about 8 courses to the R. ft.), and the masonry is certainly not later in date than the second century. This excellent masonry appears in the space between the first and second columns (fig. 163a). To the west, the first column of the colonnade stands on a cushion of brick-

work which encloses the second century wall and also overhangs the shutter-cast foundations by about 0.20 m. on the north side. As our plan shows (fig. 162a), the axis of the colonnade does not lie symmetrically in the center of the shutter-cast foundation wall but is set some 0.20 m. nearer the north face. Each column of the south colonnade has its own brick foundation cushion, over-



(Drawing: Corbett)

Fig. 162c. S. Pietro in Vincoli, South colonnade, plan and elevation of footings

lapping and enclosing the earlier features upon which it rests. The masonry of the cushions is well exemplified in the footings of the second column (fig. 163a). A layer of poured concrete at the bottom is topped by two or three courses of roughly hewn marble blocks, and above this, six courses of rather uneven brickwork. Immediately west of the cushion of column 2, the fine quality brickwork of compartment E is replaced by coarser material of more recent date, itself overlapped by the cushion, which belongs to a third phase. This intermediate brickwork encloses a slab of travertine 0.23 m. thick and 0.85 m. in width from north to south. The third dimension cannot be measured as the slab disappears inside the overlapping brickwork of the cushion, its western flank being set only 0.21 m. beyond the west side of the later brickwork. This is important to note, and as we proceed eastwards along the south stylobate, and again in the north stylobate, we will find many such travertine blocks, enclosed to a greater or lesser extent in the brickwork of the column base cushions of the present church ("a" in figs. 162, 165; see also figs. 198g, 199h). The travertine blocks are, in fact, the foundation base blocks of the earlier colonnade belonging to church A.

Between columns 2 and 3 the stylobate continues as before to make use of the foundations of compartment E. Again we note, protruding from the west side of cushion base 3, a travertine base block surviving from the earlier disposition of the columns. This travertine block is 0.27 m. thick, and its western flank is set 0.40 m. outside the cushion of the existing column. Similar features are seen between columns 3 and 4, where a third block of travertine protrudes from the side of cushion 4, this time extending 0.45 m. beyond the later brick face (fig. 162b). Between the base cushions of the fourth and fifth columns the travertine base block of the earlier colonnade is placed with its western flank about 0.85 m. west of cushion 5, while the succeeding intercolumniation (5-6) shows the travertine block set even further to the west. Obviously the progressively increas-



ing difference between the emplacements of the early colonnade and the present one is due to the former having a closer spacing.

When first excavated, the travertine base block in intercolumniation 5-6 (figs. 162*b*, 163*b*) was coated on its upper surface with an uneven layer of friable white plaster about  $\frac{1}{2}$  cm. thick; the outline of the fluting of one of the Doric column shafts was visible in this material. The fluted outline must have been formed, while the present colonnade was in course of erection, by falling plaster which lodged around the base of the monolithic shaft; this can only have occurred during the short period when the shaft was standing erect, close to its destined position, waiting to be hoisted onto its base. Any idea that the plaster outline denotes the permanent position of a column in the earlier setting out of the colonnade must be rejected because the plaster is much too weak to have been the bedding cement of a column.

The smaller intercolumniation of the first setting out brings the travertine base block nearly to the center of the space between columns 6 and 7 and completely free from the later cushions (fig. 163*c*). Here we see



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 163*a*. S. Pietro in Vincoli, South colonnade, footing between columns 1, 2



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 163*b*. S. Pietro in Vincoli, South colonnade, footing between columns 5, 6

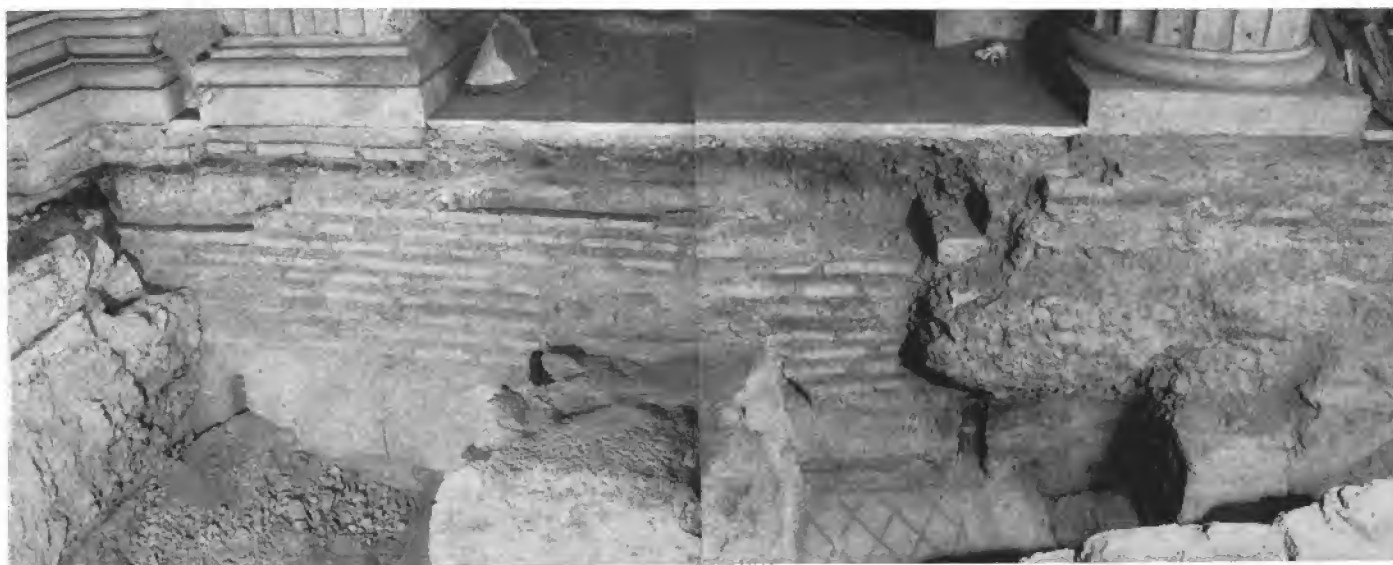


(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 163*c*. S. Pietro in Vincoli, South colonnade, footing between columns 5, 6 and 7

that the former base block consists of three travertine stones supplemented on the north side by a small extension in brickwork. Below, the photograph depicts the shutter-cast concrete foundation of the south wall of compartment E in the apsed hall complex and part of the cryptoporticus. The excavations at the bases of columns 7, 8 and 9 revealed nothing that has not already been illustrated in the western part of the colonnade. Column 10 (fig. 162*c*) has the usual brick cushion with a rough trench-cast concrete footing. The base block of the earlier colonnade is almost hidden by the cushion of the present column, but a squared block of marble 10 cm. thick and 0.36 m. below the present floor seems to represent it. Underneath, the summit of the second century foundations lies too far down, and the necessary height is supplied by a brick foundation wall, levelly coursed with good sized bricks laid in a modulus of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  courses per R. ft. (fig. 198*c*). This brickwork seems to be contemporary with the base blocks of the earlier colonnade. In the left hand part of fig. 164, the eastern end pier of the south colonnade is seen, a Doric *anta* imitated in painted plaster with a rectangular marble base which probably dates from the early

nineteenth century. Under this base and slightly to the left, the photograph shows yet another base block of the earlier colonnade. It is a rectangular piece of travertine 0.24 m. thick and 0.71 m. wide, its north face set 0.10 m. behind the face of the brick stylobate wall. The east side of the block lies close against the cross wall which, with its triumphal arch, forms the east end of the present nave. The rough trench-cast foundations of the cross wall (figs. 162*d*, 164) are obviously later than the brick stylobate. The concrete includes fragments of an unfluted pink granite column shaft 0.63 m. in diameter. The horizontal stratum seen on the face of the cast concrete, 0.58 m.



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 164. S. Pietro in Vincoli, South colonnade, footing of column 10 and east end pier

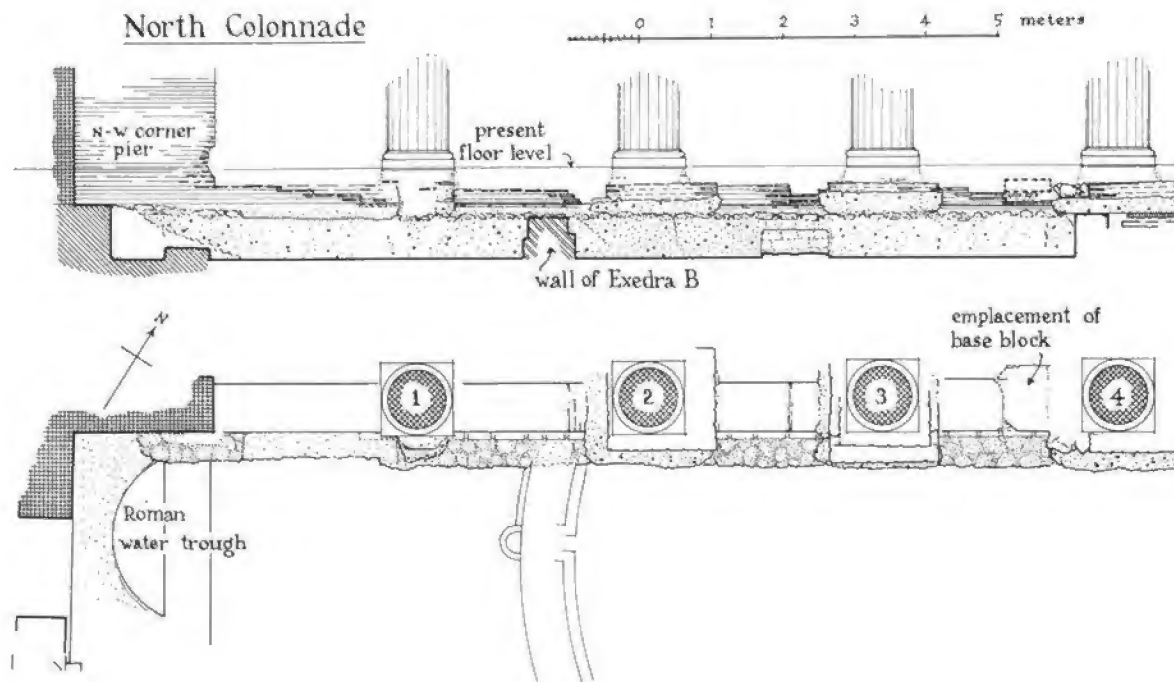
below the modern column bases, is a mosaic floor through which the foundation trench was dug. Some of the tesserae adhered to the concrete when it was poured into the trench, giving the false appearance of a mosaic pavement laid in the concrete.

*The foundations of the north colonnade* (fig. 165*a-d*). We noted above that the northwest corner of the nave consisted of a well-built brick angle pier which incorporated into its foundations the remains of a concrete Roman water trough. Less than 1 m. east of the corner, the trough was supplanted by new trench-cast concrete expressly designed for the colonnade (fig. 166). This concrete rises to a level surface 0.55 m. below the present pavement, and above it stands a brick stylobate wall, continuous with the brickwork of the angle pier. The stylobate rises to within 0.22 m. of the modern floor level and is 0.68 m. thick (fig. 165*a*)<sup>1</sup>. The north colonnade columns are the same as the south in having, at the base of each, an independent concrete and brick cushion foundation which overlaps and envelops the structure of the stylobate belonging to church A. The cushion base of the first column, seen in fig. 166, has been encroached upon by a grave, but the eastern portion is still intact and the stylobate is seen emerging from its flank. The stylobate wall of church A (fig. 167*a*) passes under the cushion bases of columns 2 and 3 and is seen in the interval between columns 3 and 4. Figures 167*b* and 198*e* and *h* show the quality of the brickwork, with its horizontal coursing and sharp-edged new or nearly new bricks of varying thickness. The modulus measured here is only 4 courses per R. ft.; the coursing is horizontal and the mortar is struck off flush, or with a slight concavity. Immediately above the cast concrete foundation baulk, the lowest brick

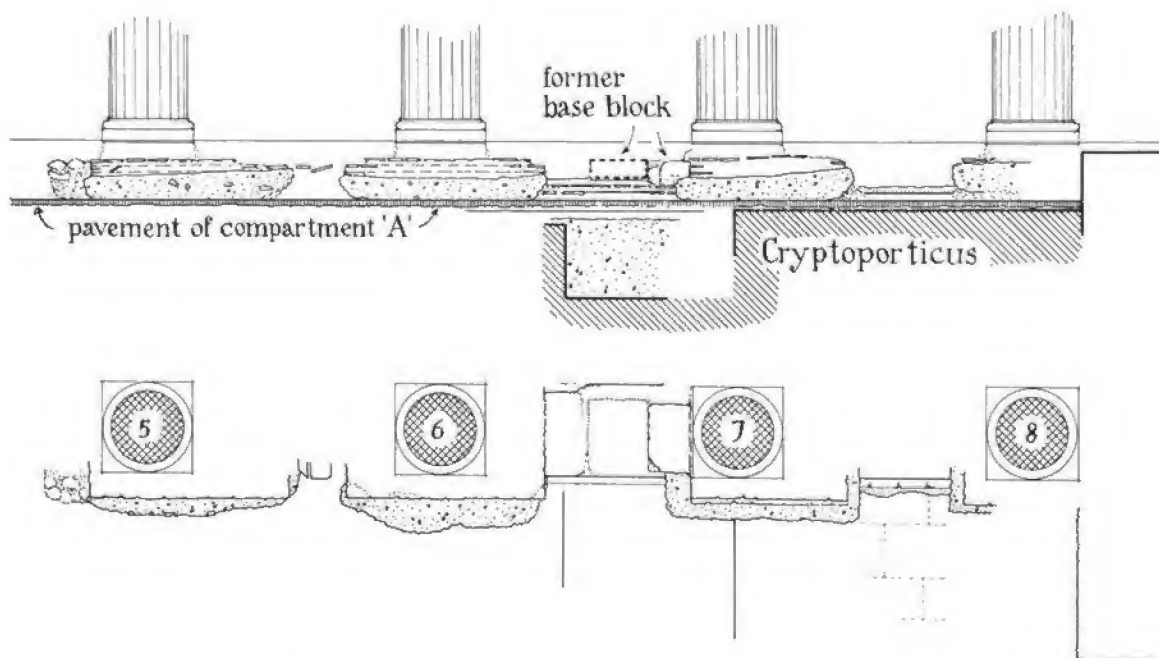
<sup>1</sup> In the interval between columns 1 and 2 the foundation wall passes over the semicircular wall of compartment B, which survives from the earlier hall complex (fig. 158). The church builders made a mistake here in not cutting their foundation trench through the earlier wall. They merely allowed the new foundation to lap over the earlier structure; thus weakened, the colonnade has settled unevenly, causing a huge fissure to open in the clerestory wall overhead (fig. 190).



course protrudes a few centimeters in front of the general wall face. The travertine base blocks from the earlier colonnade, which we noted in the south side of the nave, are generally absent from the northern stylobate, but gaps in the brickwork at appropriate intervals show where these blocks formerly lay (figs. 167*d*, 198*h*, 199*g*). In the interval between columns 3 and 4 the outline of an-



(Drawing: Corbett)

Fig. 165*a*. S. Pietro in Vincoli, North colonnade, plan and elevation of footings

(Drawing: Corbett)

Fig. 165*b*. S. Pietro in Vincoli, North colonnade, plan and elevation of footings

other lost block is clearly seen in the bedding mortar (fig. 198*h*) and, to the right of this emplacement, fig. 167*b* depicts the concrete foundation and brick superstructure of the cushion base of the fourth column (In the foreground are seen the remains of the second century marble pavement which belongs to compartment A in the apsed hall). It is not until we reach the seventh column of the north colonnade that a travertine base block from the colonnade of church A is found *in situ* (figs. 165*b*, 167*c*). Originally the base was composed of two blocks; one has been removed, but the

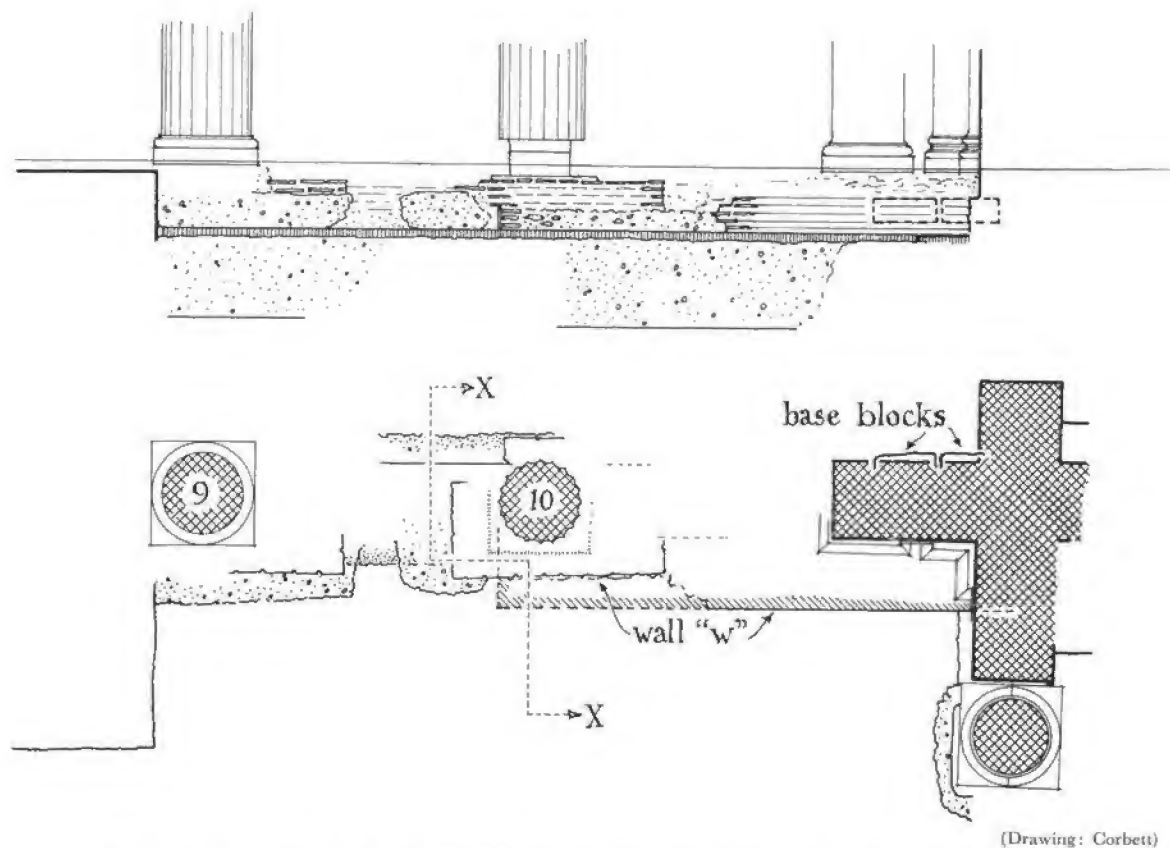


Fig. 165c. S. Pietro in Vincoli, North colonnade, plan and elevation of footings

eastern one of the pair is partly embedded in the cushion of column 4 (fig. 198h, right edge). The foundations of columns 8 and 9 are hidden by a tomb. The base of column 10 appears to incorporate the remains of an earlier structure (fig. 165c). Nevertheless one sees the brick cushion and, behind it, part of the earlier stylobate and its trench-cast concrete foundation wall,

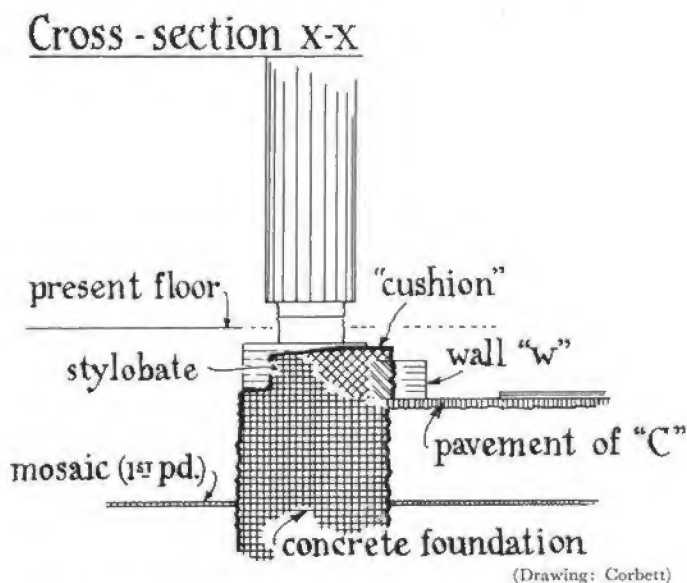


Fig. 165d. S. Pietro in Vincoli, North colonnade, cross section between columns 9, 10

the latter reaching down at least 1.50 m. below the present floor. The foundation trench was cut through the marble pavement of compartment C in the apsed hall complex, fragments of which appear in the foreground of fig. 167d. Figs. 167d and 195 also show the base of the column shaft with the modern ring base taken away. Next to column 10 comes the brick angle pier at the northeast corner of the nave. It rests partly on a brick wall ("w" in fig. 165d) of undetermined purpose, which is evidently posterior to the foundation wall of church A but anterior to church



(Photo: Sansaini)

Fig. 166. S. Pietro in Vincoli, Northwest corner of the nave



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 167a. S. Pietro in Vincoli, North colonnade, footing (stylobate church A) between columns 2, 3



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 167b. S. Pietro in Vincoli, North colonnade, footing between columns 3, 4 showing emplacement of column, church A



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 167c. S. Pietro in Vincoli, North colonnade, footing of column 7 showing base block of church A



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 167d. S. Pietro in Vincoli, North colonnade, column 10 and footing of triumphal arch.

B. Where it oversails the foundation wall it rests on the cement bedding of the pavement of compartment C. This antecedent brick structure hides the south face of the stylobate of church A at the point where it merges into the corner pier, but the northern face was exposed in 1959 (fig. 198*d*), and we were able to see that a pair of travertine base blocks from the earlier colonnade still survive, embedded in the later brickwork of the corner pier (pl. VIII; fig. 165*c*). The eastern block lies partly underneath the cross wall of the triumphal arch. The cross wall between nave and transept thus belongs to a second period, when the present colonnades and their base cushions were erected. This confirms the hypothesis already suggested by the corresponding features at the southeast corner of the nave (fig. 164). In the preceding phase, the columns were supported on the travertine base blocks and the colonnades continued eastwards through the zone now occupied by the triumphal arch.



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 168. S. Pietro in Vincoli, Foundation of north colonnade, church A crossing transept of church B

*Foundation walls and earlier structures in the transept area.* When the pavement of the transept was temporarily removed in 1959, the foundations of the eastward continuation of each colonnade came to light. Details are less well preserved in this zone because the stylobate walls lack the protection afforded by the colonnades of the present church, but the cast concrete foundation walls are identifiable, as are a few traces of the brick stylobate. In the extension of the north colonnade (fig. 168) the concrete footings overlap and envelop two major walls belonging to antecedent buildings: the east wall of compartment C (see fig. 158) and a diagonal wall belonging to the complex of hypocausts and water tanks which previously occupied this part of the site. The concrete colonnade foundations of church A superimposed on these earlier walls still support fragments of their brick stylobates. No trace of any base block survives but a vertical wall face (only two courses) near the east end of the transept and 9.40 m. distant from the triumphal arch might denote the west face of the east end pier of the former colonnade. It stands, however, 2.20 m. in front of the shoulder of the apse; thus, if it was an end pier, it was an unusually long one. The original east wall of the north aisle is indicated by a straight wall, 0.90 m. thick, which crosses the opening of the northern side apse below the present floor level. On the other hand, the curved rear wall of this apse is built of rubble tufa mixed with brick, masonry characteristic of the fifteenth century<sup>1</sup>.

Complementary excavations in the southern part of the transept revealed the concrete foundations of the extension of the south colonnade (fig. 169); as in the north part of the transept, these extensions cross and envelop several earlier walls. Again no trace was found of the actual columns; but the vertical face of the eastern end pier is clearly defined, 1.85 m. in front of the apse shoulder. Excavations in the embrasure of the fifteenth century southern side apse failed to produce evidence of the original end wall of the aisle. Instead, a brick wall only 0.50 m. thick was found crossing the aisle about 1 m. to the west of the side apse chord. It is not at right angles to the line of the

<sup>1</sup> The clerestorey walls at SS. Nereo ed Achilleo (see above, p. 147), built by Sixtus IV, are comparable.





(Photo: Soprint. ai Mon. del Lazio)

Fig. 169. S. Pietro in Vincoli, Foundation of south colonnade, church A crossing transept of church B



(Photo: Soprint. ai Mon. del Lazio)

Fig. 170. S. Pietro in Vincoli, Foundation wall of south colonnade, church A, pavement of *opus sectile* below south wing of transept

the colonnade but stands normal to the side walls of the U-shaped water tank which occupied this spot before the church was built. Nevertheless, this thin wall must belong to the church because it butts against the southern face of the colonnade end pier. Being so weak, it can scarcely be an external wall; presumably it is the footing of some transenna or partition which crossed the aisle a certain distance in front of the end wall. Unfortunately nothing has been found to define the other sides of the exedra or chamber which must have existed beyond the partition; its walls probably perished when the fifteenth century side apse was built. In the corner between the 50 cm. partition and

the colonnade end pier some fragments of a pavement of *opus sectile* were discovered 0.23 m. below the present floor level (fig. 170). The border of the pavement follows the line of the colonnade and shows that it belongs to church A. The alignment of the original south wall of the transept is suggested by the obliquity of the plan of the narrow chamber which lies to the south. The dividing wall is hidden by Michelangelo's tomb for Julius II which stands at right angles to the cross axis of the transept as the latter is defined by the fifteenth century vaulting. Behind the tomb, the southern wall face is oblique. Brickwork of Early Christian character was identified, when we examined it in 1938, in the eastern part



of this wall face about 5 m. above floor level, in an attic which lies over the vaulting of the narrow chamber; we are unable, however, to give further details. The wall terminates at a vertical corner 1.80 m. west of the present east wall, thus seeming to denote the outer plane of the original east wall of the church. The angle stands more or less in line with the 50 cm. wall which crosses the front of the south side apse, below floor level; it will, however, be remembered that this wall seems too thin to be an external part of the structure. Unfortunately the data available are insufficient to provide a full explanation.

b) THE MAIN APSE (figs. 171, 172, 173, 174)

The construction of the main apse foundations can be seen in a small garden outside the church. Apparently, the land lay about 2 m. higher when the church was built than it does at present; the concrete foundations of the apse were originally cast in a trench, but erosion has revealed the



(British Museum)

Fig. 171. S. Pietro in Vincoli, Breenbergh, View of the church from the east, 1619-1629

outside face of the foundation wall. It is composed of large lumps of brown tufa with occasional fragments of marble and travertine, bound together with a strong lime and *pozzolana* cement. Here and there the concrete footing wall is interrupted by the remains of the Roman buildings which stood there before the church was built and which were razed only a little below the level of the church floor (pls. VIII, IX).

At the top, the rough trench-cast concrete foundation wall is capped by a few courses of brickwork, rising to a narrow horizontal setback or ledge which lies about 70 cm. below the level of the church floor. Above this ledge, the vertical wall of the apse rises to a total height of 13½ m. (fig. 172). The brickwork at the base and throughout the whole height of the apse seems at first to be uniform. Closer inspection reveals, however, two periods of construction. Up to the sills of the sixteenth century windows the brickwork is Early Christian. The coursing is regular, most of the bricks pristine or little used; the mortarbeds range in height from 25 to 40 mm. and the modulus is 4½-5 bricks and as many mortar beds to 1 R. ft. Thus the lower parts of the cylinder are certainly of Early Christian date. On the other hand the upper parts are equally certainly Romanesque, but the builders of the upper courses imitated their Early Christian forbears so well that the junction of the two periods is indistinguishable (figs. 172, 173, 174).

The summit of the apse wall is crowned by a Romanesque cornice formed, as usual, with white marble modillions and courses of saw-tooth brickwork. A Romanesque date for the central and upper zones is likewise attested by the small round-headed windows, 0.60 m. wide and 1.70 m.



(Photo: Sansani)

Fig. 172. S. Pietro in Vincoli, View of apse and transept from the east



(Photo: Soprint. ai Mon. del Lazio)

Fig. 173. S. Pietro in Vincoli, View of apse and corner buttress from the northeast



(Photo: Soprint. ai Mon. del Lazio)

Fig. 174. S. Pietro in Vincoli, View of the main apse from the southeast

high, six of which are equally spaced around the circumference, their window sills 6.60 m. above floor level (figs. 173, 174). They are blocked up but the outlines of five of them are still distinguishable, level with the nineteenth century brick archivolt which span the large sixteenth century apse windows. The Romanesque window arches are built with brick voussoirs only 0.25 m. long. Between these sealed Romanesque windows and the present Baroque openings, one distinguishes traces of the three larger windows which were cut into the apse wall in the fifteenth century and were visible until the apse was remodeled between 1570 and 1578 (fig. 156). No traces of Early Christian windows are found.

The northern shoulder of the apse is reinforced externally by a tall brick buttress with vertical sides (pl. IX; figs. 172, 173). The roof tiles which cap it are an extension of the conical roof of the apse itself, but the western part of the buttress rises to a higher level, breaking off in a confused scar of broken masonry which disappears into the vertical face of the apse spandrel, just below the eaves of the transept roof. It is obvious that the buttress formerly rose higher than the level of the present Romanesque cornice, and it seems to show that the original apse was taller than the present one. Since the transept wall which oversails the scar certainly belongs to church B<sup>1</sup>, the buttress itself must have been built, at the latest, during the period of church A. It is only on the north side of the apse that a buttress occurs; the southern shoulder joins the eastern part of the transept without any special reinforcement (fig. 174). The reason for this asymmetry may lie in the fact that the chord wall is canted. If an arch or arcades rose on the chord, a buttress would be needed at the northern end to contain the outward thrusts of the archivolt, while the pressure at the southern end might have been absorbed in the east wall.

It is not immediately obvious whether the Early Christian parts of the apse cylinder belong to church A or church B. The brickwork at first recalls the characteristics of church A as they appear in the corner piers of the west wall. But the temporary removal in 1958 of portions of the plaster lining at the foot of the apse wall showed a vertical joint in the brickwork 1.70 m. east of the northern corner (fig. 175). The same modulus to the Roman foot was measurable on either side of the joint. At the base of the apse wall, below floor level, the extremity of a strong chord wall is seen; it is 1.00 m. thick and its eastern face coincides with the vertical junction noted above, its western face set back 0.70 m. behind the apse corner. In the southern part of the apse, on the other hand, the opposite end of the chord wall coincides with the corner, from which the chord is canted in respect to the apse fascia. In this part of the excavation it was also noted that the brick face of the apse wall was shaved away above floor level, but the original wall face survives below the floor and shows that the apse wall was originally more steeply oblique than it is at present (fig. 176). It seems that the apse was set out in the first place symmetrically with its center line at right angles to the canted chord and that, in some later modification, the ends of the curved wall were adjusted so as to bring the center line more nearly into line with the general axis of the church. Even so, the apse is still noticeably askew (fig. 177).

These observations on the lower parts of the structure of the apse suggest two alternative explanations. Either the northern shoulder and the chord wall belong to church A while the curved rear wall to the east of the vertical joint dates from church B, or else the vertical joint is adventitious and the whole apse, including the shoulder and the chord, is uniformly part of church A. To us, the latter seems more probable (pls. VIII, IX).

The two extremities of the chord wall discovered in 1958 must correspond with the meter-thick wall noted by Vespignani when the middle part of the apse was excavated in 1876 (fig. 159). Admittedly the alignment does not quite coincide, but the thickness is the same and nothing else

<sup>1</sup>See below, p. 209 ff.



(Photo: Soprint. ai Mon. del Lazio)

Fig. 175. S. Pietro in Vincoli, North corner of apse, interior, 1958



(Photo: Soprint. ai Mon. del Lazio)

Fig. 176. S. Pietro in Vincoli, Apse, south wall, interior



(London, Victoria and Albert Museum)

Fig. 177. S. Pietro in Vincoli, Knapp, Interior of apse, 1829



(Photo: Gab. Fot. Nazionale)

Fig. 178. S. Pietro in Vincoli, South transept and lateral apse, seen from the east

was discovered in 1958 that could correspond with Vespignani's drawing. About four meters from each apse corner, Vespignani recorded two large rectangular blocks of travertine set on top of the chord wall. They were 1.0 m. wide and 1.10 m. long and 3.55 m. apart. The sides of the blocks are straight but the ends are drawn with irregular lines as though roughly hacked, and they overhang slightly each face of the chord wall. Vespignani made no note of the thickness or the depth at which they lay, but the most probable interpretation is that they were base blocks for a pair of columns which partly screened the opening of the apse, a feature not known in any other Roman



church but common in fourth and fifth century churches in North Africa<sup>1</sup>. In Rome, such colonnades on apse chords are so far known only in secular buildings, for instance in the Porticus of Livia which stood in the vicinity<sup>2</sup>.

Midway between the pair of column bases and coinciding exactly with the center of the apse curve, Vespignani unearthed the sculptured marble sarcophagus divided into seven compartments which contained the relics of the seven Macabees<sup>3</sup>. It is now preserved in the confessio beneath the modern high altar.

### c) TRANSEPT AND LATERAL APSES

The tufa rubble masonry visible on the exterior of the two small side apses (figs. 172, 178) dates them in the fifteenth century. Similar masonry is found, for example, in the campanile built at S. Agnese after 1473<sup>4</sup>.

Rising above the northern side apse, the east wall of the north wing of the transept shows Early Christian brickwork with a modulus of 5 bricks and 5 mortarbeds to 1 R. ft. (fig. 172). In a narrow space between the apse roof and the sill of the rectangular Baroque window, we see the tips of the brick voussoirs of an Early Christian archway which rose to an apex some 7.75 m. above floor level and was probably less than 2 m. wide. Such an archway would be too narrow and too high for the opening of an apse or the entrance to a side chapel, and it must have been a window<sup>5</sup>. The remains of a second window appear in the same wall at a much higher level, vertically above the first. (fig. 170). It is much larger, 2.30 m. wide, with its apex 13.80 m. above floor level. Two windows of similar size and at the same level appear on the north wall of the transept (figs. 171, 179). These windows are most conveniently studied from the attic above the fifteenth century vaulting of the transept (fig. 180) as are also the characteristics of the brickwork. The coursing is regular and horizontal; the mortar-beds are somewhat recessed behind the brick face and formed into shallow horizontal channels with the blunt nose of a trowel. The modulus is generally 5 courses to the R. ft. but sometimes less, and occasionally it sinks to 4. The mortar beds vary in thickness between 24 and 34 mm. and the pointing is less carefully executed than in the angle piers at the west end of the nave, which belong to church A. Indeed, as we shall see confirmed, the transept walls at this level - except for a small section of masonry near the southeast corner - clearly date from the period of church B. This Early Christian fabric of church B rises, in the transept, 15.40 m. above floor level. The brickwork is the same as in the east wall and the courses bond together at the corner, which makes an angle of 114° since the obliquely set Roman wall served as the foundation of the north wall<sup>6</sup>. Both the two large windows in the upper part of the north wall appear in fig. 180. They are 2.30 m. wide and rise to the same level as the window in the east wall. On the interior at ground level, the lower part of these windows is hidden by a partition and niche which were introduced in the fifteenth century to mask the obliquity of the north end of the transept. At the northwest corner of the transept the Early Christian masonry forms a right angle, so that a section of the west wall about 3½ m. long is also set askew with respect to the rest of the church; doubtless this, too, derives from the use of an earlier wall in the foundations. The junction of the canted wall and the normal part of the west wall (fig. 181) was pierced by a fourth arched window, at the same level as the others, drawing light for the transept from above the north aisle. To the south of this window (left in fig. 181), a buttress projects from the west wall. It is 0.80 m. thick

WARD PERKINS and GOODCHILD, «The Christian Antiquities of Tripolitania», *Archaeologia* 95 (1953), p. 63 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *La pianta marmorea di Roma antica*, ed. CARETONI-COLINI-COZZA-GATTI, Rome, 1955, I, p. 69 f.; II, pl. XVIII.

<sup>3</sup> DE ROSSI, *op. cit.*, 1876, p. 73 ff.

<sup>4</sup> A. SERAFINI, *Torri campanarie*, fig. 610, p. 243; URBAN, «Kirchenbaukunst», pp. 109, 274.

<sup>5</sup> OÑATIBIA, *op. cit.*, p. 29 ff., incorrectly assumes the existence of lateral apses of Early Christian date.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 193.



and 0.62 m. deep, with rounded corners, and stands in line with the north wall of the nave. Below, inside the church, the buttress is hidden within the pier on which the vaulting rests, but when part of the fifteenth century masonry was cut away near floor level it was seen that the same buttress continues down to the floor and stands on the stylobate which crosses the transept. At the top, the buttress breaks off 14.80 m. above floor level. Facing this buttress, in the east wall of the tran-



(Photo: Sansaini)

Fig. 179. S. Pietro in Vincoli, North transept, windows in north wall



(Photo: Sansaini)

Fig. 180. S. Pietro in Vincoli, North transept, interior above vault, north wall



(Photo: Sansaini)

Fig. 181. S. Pietro in Vincoli, North transept, interior above vault, west wall



(Photo: Sansaini)

Fig. 182. S. Pietro in Vincoli, North transept, interior above vault, east wall and spandrel of apse

sept, there must formerly have been a corresponding buttress rising beside the spandrel of the apse; its footings were noted below floor level<sup>1</sup>, but the upper part, which should be seen in the transept attic, has been cut away; it is only represented by a ragged patch on the wall face (fig. 182).

The four Early Christian windows in the upper part of the north transept (two in the north wall, one in the east wall and one above the aisle roof in the west wall) are sealed with brickwork which probably belongs to a somewhat later Early Christian period. The modulus of five courses per R. ft. usually obtains. The mortar face is smooth troweled, but it is often struck off at an angle so as to make the mortar bed face obliquely downward. The technique is commonly found in sixth century Roman buildings, such as the apse of S. Giovanni a Porta Latina, the remodeling of the so-called *Titulus Equitii*, and the original building of SS. Quirico e Giulitta<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 203 ff.

<sup>2</sup> For S. Giovanni a Porta Latina see above, Vol. I, p. 311 ff.; for the *titulus Equitii* see above, p. 105; for SS. Quirico e Giulitta see Vol. IV.

The archivolt of the triumphal arch, formed by a double voussoir, is seen in the transept attic, rising above the fifteenth century vaulting. At this level the voussoir bricks are modern; they are likely to have been inserted in the nineteenth century. At a lower level, when the plaster was stripped from the nave wall in 1959, it was seen that about two-thirds of the arch had been renewed, but Early Christian brickwork survives on each side at the base of the arch. The archivolt is 1.05 m. deep.

Above the level of the vaulting, the southern wing of the transept is inaccessible<sup>1</sup>, but the north face of the dividing wall is exposed (fig. 183). The greater part of it dates from the thirteenth or



(Photo: Sansaini)

Fig. 183. S. Pietro in Vincoli, Transept above vault, north face of wall dividing south wing from center



(Photo: Sansaini)

Fig. 184. S. Pietro in Vincoli, Transept above vault, eastern springing of wall dividing south wing from center

fourteenth century and it rests on a wide arch of neatly hewn travertine voussoirs spanning the interval between the southern shoulder of the apse and the east end of the south colonnade. Before the fifteenth century vaulting was inserted, this arch and the wall which it supports were visible from the floor of the church, and they were decorated with painted plaster<sup>2</sup>. The wall is lightened by three window-like openings, the middle one larger than the side ones in conformity with the pitch of the roof<sup>3</sup>. At its western springing, the travertine arch and the brick superstructure lean against a buttress of Early Christian brickwork which projects 0.45 m. from the face of the transept wall. This buttress evidently corresponds with the 62 cm. buttress noted in the northern part of the transept and was presumably meant to stiffen the transept wall against the thrusts of the south clerestorey arcade. It rises 14.30 m. above floor level, but originally it was higher. The eastern abutment of the travertine arch is more complex (fig. 184). Here a fin of Early Christian brickwork, which belongs to church A, projects nearly 2 m. from the east wall of the transept. It rises with a westward-facing wall face of pointed brickwork (i.e., not subsequently cut) to a point 14.80 m. above the floor. At this level it is surmounted by four inclined brick voussoirs, 45-50 cm. long, re-

<sup>1</sup> It is incorporated in the University buildings to the south of the church.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the similar decoration at S. Lorenzo f. l. m., Vol. II, p. 41.

<sup>3</sup> KRAUTHEIMER, *op. cit.*, p. 379, suggested that the whole structure supported one side of a campanile which stood over the south wing of the transept; it may be depicted in the panoramic views of Rome after HEEMSKERK and by WYNGAERDE (EGGER, *Veduten*, II, pls. 106, 113), but this interpretation now seems doubtful.

maining from an archivolt which was probably not more than 2 m. in diameter. The mortar between the voussoir bricks is pointed with the same convex, double faceted trowel strokes as noted at the base of the pier at the southwest corner of the nave (fig. 161). Above the voussoirs, additional courses of Early Christian brickwork continue for another 0.65 m. to a total height of 15.80 m. above floor level; higher still the brickwork is Romanesque. The brickwork below the voussoirs has a modulus of  $5\frac{1}{2}$  courses to the R. ft.; above the voussoirs, the mortar has thicker beds and a modulus of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  is obtained. Evidently the voussoirs are the remains of an opening in a wall that crossed the area of the transept. The east jamb of the opening stands 1.80 m. west of the apse face, and this distance is nearly the same as that of the projection of the eastern end pier of the south colonnade of church A, which was identified in the stylobate beneath the transept floor. Apparently, then, the opening was the last clerestory window on the south side of the nave in the days before the transept was built, at a time when the nave colonnades continued as far as the apse fascia wall. Later, when the transept was introduced, the window was removed and its eastern jamb became part of a buttress which stood beside the apse corresponding to the three other buttresses projecting from the east and west walls of the transept<sup>1</sup>.

#### d) THE NAVE

At a lower level, the west wall of the transept opens through the triumphal arch into the nave, through smaller arches into the aisles. The abutments of the triumphal arch are the northeast and southeast corner piers of the nave, supplemented on each side of the opening by a pair of Corinthian columns. The foundations of the southern abutment (figs. 164, 169), consist of a baulk of trench-cast concrete bounded on one side by the brick foundations of the south nave colonnade (church A) and terminating at the opposite end in the remains of a pre-existing water tank and hypocaust (pl. VIII)<sup>2</sup>. Above the concrete rises the brick wall of the corner pier and the travertine base block of the Corinthian column. The modulus here is  $4\frac{1}{2}$  courses per R. ft. and the tooling of the mortar beds is slightly concave. The north pier and column have similar characteristics (figs. 153, 167d). The modern Luna marble bases of the Corinthian columns are made in two halves, like a collar, presumably fitted around the core of earlier bases which they replace, while the grey granite shafts and the white marble Corinthian capitals are antique<sup>3</sup>. Molded dossier blocks<sup>4</sup>, 0.93 m. high, rest on the capitals and are bonded back into the brickwork of the corner pier to assure rigidity. Above them springs the great arch, 11 m. in diameter and composed of double brick voussoirs, 1.05 m. thick; its apex is 13 m. above the floor. The smaller side arches which terminate the aisles now rise to an apex 7 m. above the floor, but originally they were about 2 m. lower; this appears from the level of the original brick voussoirs, as revealed in 1958 by the removal of panels of the Baroque revetment (fig. 185). Excavations in the pavement showed that these arches were also slightly narrower than at present.

The nave colonnades consist of twenty uniform antique Doric columns (figs. 153, 186) of veined grey Aegean marble, possibly Ephesian or Parian. They are unorthodox in having bases. The present bases are relatively modern additions in Luna marble, but these are only collars surrounding a core which survives from the original base and is of the same type of marble as the shaft (see figs.

<sup>1</sup> KRAUTHEIMER, *op. cit.*, p. 353 ff., interpreted this window as part of an arched opening in the upper tier of a colonnade dividing the transept into three parts. The hypothesis now has to be discarded.

<sup>2</sup> A mosaic pavement appears to interrupt the concrete foundation baulk but, in reality, it adheres to the site of the concrete, having been cut through in the digging of the foundation trench.

<sup>3</sup> KRAUTHEIMER, *op. cit.*, pp. 359, 369, states that the bases are antique and that the caps and upper mouldings are of the eighteenth century; but this must now be amended.

<sup>4</sup> The ancient moldings are partly incorporated in and partly concealed by a modern stucco cornice.



Fig. 185. S. Pietro in Vincoli, Arch between north aisle and transept, seen from the west

(Photo: Soprint. ai Mon. del Lazio)

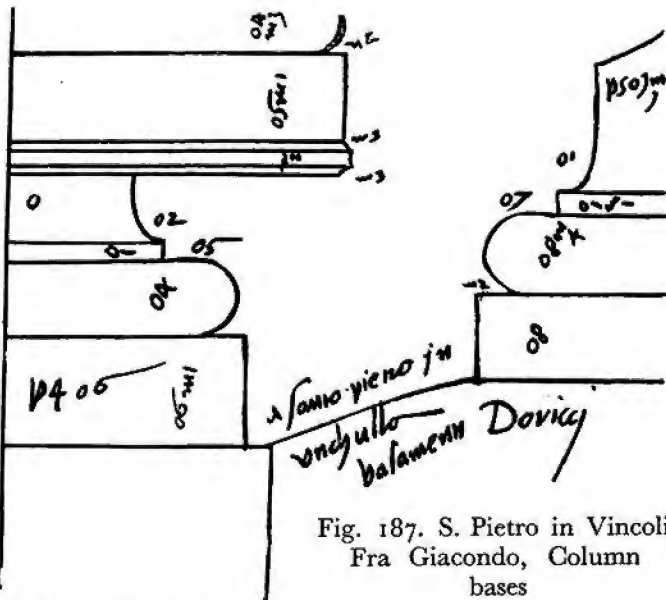
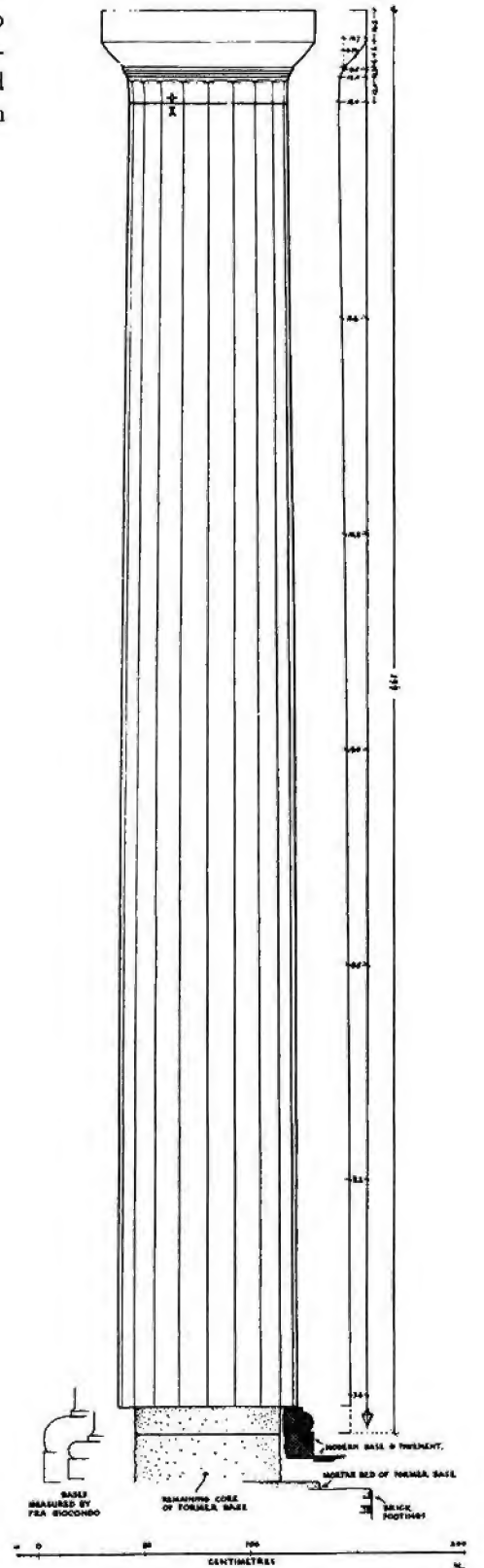


Fig. 187. S. Pietro in Vincoli, Fra Giacinto, Column bases

(Uffizi, dis. arch. 1542v)



(Photo: Sansaini)



(Drawing: Corbett)

Fig. 186. S. Pietro in Vincoli, Nave column

Fig. 188. S. Pietro in Vincoli, capital, first column north, seen from aisle



167*d*, 186, 195). The moldings of the original bases were similar to the modern ones although they varied in height; the profile of two specimens, probably the largest and smallest, are recorded in Fra Giocondo's notebook at the Uffizi (fig. 187)<sup>1</sup>. The column shafts are monoliths 0.85 m. in diameter at the base, 0.75 m. at the top and 6.20 m. high. Their height now appears to be a few centimeters less than it was originally, since the lowest part of many shafts was trimmed away, and the floor level was slightly elevated when the modern collars were inserted so that all could be made uniform. Each shaft has 20 Doric flutes arranged with an arris on the center line of the capital; the entasis



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 189. S. Pietro in Vincoli, North clerestory, facing west

is delicately curved. The flutes continue for a height of 12 cm. in the capital and terminate in very shallow ellipses, above which there are three reed-shaped annulets. The profile of the echinus is distinctly curved and the abacus is 0.985 m. square. The capitals are made of the same kind of marble as the shafts (fig. 188).

The ten columns on each side of the nave, with the brick end piers, support arcades composed of eleven semicircular arches built with radially set bipedal voussoirs. Above these rise the clerestory walls. The south clerestory is hidden by the adjacent convent buildings (University) but the northern clerestory windows are visible from a narrow terrace above the north aisle roof, bounded on the opposite side by the palazzo of Francesco della Rovere (fig. 189). Six of the eleven Early Christian windows survive, though blocked up, and three others have been enlarged to create the present Baroque openings. The original round-headed windows were 1.77-1.83 m. wide and measured 2.70 m. from the sill to the apex of the arches, the height of the vertical jamb being equal

<sup>1</sup> The bases drawn by Fra Giocondo are reproduced in our fig. 187 to amended dimensions, differing from the data published before. (KRAUTHEIMER, *op. cit.*, p. 369 f., esp. notes 64 to 66, in which the oncia was taken as one-twelfth of a piede instead of one-sixteenth.)



to the length of the sill (fig. 190). The windows were spaced 1.38-1.48 m. apart. Their semicircular arches are constructed with bipedals of uneven length, set not very accurately in radius. One brick course below the sill level, we find the original beam holes of the aisle roof: carefully built rectangular openings 0.20 m. square, each spanned by a large brick (fig. 192a). The inclination of the mortar inside the hole,  $23\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  to the horizontal, reproduces the pitch of the roof beams.

The eleven clerestorey windows correspond with the nave arcades of church B and are unquestionably contemporary with them. Also, the clerestorey wall is built of the brickwork character-



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 190. S. Pietro in Vincoli, North clerestorey, westernmost window, including northwest corner of church A

istic of church B in nearly its entire length (fig. 199d). Traces of earlier windows surviving from the ruin of church A and earlier brickwork (fig. 198d) are, however, incorporated into the western end of the present clerestorey wall (figs. 190, 191). Today, the westernmost window of the clerestorey is about 2 m. wide and thus wider than the others because a huge fissure has been formed in the wall by uneven settlement of the foundations (fig. 190)<sup>1</sup>. The fissure extends from the archivolt

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 199, n. 1. Since our photograph was taken the fissure has been most injudiciously repaired and the evidence for the original clerestorey of church A has been largely destroyed.

of the nave arcade to the sill of the window and continues, above the window, for the whole height of the wall; hence, there is no continuity between the northwest corner pier of the nave and the rest of the clerestorey wall. The single beam hole to survive in the part of the clerestorey which corresponds with the corner pier, on the west side of the fissure, is larger than the others and is set at a slightly higher level (fig. 192*b*). Moreover, the archivolt of the westernmost window is evidently inserted into the jamb of an earlier window which rose to a notably higher level than the present opening (fig. 191). The upper part of the earlier window jamb is seen in our photograph forming one side of the fissure, and it is clear that the top of the window was originally at least 2.20 m. above the level of the present one. The former arch has disappeared, but at the level where the jamb ceases we note a single bipedal which may be the springer of the archivolt. Its



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 191. S. Pietro in Vincoli, North clerestorey, westernmost window, archivolt



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 192*a*. S. Pietro in Vincoli, North clerestorey, beam hole for aisle roof, church B



(Photo: Corbett)

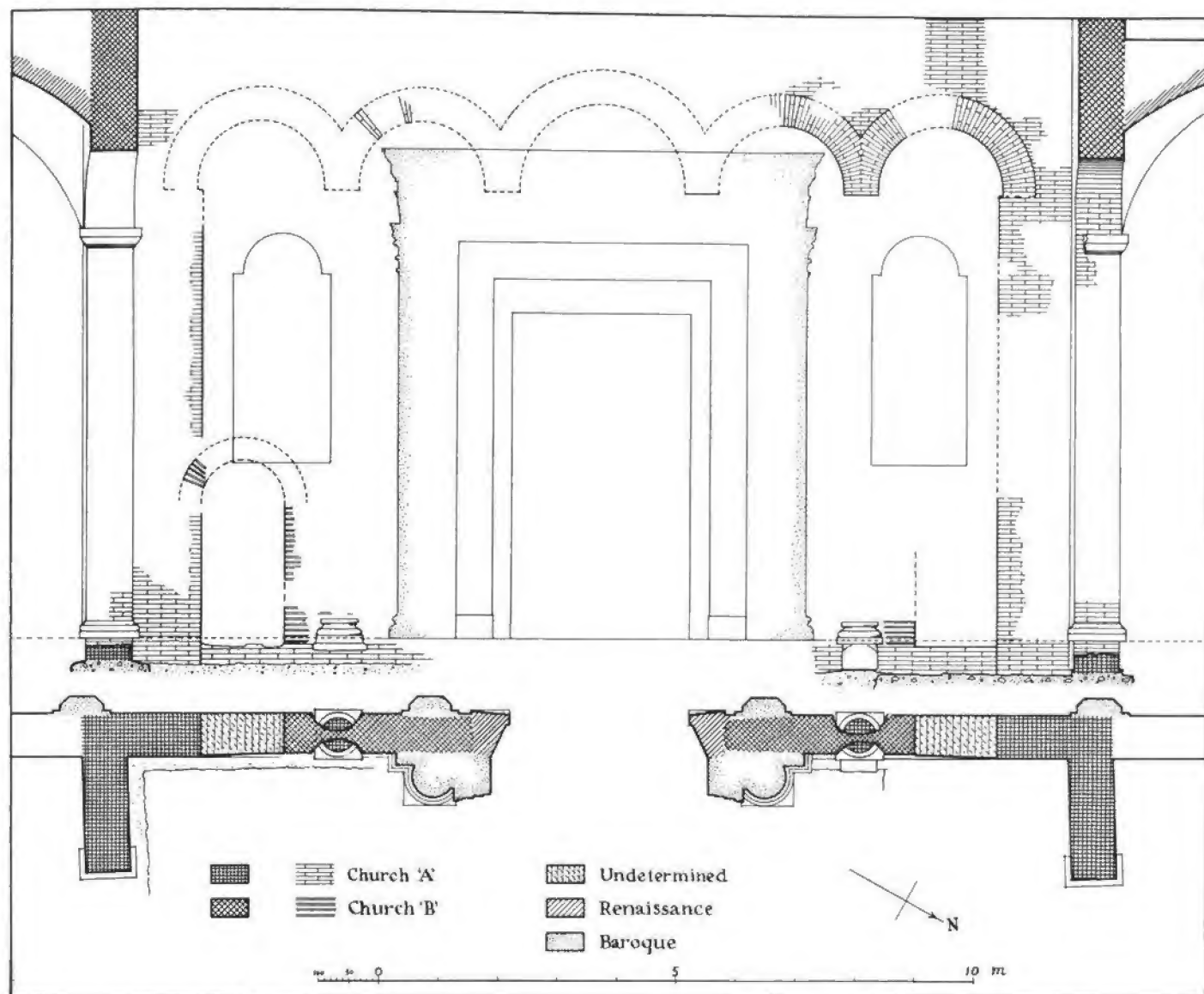
Fig. 192*b*. S. Pietro in Vincoli, North clerestorey, beam hole for aisle roof, church A

altitude above the nave floor is 15.10 m., which compares favorably with the altitude of 14.80 m. noted for the four arch bricks surviving in the attic of the transept at the east end of the south wall (fig. 184). It seems clear that these two relics of former windows, one at the southeast corner of the church and the other at the northwest corner, are vestiges of the original clerestoreys of church A.

#### e) THE WEST FAÇADE AND THE AISLE WALLS

The foundations of the west wall have been described above<sup>1</sup>. The brickwork of the northwest and southwest corner piers of the nave is integral and continuous with that of the nave stylobate walls in which the travertine base blocks of church A are embedded; the corner piers therefore belong to the original building. Furthermore, elements surviving from church A, noted in the western extremity of the north clerestorey wall, indicate that the western portion of that structure survives to a considerable height; hence, it is to be expected that the upper parts of the west façade as well as its footings belong to church A (fig. 193). It will be remembered that, at a distance of 1.20 m. from the angles, the brickwork of the corner piers gives place to a low brick stylobate wall 0.70 m. thick, on which two column bases stand equidistant from the corner piers. These bases alone would be enough to show that S. Pietro in Vincoli "A" belonged to the group

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 194.



(Drawing: Corbett)

Fig. 193. S. Pietro in Vincoli, West façade, plan and interior elevation of lower part

of Roman churches which had an open colonnade in place of a west wall<sup>1</sup>. Other features in the upper zone of the structure confirm this conclusion. The colonnade is now closed by later masonry and the column shafts have disappeared, but a substantial part of the arcading which they supported was uncovered in 1957 (figs. 166, 193). In the northern half of the façade enough has survived of the original brickwork to reconstruct two arches, 2.10 m. in diameter, meeting at an impost 0.60 m. wide which hangs vertically above one of the column bases. Part of one archivolt in the south part of the façade suffices to justify the complete reconstruction of the arcade. Evidently the missing central arch was considerably wider than the lateral pairs. The columns seem to have been unusually tall; the springers of the arcading lie 7.45 m. above the floor and, even if we assume that an impost block 70 cm. high intervened between the arcading and the capital, the shafts would be at least 5.60 m. long, longer than the small bases would normally warrant. Presumably the proportions of the colonnade were dictated by the wide central arch, which may have rested on thicker columns than the subsidiary side arches. Above the arcade the middle zone of the west wall was solid for a height of 3.50 m. Above that it was pierced by a row of four circular windows, 2 m. in diameter, arranged in pairs on either side of the center line (pl. IX). Slightly above these

<sup>1</sup> MATTHIAE, *op. cit.*, 1957, p. 101 ff.

four blocked oculi, the central part of the wall is occupied by an oval window, also blocked up, which just fits underneath the curve of the coffered ceiling (fig. 152). The oval opening has destroyed every trace of the original central feature; so much so, indeed, that we cannot be sure that a central window existed at all in the original design. Nevertheless, the spacing of the four round windows with a wide interval at the center strongly suggests that some kind of opening occupied the middle of the gable<sup>1</sup>. A small patch of brickwork observed in 1935 to the north of the blocked oval window had the broad mortar beds and the modulus of  $4\frac{1}{3}$  bricks and mortar beds per Roman foot which are characteristic of church A. The character of the brickwork of the end piers of the original façade has already been described and is, of course, identical with the western extremity of the north clerestorey wall which also survives from church A (figs. 190, 191).

An early alteration to the original colonnaded façade is seen in a brick wall which rises above the stylobate and engulfs the column bases (figs. 160, 161, 193). It seems likely that the shafts and capitals were removed when this brickwork was inserted and, in the absence of other indications, it is reasonable to associate the change with the construction of church B. On the east side, the inserted walls are set back 0.06 m. behind the line of the stylobate but they are flush with it on the exterior, the stylobate being 0.70 m. thick and the secondary wall 0.63 m. The modulus of the latter is the usual five courses per R. ft.; but the pointing differs from that of the corner piers and stylobate in being struck off at an angle in contrast to the flat, slightly channeled or double faceted troweling of the earlier structure. The secondary brickwork is separated from the corner piers by openings 1.37 m. wide. They were evidently lateral doorways. Part of the brick arch of the southern doorway was found, its springing inserted in a cutting in the north jamb of the southern corner pier. The arch bricks are 0.40 m. long and their inclination shows that the apex of the opening was only 3 m. above floor level. Thus it appears that in church B, three doorways were substituted for the five-arched west wall of the original nave. The lateral doorways were also blocked up. For this, poor rubble masonry was used incorporating fragments of worked marble (fig. 161, right), and probably dating from the fifteenth century. The middle opening, on the other hand, is lost within the magnificent fifteenth century marble architrave with Cardinal della Rovere's arms, which now embellishes the entrance to the church.

The side walls of the aisles could be examined only at a few isolated points. The south wall seems to have been entirely rebuilt late in the fifteenth century, presumably when the convent was being built. Its lowest courses became visible when excavators dug a trench in the south aisle to reveal the south wing of the Roman cryptoporticus (pl. VIII), and even the foundations of the wall were seen to be of the rubble masonry (*muro a sacco*) which in Rome so often characterizes fifteenth and sixteenth century building. Similarly, the wall of the north aisle is largely of fifteenth century construction, but two deep probes in the wall face, one at the northeast corner (fig. 185) and another at floor level near the middle of the aisle, revealed Early Christian masonry 0.26 m. behind the present wall face. Apparently these vestiges of the original wall were incorporated in the Renaissance structure. This Renaissance remodeling probably dates from the period of the vaulting of the north aisle or the construction of the northern palazzo, i.e., from the last quarter of the fifteenth century. The west walls of the two aisles are also Renaissance constructions and no part of the original end walls has been found.

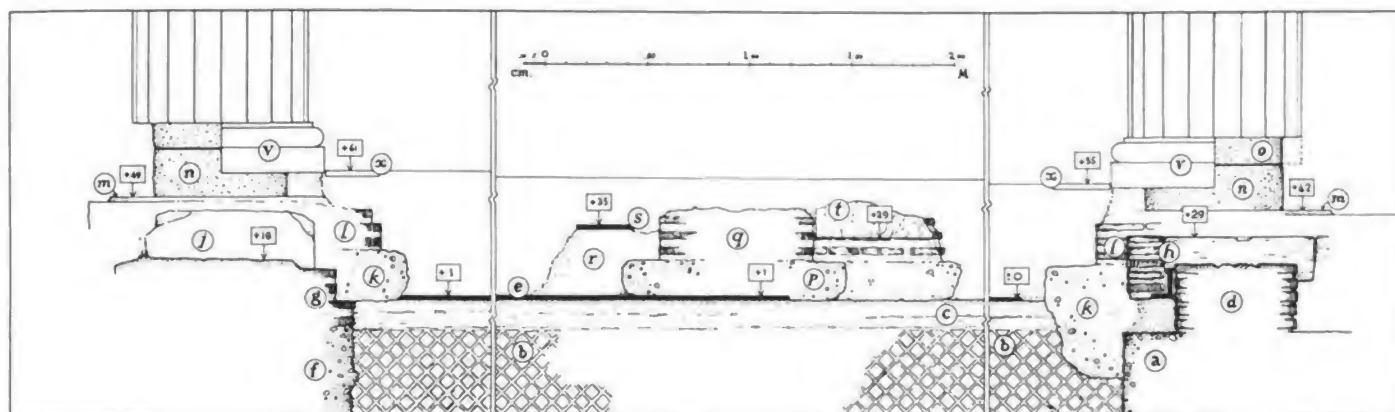
#### f) FLOOR LEVELS AND CHANCEL

The *opus sectile* pavement noted in the southeast part of the transept (fig. 170) evidently dates from the period when the colonnades continued up to the apse wall, and therefore the pavement

<sup>1</sup> Could it have been a cross-shaped window, such as still exists between oculi at S. Stefano Rotondo?



must belong to church A. It lies 0.23 m. below the modern floor level<sup>1</sup> which is the equivalent of 0.32 m. above the pavement of the antecedent Roman building (compartment D in fig. 158). We use the latter as a convenient point of reference since it is firmly set on top of the solid mass of the cryptoporticus and is less subject to settlement than other parts of the building (fig. 194). The base blocks of the south colonnade of church A lie 0.29 m. above the Roman building's pavement, and, as they would have been a few centimeters below the surface of the floor, the general level of the



(Drawing: Corbett)

Fig. 194. S. Pietro in Vincoli, Nave foundations showing levels, facing east

- a) Concrete of the cryptoporticus seen in cross section
- b) *Opus reticulatum* face of the transverse cryptoporticus
- c) Substratum of the pavements of compartments A and E. (fig. 158)
- d) South wall of compartment E.
- e) Marble pavement of compartments A, C, D, E.
- f) Trench-cast concrete foundations of the north colonnade of Church A
- g) Brick stylobate of Church A
- h) Travertine base block in the south colonnade of Church A
- i) North colonnade, emplacement of base block, Church A
- k) Concrete footing for the foundation cushion of the columns of Church B
- l) Brickwork of the foundation cushion.
- m) Bedding mortar of the column bases in Church B
- n) Remains of the column bases
- o) Column shaft of Church B
- p) Concrete footings of the chancel enclosure
- q) Chancel enclosure
- r) Concrete and rubble substratum for pavement of *opus sectile*
- s) Pavement of Church A
- t) Marble revetment of the enclosure
- v) Modern annular column base (eighteenth century?)
- x) Modern pavement of the nave

“A” pavement may be taken at about 30 cm. above the Roman pavement. Similarly, the floor level of church B is clearly established by the bedding mortar which surrounds the original column bases (fig. 195); it is + 0.42 m. (+ 0.49 m. in the north colonnade), whence the actual floor surface may be taken as ca. +0.45 to +0.50 m., allowing for the thickness of the pavement, whatever that may have been; no trace of it has been seen. The present floor is a little higher, at +0.55 to +0.61 m. Its level must date from the period when the Carrara marble ring-bases were inserted to take the place of those, less uniform, which Fra Giocondo measured (fig. 187). This change probably took place in the eighteenth century. At that time the floor had to be raised so that all the new bases could be at the same level, the level dictated by the tallest of the original bases, and the lower extremities of the shafts which surmounted the shorter bases had accordingly to be trimmed

<sup>1</sup> For the purpose of this description the present floor is assumed to be level. In fact, there is a slight inclination from south to north and the bases of the north colonnade are 6 cm. higher than those of the south colonnade.



away. The eighteenth century floor was of terra cotta, and it is only since 1960 that a marble pavement has been substituted, without changing the level.

In the center of the nave, the excavations of 1957 disclosed the remains of a walled enclosure superimposed on the antecedent Roman pavements, symmetrically placed with respect to the nave colonnades and therefore indubitably a feature of the church (figs. 196, 197). The remains were hidden by the eighteenth century floor and it is probable that they were also concealed by the



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 195. S. Pietro in Vincoli, North colonnade, column 10, showing core of original base and square mortar seating



(Photo: Soprint. ai Mon. del Lazio)

Fig. 196. S. Pietro in Vincoli, Remains of chancel enclosure, facing northeast



Fig. 197. S. Pietro in Vincoli, Remains of chancel enclosure, south part

(Photo: Soprint. ai Mon. del Lazio)

preceding floor, although the remains of the walls must have come within a few millimeters of the surface. In plan the enclosure consists of a pair of parallel walls 0.76 m. thick and 3.40 m. apart, disposed axially in the center of the nave (pl. VIII). The west end of the enclosure is lost, but a broken fragment of the north side reaches to within 16.30 m. of the west wall. Eastwards, the parallel walls extend almost to the latitude of the ninth column, where they terminate against a cross wall only 0.38 m. thick, which stands 8.80 m. in front of the plane of the triumphal arch. The thin cross wall forms the western end of another enclosure, wider than the first; its northern flank has perished but, assuming it to have been symmetrical, the width of the enclosure was 4.20 m. The surviving south wall is 0.76 m. thick. Farther east, in the zone of the triumphal arch, a small fragment of the north wall was found. The remains of the parallel side walls of the eastern enclosure reach towards the apse for nearly 10 m., after which they are lost in a part of the transept which has not been excavated, but it is possible that one of the walls seen by Vespignani (fig. 159) belongs to the same structure. At the point where the narrower west enclosure meets the thin west wall of the east enclosure, it is clear that the eastern part was built before the western part. The two enclosures intercommunicated through a gateway 1.69 m. wide in the thin cross wall. In the few surviving brick courses of the enclosure walls we note the smooth, flush-pointed or slightly channeled mortar beds of Early Christian masonry and the usual modulus of 5 courses per R. ft. The brickwork rests on a thin cushion of trench-cast concrete which lies on top of the antecedent Roman pavements (figs. 194, 196). The remains of a floor of *opus sectile* were discovered just outside the north wall of the western enclosure near its junction with the thin cross wall; this floor lay 0.35 m. above the pavement of the earlier Roman building, a quota considerably below the level of the church B floors but acceptable for church A (+0.30 m.). The floor level inside the enclosure is indicated by a fragment of marble revetment (fig. 196, right) which adheres to the west face of the thin cross wall on the left side of the gateway. The horizontal base of this marble plate hangs 0.29 m. above the Roman building pavement; again the level is incompatible with the "B" floor levels but perfectly acceptable as a feature of church A. It is fortunate that these comparative floor levels are not subject to the uncertainties of uneven settlement, being well established by the massive underlying bulk of the cryptoporticus. There can thus be no doubt that the enclosures were originally a feature of church A. We have no means of knowing whether or not they were rebuilt, perhaps with raised floor levels, after the construction of church B, but it is likely that they were.

## F. — RECONSTRUCTION

### 1. Antecedent Buildings

The Roman remains excavated in 1957-1959 need not be discussed. They influenced the building of the two successive churches, A and B, only to the extent that small parts were reused in the foundations of the colonnades and at the base of the north transept wall. In our opinion, the Roman complex of the apsed hall and adjacent chambers (A to D) was not built for any ecclesiastical purpose, and the proposed reconstruction as a chapel with apse, lateral wings and nave with clerestory seems unlikely<sup>1</sup>. On the contrary, the surviving elements seem more likely to have belonged to a large and lavish *domus*, of which they may have formed the reception rooms. The constructions found below the transept and apse and in part incorporated into their walls are not linked in any way to this *domus*. Those below the apse date from the second rather than the third century. The tanks and hypocausts they enclose make it certain that the building was a thermal edifice, but

<sup>1</sup> MATTHIAE, *op. cit.*, [1960], p. 9 ff.



a



e



b



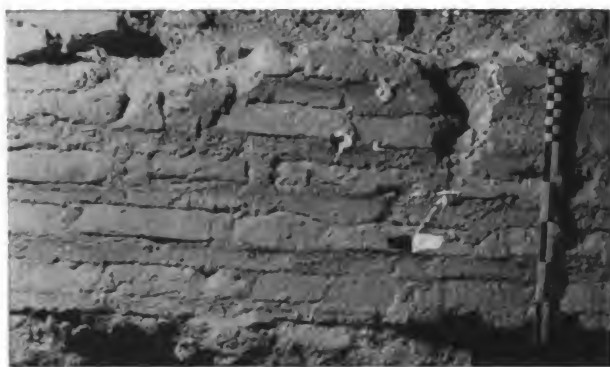
f



c



g



d



h

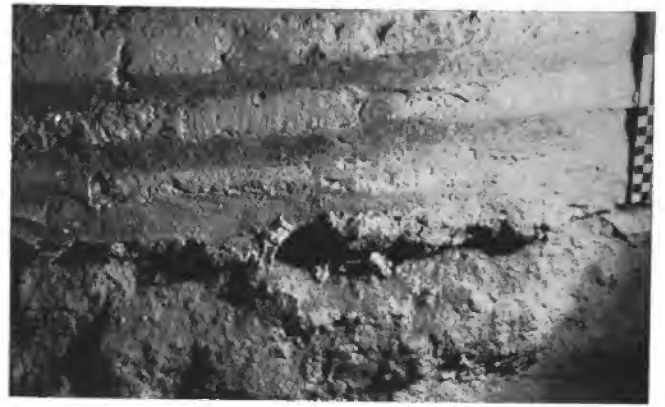
(Photos: Corbett)

Fig. 198. S. Pietro in Vincoli, Church A, sample of masonry

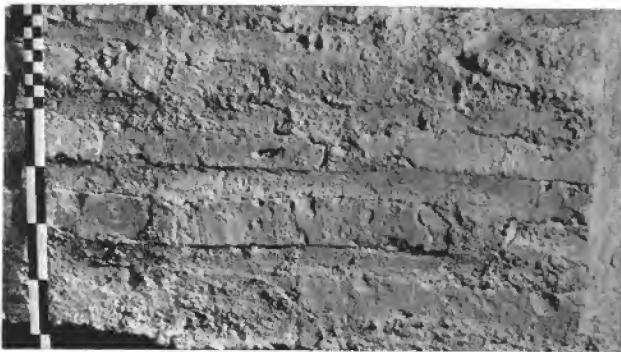
- a) North colonnade, western extremity and corner of façade wall
- b) South colonnade, western extremity and corner of façade wall
- c) South colonnade, eastern extremity, seen from the nave
- d) North colonnade, eastern extremity, seen from the aisle
- e) North colonnade, between columns 2 and 3
- f) North clerestorey, western extremity
- g) West façade, north corner pier, southern extremity
- h) North colonnade, between columns 3 and 4, emplacement of base block, church A



a



e



b



f



c



g

(Photos: Corbett)



d

Fig. 199. S. Pietro in Vincoli, Church B, samples of masonry

- a) North colonnade, below column 10
- b) South colonnade, between columns 6 and 7, brick buttress built against column base of church A
- c) South colonnade, base of column 2
- d) North clerestorey, between windows 6 and 7
- e) Chancel enclosure, north wall
- f) North colonnade, base of column 7
- g) North colonnade, base of column 6 and emplacement of base brick of church A

the plan cannot be reconstructed from the few surviving remnants. The bottom part of the north transept wall, on the other hand, and the wall running parallel to it below the north wing of the transept display the general characteristics of fourth century brickwork; but it is unclear whether they belonged to a different building or whether they represent an addition to the second century *thermae*.

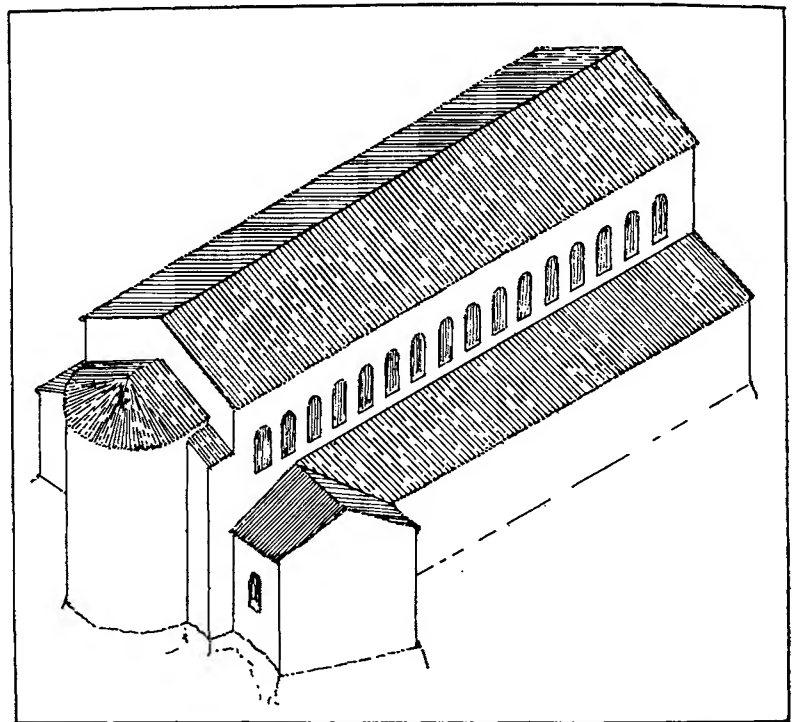


## 2. The first Church (Church A)

Although little remains of church A, a reconstruction in which few major factors are uncertain is possible (fig. 200). It was a simple basilica with a nave 51 m. long and 16 m. wide (ca. 170 by 55 R. ft.), terminating at the east end in an apse<sup>1</sup>. At the west end the nave was entered through an open colonnaded façade which had five arches, the central arch wider than the flanking ones (fig. 193). Above these arches the west wall contained a row of circular windows. Rows of columns on each side of the nave divided it from the aisles and sustained the clerestorey walls. The height of the columns is unknown and we cannot be certain whether they supported flat lintels or arches. It is likely, however, that they corresponded with the colonnades of the façade both in height and in being arcaded; if so, they were somewhat higher than the colonnades which exist today in church B. It is possible that the fragments of two column shafts, ca. 0.60 m. in diameter, which are embedded in the foundation material of the present church, derive from the original columns of church A. One fragment is near the main doorway; the other lies to the south of the southern pier of the triumphal arch. The clerestorey windows which surmounted the colonnades were considerably higher than the present ones since their arches sprang at a level about 15 m. above the floor. These windows had vertical sides in contrast to the round openings of the façade.

The columns of nave A were spaced about 3 m. (10 R. ft.) from center to center and there seem to have been 15 columns on each side. They extended in unbroken rows from the western corner piers to the east end of the church, where they terminated against end piers nearly 2 m. long flanking the apse<sup>2</sup>. In plan the apse was a deep horseshoe, slightly canted with respect to the axis of the nave and partly screened from the nave by a pair of columns. If our interpretation of the large external buttress in the northern corner of the apse is correct, these columns probably supported a triple arch.

The aisles of church A had the same breadth as in the present church, about 6 m. There was no transept and the aisles reached uninterruptedly from one end of the basilica to the other. Nevertheless, we know that the lower parts of the north wall of the existing transept were already present in church A. Indeed, this wall must have existed before church A was built; otherwise one cannot account for its obliquity. We assume that the south wall of the transept, which also protrudes slightly outside the presumed line of the aisle, is another surviving element of church A (although



(Drawing: Corbett)

Fig. 200. S. Pietro in Vincoli, Church A, conjectural reconstruction

<sup>1</sup> We find no basis for the reconstruction contained in MATTHIAE, *op. cit.*, [1960], p. 16 and fig. 3, in which the nave terminates with an apse at the height of the present triumphal arch.

<sup>2</sup> The number of columns is not perfectly clear. The spacing of the shafts in the area of the subsequently built transept seems to have been a little closer than that in the western part of the nave, where the base blocks survive.



this remains a hypothesis). Hence, even though an ordinary transept was absent from the first church, the eastern portion of its aisles reached out beyond the general line of the side walls. Such protrusions in the eastern part of the aisles, relating to the aisles alone and having no effect on the continuity of the nave colonnades and clerestorey walls, may be termed aisle transepts (fig. 200). Somewhat similar features have been identified in the plan of the original Lateran basilica<sup>1</sup>.

A major part of the nave of church A was occupied by a walled enclosure, entered from the west through a gateway in front of which lay a slightly narrower walled *solea* or *dromos*. It resembles the enclosure in the sixth century church of S. Marco<sup>2</sup>, but the relative floor levels at S. Pietro in Vincoli show that this specimen belongs to church A which, as we shall see, dates from a much earlier period.

### 3. The present Church (Church B)

Church A is likely to have been destroyed by fire or earthquake; the usual effect of such a disaster is the destruction of the central part of the structure, while the end walls are more or less spared — and it is precisely the east and west extremities of church A which survive. The building which took its place (church B) exists to this day and presents no problem of reconstruction. Into its fabric the builders incorporated what they could save from the ruins of the former basilica. The west wall was reused but the open colonnade of the façade was blocked up and three doorways put in its place. The foundations of the nave colonnades were used again, but the old columns had perished and a new set of first century Greek Doric columns was supplied<sup>3</sup>. They were slightly shorter than the original columns, and the arcades were a few centimeters lower and spaced at slightly wider intervals than formerly, 3.25 (11 R. ft.) instead of 3 m. To allow for the thickness of the Doric shafts, a supplementary cushion of foundation material for each column was added to the original stylobate. The new clerestorey walls were lower than the original ones and the arched clerestorey windows were set at a lower level. It is probable that the round windows of the west façade were also blocked up when the open arcaded façade was replaced by an ordinary west wall with three doorways. At the east end, the north-south protrusions of the aisles now became a fully developed tripartite transept lying across the end of the nave and separating it from the apse. The colonnades and clerestorey walls of the nave now terminated at a cross wall pierced by three open archways: small lateral arches leading from the aisles into the transept and a large central arch leading from the nave. The pair of Corinthian columns which now supports the central arch may have been taken from the original apse; at any rate, the screen-like triple arch, which we suppose to have closed the apse in church A, was removed and the apse opened into the transept through a single archway. The end piers of the original colonnades, projecting westwards from each side of the apse, continued to exist as fin-like buttresses which divided the transept into three parts. In the southeast corner of the central bay the extremity of the original clerestorey wall was incorporated in the higher part of this buttress, and in this way one jamb and a few voussoirs of the southeastern clerestorey window of church A were preserved. Facing these, two smaller buttresses were built against the west wall of the transept, between the triumphal arch and the terminal arches of the aisles. Their purpose was to correspond with the eastern buttresses in the tripartite subdivision of the transept and perhaps also to help contain the terminal thrusts of the new

<sup>1</sup> JOSI-KRAUTHEIMER-CORBETT, « Note Lateranensi », *R. A. C.* 34 (1958), p. 59 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See above, Vol. II, p. 234 ff.

<sup>3</sup> They may have been removed from the nearby Porticus of Livia, (see above, p. 209, n. 2), but this cannot be proved. The Doric colonnade, formerly above S. Lorenzo in Fonte (above, vol. II, p. 154, fig. 129) and thus quite near S. Pietro in Vincoli, had shafts of travertine covered with stucco and thus cannot have furnished the material for church B.

nave arcades and clerestorey window arches<sup>1</sup>. Since the buttresses can now be seen only at a high level, above the fifteenth century vaulting, we cannot tell whether, lower down, they were linked from east to west by arcades which might have been set on the church A stylobates, or whether they remained unconnected. Either system would be paralleled in numerous church buildings of the fifth and sixth centuries. However, with regard to the hypothesis formulated previously<sup>2</sup> the excavations of 1957-1959 have now made it clear that the longitudinal arcades (if they existed) were not intended to be surmounted by openings in an upper tier.

We do not know whether the chancel enclosure and *solea* continued to exist in the nave, or whether they were removed when church B was built.

In the long period between the building of church B and its remodeling by Sixtus IV, only two major alterations took place. In the twelfth or thirteenth century, the apse was provided with six small round-headed windows and the existing Romanesque cornice, and probably a large part of its cylindrical wall was rebuilt. In the thirteenth or fourteenth century, a large arch was inserted to span the interval between the east and west buttresses in the southern part of the transept. Above it rose a brick wall, lightened by three window-like openings, all decorated with painted plaster to represent masonry. The purpose of this structure is obscure. Finally, the alterations made by the two Rovere cardinals in the fifteenth century brought the church substantially to its present state. The porch was built; the fine marble door frame of the west door was provided; groin vaulting was inserted in the aisles and transept, the latter resting on large piers which conceal the original transept buttresses; the small Romanesque apse windows were sealed and three large Gothic windows took their place; the small side apses were built. In the late sixteenth century, the windows were again remodeled and the existing rectangular openings were created. Later changes include the coffered nave ceiling, the Rococo west windows of the nave and aisles, the vaulting which disfigures the porch, Vespignani's confessio and ciborium and, finally, a glossy modern stone pavement which adds nothing to the beauty of the building.

#### 4. The Inscriptions

A few words are required regarding the locations of the inscriptions noted by early visitors to the church, from the seventh century compiler of the original lost *sylloge* (from which are descended the extant Carolingian and later *syllogai*) to his late fifteenth century followers.

a) The two inscriptions *Inlesas olim* and *Cede prius nomen* are easily placed. The distich *Inlesas...*, referring to the main relic of the church, the chains of Saint Peter, was read as late as the fifteenth century "with very old lettering in mosaic" in the apse, clearly the main apse<sup>3</sup>. Its exact position is conjectural, but it is likely that it ran along the rim of the apse vault, like the inscriptions in S. Andrea in Catabarbara, SS. Cosma e Damiano or the East basilica of S. Lorenzo f.l.m.<sup>4</sup> The decoration of the half dome itself, if any, remains unknown. The long inscription *Cede prius nomen* which reports the foundation or the rebuilding of the church under Sixtus III by the presbyter Philippus with Imperial backing (*regia vota*) was read "in the west part of the church"<sup>5</sup>. This can hardly refer to any location but the interior façade of the nave. It is a customary place for founders' inscriptions; we know, for example, the equally long inscriptions from the same period of Petrus the Illyrian at S. Sabina and of Sixtus III at S. Maria Maggiore,<sup>6</sup> and like these the in-

<sup>1</sup> KRAUTHEIMER, *op. cit.*, p. 378 f., as against MATTHIAE, *op. cit.*, [1960], p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> KRAUTHEIMER, *loc. cit.*, and p. 382, fig. 14, top.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 180, dig. 431.

<sup>4</sup> See above, Vol. II, p. 125.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 181, dig. 432-440, item a.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 5, and below, Vol. IV.

scription at S. Pietro in Vincoli was presumably executed in mosaic. Its exact position on the west wall remains in doubt. Either it was placed between the five arcades and the oculi of the original façade of the church A, or else, if dating after the blocking of the arcades and the substitution of doors in their place (church B), it extended above the doors.

b) It is much more difficult to locate the two remaining fifth century inscriptions. The distich *In medio regum* with its reference to Sixtus III<sup>1</sup> can only have accompanied a representation of the Four and Twenty Elders offering their crowns (or wreaths) to Christ, the whole perhaps alluding at the same time to the Imperial donations referred to in the founders' inscription *Cede prius nomen*. The *sylloge Viridunensis*, the only one to transmit the distich, places it "in altera apside". Consequently it has, as a rule, been assigned to one of the lateral apses off the transept. But the archeological evidence admits of no lateral apses in either church A or B. Possibly, then, the compiler of the lost seventh century primary *sylloge* used the term "apsis" in a general rather than specific sense referring to a space auxiliary to the main space, e.g., a transept wing<sup>2</sup>. While possible, such usage would be quite extraordinary; moreover, a transept wing is no place for a representation of the Four and Twenty Elders. Its normal position, as at S. Paolo f.l.m. and, in the ninth century, S. Prassede, is the triumphal arch of either the transept or apse<sup>3</sup>. We thus suggest that in the *sylloge Viridunensis* "in altera abside" was misread for an original "in arcu abside". And was the mosaic (or painting) of the Four and Twenty Elders to be seen either on the triumphal arch of the transept of church B or on the wall surmounting the arch of the apse, with the inscription then running along the arch? Given the specific reference to an apse in the locating head line, the latter suggestion carries greater conviction. If this hypothesis is accepted, the triumphal arch of the transept is the only conspicuous place remaining for the fourth inscription, *Theodosius pater*, whose prominent location would seem to be borne out by the fact that the church, for a brief period, became known as "titulus Eudoxiae".

## G. — CHRONOLOGY

### 1. The Roman Buildings

The Roman structures found below nave, apse and transept and those incorporated into the apse provide but a vague *terminus post quem* for the first church building on the site, basilica A.

a) The brickwork of the tanks and hypocausts below the apse and transept and of the corresponding walls incorporated in the south springing of the apse and projecting from below its curve show the characteristics of Roman building practice of the last third of the second century A.D.: whole bricks, many fired deepred; thin mortar beds, averaging 22-25 mm.; regular coursing; and a modulus of six bricks and mortar beds per R. ft. This approximate date is confirmed by the brick stamps found in the hypocaust construction below the apse and in the sewer issuing from there into the transept; a large number date from the reign of Marcus Aurelius, 161-180 A.D., and none are later than the end of the century.

b) The successive phases of the buildings buried under the nave have been discussed<sup>4</sup>: the Flavian garden structure; the cryptoporticus of second century, presumably Hadrianic date; the

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 181, dig. 432-440, item b.

<sup>2</sup> KRAUTHEIMER, *op. cit.*, p. 403.

<sup>3</sup> The placement of representations of the Four and Twenty Elders on the triumphal arch continued into the tenth century; the fresco cycle of S. Sebastianello (S. Sebastiano in Palatino), lost but known through the seventeenth century drawings of Antonio Eclissi, included such a representation on the triumphal arch of the apse wall (Vat. lat. 9071, p. 234 f.; see WAETZOLDT, *Kopien*, p. 75 [with full bibliography] and figs. 513, 514).

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 190 f.

apsed hall complex. This latter may date from the third century. We must await the final report of the excavators for a more exact date; so far the *terminus post quem* provided for church A is vague.

c) The Roman wall incorporated into the bottom part of the north transept wall and its parallel oblique counterpart below the north wing of the transept furnish a somewhat closer *terminus post quem* for the building of church A. Their brickwork with a modulus of five courses to 1 R. ft. suggests in general terms a fourth century date, possibly still during the first quarter. The Constantinian parts of the Lateran basilica are not dissimilar.

## 2. The Church Buildings

The brickwork of church A, as described, occurs in the foundation wall of the west façade and below the nave colonnades, in the upright walls of the façade, in the clerestorey at its northwest and southwest ends, and in the apse, certainly at its north springing and presumably along its entire curve. It is characterized by the use of a comparatively large number of pristine or little used bricks, by even courses, and by mortar beds which range from 30 to as much as 40 mm. in thickness. The resulting modulus is at times as low as 4 or  $4\frac{1}{3}$  courses per R. ft., but it rises occasionally to 5 courses. The pointing of the mortar is smooth and frequently concave. Occasionally the mortar beds are prism-shaped or, as in the corner piers of the façade, pointed into convex double facets. Close parallels for such masonry techniques are found in the foundation walls of the nave of SS. Giovanni e Paolo<sup>1</sup>, in the upper walls of S. Clemente<sup>2</sup>, S. Lorenzo in Lucina<sup>3</sup> and S. Sabina<sup>4</sup>, and in the arcades of the Statio Annonae, which were incorporated in the façade of S. Maria in Cosmedin<sup>5</sup>. The comparative material points to a date sometime between 380 and 430.

The same approximate date is suggested by the motif of the open west façade. Façades with such arcaded openings are known to have existed in Rome at S. Clemente, SS. Giovanni e Paolo, and S. Vitale<sup>6</sup>. All date between 380 and 410-420. Under Celestine I and Sixtus III, between 420 and 440, such arcaded façades appear to have given way to closed west walls, pierced only by doors, as at S. Sabina, S. Lorenzo in Lucina and, in our opinion, S. Maria Maggiore.

The brickwork of church B is somewhat inferior to that of church A. The coursing is slightly less regular and the pointing changes occasionally to a downward and inward slope. But the height of the mortar beds differs little, and the modulus, averaging five bricks and as many mortar beds to 1 R. ft., is not much higher than in church A. Nevertheless, we venture to propose for church B a date about the middle of the fifth century. This date is suggested to us by the proportions and the spacing of the clerestorey windows in church B. They are narrower and lower than the windows of church A; and their width, ca. 1.80 m., and spacing, roughly 1.40 m., result in a ratio of 1 to .77. The change is obviously linked to the wider span given the arcades in church B. All the same, it must be recalled that the ratio of window widths and intervals, which had risen rapidly during the second quarter of the fifth century, drops with equal suddenness after 440. At S. Clemente, ca. 385, the windows are 2.59 m. wide and stand 1.59 m. apart, the ratio being 1 to .65. At SS. Giovanni e Paolo, the ratio in the south clerestorey, perhaps ca. 420, is 1 to .70. At S. Sabina, 422-432, the width of the windows has risen to 2.43 m., with that of the window piers dropping to

<sup>1</sup> See above, Vol. I, p. 290.

<sup>2</sup> See above, Vol. I, p. 129.

<sup>3</sup> See above, Vol. II, p. 173.

<sup>4</sup> See Vol. IV.

<sup>5</sup> See above, Vol. II, p. 288.

<sup>6</sup> MATTHIAE, *op. cit.*, 1957, p. 107 ff. We doubt that S. Maria Maggiore had an open façade and we are not sure regarding the façade of S. Pudenziana. The arcades which Matthiae identified at S. Sebastiano (*op. cit.*, p. 112 f., fig. 15) are not comparable since they opened towards the short east aisle of the basilica, not towards the outside. See above, p. 36, and p. 46, and below, p. 292 and Vol. IV.

1.18 m., the ratio being 1 to .5 and nearly the same ratio, 1 to .56, obtains at S. Maria Maggiore, about or slightly before 432. The development reaches its peak at S. Lorenzo in Lucina, 432-440, where the windows are as wide as 3.10 m., while the window piers are but .90 m. wide and thus present a ratio of only 1 to .29. After 440 the ratio changes. Already in the north clerestory of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, perhaps as late as 440, the windows are 1.55 m. wide and 1.45 m. apart, resulting in a ratio of 1 to .92. At S. Agata dei Goti, ca. 476, the ratio is 1 to .80 and at S. Stefano Rotondo at nearly the same time, 1 to 1.2.

These comparisons, if valid, pose a dilemma. The approximate dates which they suggest for churches A and B, 380-420 or 430 and mid-fifth century respectively, conflict with the four building inscriptions transmitted by the *syllogai*. Two of them, we recall, refer specifically to the activity of Sixtus III - the long founder's inscription on the west wall and the distich below a mosaic or painting of the Four and Twenty Elders, this last, if we are correct, located on the arch of the apse. Likewise, the inscription inside the apse referring to the chains of Saint Peter, and the Eudoxia distich, have as a rule been ascribed to Sixtus' pontificate. In any event, the church to which these inscriptions refer - whether it was church A or B - must have received its decoration, wholly or in part, between 432 and 440.

One alternative is that the inscriptions were composed for church B under Sixtus III. This seems to us unlikely, but if it were the case, church A must have collapsed prior to 432 or very shortly after. Its life time would thus have been quite short, at the most fifty, and perhaps as little as ten or fifteen years. The new transeptal church B would, then, be the work of Sixtus III with the four inscriptions conspicuously placed on the façade, in the apse and on its arch, and with the Eudoxia inscription presumably occupying the place of honor on the triumphal arch leading from the nave into the transept. Theoretically, this is possible. Eudoxia first visited Rome in 439, while Sixtus III was still alive, and the vows of her imperial parents stressed in her distich are alluded to in both of Sixtus' inscriptions on the façade and "*in arcu (?) abside*"<sup>1</sup>. Given the two references to the recent mission of the presbyter Philippus at Ephesos and to Eudoxia's visit, work on the church would have started in 432 and terminated about 439. On the other hand, the technical features of church B, in particular the window spacing, contradict everything we know of church building under Sixtus III, as represented for instance by S. Lorenzo in Lucina and S. Maria Maggiore or, to choose a slightly earlier example, S. Sabina. Still, church B might be interpreted as a "breakthrough" by a different "progressive" workshop.

An alternate hypothesis, however, allows for a different interpretation. The west wall and apse of church B are, after all, the principal remnants of the older church A which were incorporated in the new structure. Hence, the two inscriptions which specifically mention Sixtus III - the founder's inscription and the distich "*in arcu abside*" - could be part of a decoration which church A received early in Sixtus' pontificate shortly after its structure had been completed. The Eudoxia inscription would be hard to place in church A since all conspicuous locations in that building were occupied by the other three inscriptions. This difficulty disappears on the assumption that church A was replaced by church B only after the pontificate of Sixtus III. The earthquake of 442 or 443 which also damaged S. Paolo f.l.m. could have caused the collapse of the earlier building<sup>2</sup>. In fact, the tenor of Eudoxia's inscription suggests a date after the death of her parents in 450 and 454 respectively and thus during her residence in Rome, 450-455. Thus the inscription could have occupied the most conspicuous place in the new structure, on the trium-

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 181, dig. 432-440, item f, and above, p. 227.

<sup>2</sup> L. P. I, p. 230; PESARINI, « Una nuova pagina nella storia della basilica di san Paolo », *Diss. Pont. Accad.* 13 (1918), p. 195 ff.; M. FAZIO, « La restauración de San León Magno en la basilica Ostiense », *R. Q. Schr.* 58, II (1963), p. 1 ff.



phal arch between nave and transept. More important, a date after 443 for church B coincides with its characteristic features — the window spacing and the façade pierced by doors rather than opening on an arcade. The hypothesis is obviously unproven and unprovable. But it seems plausible.

The inscription in the apse “*Inlesas olim*” poses a different problem. It refers only to Saint Peter and to the relics of his chains, not to the two Princes of the Apostles who are so strongly stressed in the inscription of Sixtus III on the west wall. This latter inscription, after all, implies that the church had changed its name, obviously prior to 431 when the presbyter Philippus signed the minutes of the Council of Ephesos. The original dedication was apparently only to one of the apostles, presumably to Saint Peter. Indeed, the combined dedication to Saints Peter and Paul was of short duration. While the official designation remained *titulus Apostolorum*<sup>1</sup>, names such as “*a vincula sancti Petri*”<sup>2</sup> came into use at least as early as 500. (The designation “*titulus Apostolorum quae appellatur Eudoxiae*” or simply “*titulus Eudoxiae*”, obviously based on her dedicatory distich, appears only under the Carolingian popes, possibly because of its imperial connotations)<sup>3</sup>. This being the case, the inscription in the apse cannot well date from the time of Sixtus III. It could have been composed only either prior to 431 (that is, for church A) or towards the end of the fifth century or in the early sixth century. Given the inscription of bishop Achillis in Spoleto with its reference to Rome and the chains of Saint Peter, the early date seems to us not unlikely.

This raises the question of the existence of a *titulus* prior to the building of church A. The reference in the Sixtus inscription to “oldness being replaced by newness” need not refer to the replacing of an older building by church A; it may simply refer to the change in name. Nevertheless, church A need not have been the first Christian building on the site. Indeed, the Martyrologium Hieronymianum in two early versions lists the “dedication of the first church built by Saint Peter in Rome” on August 1, the date of the festival of the chains<sup>4</sup>. If this tradition, as is very possible, goes back to the early fifth century or earlier, it might hint at the existence on the site of a Christian sanctuary - a *titulus* antedating church A, of the IV century or earlier. This *titulus* would have been installed either in the third century *domus* and, if so, possibly in the apsed hall complex (fig. 158), or in the second century thermal building below the apse; or else in the fourth century structure (possibly an addition to the *thermae*), parts of which are incorporated in the north transept wing<sup>5</sup>. The existence of such an early *titulus* is possible but it cannot be proved. Nor can it be proved that it sheltered the chains of Saint Peter<sup>6</sup>.

The later remodelings of the church - its transformation during the latter part of the fifteenth century by members of the della Rovere family which have been discussed at length in an earlier article<sup>7</sup>, and the remodelings of the eighteenth and twentieth centuries, which have been analyzed above, need not be repeated here.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 181, dig. 499.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 181 ff., digs. 501-502 and following.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 182 f., digs. 772-795, 795-816.

<sup>4</sup> KIRSCH, *op. cit.*, 1925, p. 54 ff., esp. p. 80 ff.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 191 ff.

<sup>6</sup> GRISAR, *op. cit.*, p. 205 ff.; IDEM, « Der mamertinische Kerker ... », *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 20 (1896), p. 102 ff.

<sup>7</sup> KRAUTHEIMER, *op. cit.*, p. 364 ff.

## H. — HISTORICAL POSITION

Church A, in its main lines, is the perfect example of the Christian basilica as it had developed in Rome by 400 and shortly after. The proportion of nave and aisles, the semicircular, slightly stilted apse, the arcaded façade, all find their parallels in contemporary churches. Only two features are unusual. The screening of the apse opening by what appears to have been a triple arcade finds its closest parallel in North African church building of the time, in, for example, the ECCLESIA MATER mosaic from Tabarca and a number of churches from Algeria to Tripolitania<sup>1</sup>. So far church A is the only example known from Rome. On the other hand, the widening of the aisles in front of the apse and the concomitant projection of their walls north and south seem to have antecedents in the aisle transept of S. Giovanni in Laterano in Rome<sup>2</sup>. It is true that in the Lateran basilica the aisle-transepts projecting from the north and south were planned *ex novo* as separate units of the chancel plan, communicating with, but independent from, the aisles, whereas at S. Pietro in Vincoli they resulted from the incorporation into church A of the walls of an older building and were treated as a mere broadening of the aisle space. Yet the builders apparently used these older walls as the basis for a design they knew and liked; despite their different shape, the widened east bays of the aisles at S. Pietro in Vincoli could well serve the same functions as the aisle transepts of the Lateran basilica. Indeed, ordinary basilicas with broadened aisles off the chancel do occur elsewhere, for example in the first basilica at Dodona, possibly of fifth century date<sup>3</sup>. The chancel arrangement with an enclosure projecting into the nave but considerably narrower, and continued by a *dromos* even narrower and extending at least to the fifth arcade from the façade, anticipates the arrangement found later at S. Marco in Rome<sup>4</sup>.

The outstanding elements in church B are the closing of the façade arcades, the window spacing, and the formation of a tripartite transept<sup>5</sup>. Its presence is ascertained whether its wings were separated from the center bay by the roof-high fins which project from its east and west walls or by an additional arcade at ground level<sup>6</sup>. Recent finds have established that transepts of this type are found not only in the late fifth and early sixth centuries in basilicas in Greece and Asia Minor<sup>7</sup>. They occur contemporary with S. Pietro in Vincoli in the basilica of St. Leonidas at the Lechaion near Corinth<sup>8</sup>, and as early as the middle of the fourth century, a tripartite transept, though of slightly different plan, makes its appearance at the old cathedral of Milan, S. Tecla<sup>9</sup>. This chapter is not, however, the place in which to discuss anew the problem of the tripartite transept.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 209, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> JOSI-KRAUTHEIMER-CORBETT, *op. cit.*, *R. A. C.* (1958), p. 59 ff.

<sup>3</sup> PALLAS, « Scoperte archeologiche in Grecia... », *R. A. C.* 35 (1959), p. 187 ff., esp. p. 195 ff.

<sup>4</sup> MATHEWS, « An Early Roman Chancel Arrangement and its Liturgical Functions », *R. A. C.* 38 (1962), p. 73 ff.

<sup>5</sup> KRAUTHEIMER, *op. cit.*, p. 411 ff.; IDEM, « Il transetto nella basilica paleocristiana », *Actes du V<sup>e</sup> Congrès d'Archeologie Chrétienne*, Vatican City and Paris, 1957, p. 283 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Contrary to the denial of MATTHIAE, *op. cit.*, [1960], p. 19.

<sup>7</sup> KRAUTHEIMER, *op. cit.*, 1941, *passim*, and IDEM, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture (The Pelican History of Art)*, Harmondsworth, 1965, *passim*. Two Greek churches with tripartite transepts of ca. 500, the basilicas D and E at Nikopolis should be added; see PALLAS, *op. cit.*, p. 196 ff. with bibliographical references.

<sup>8</sup> PALLAS, *op. cit.*, p. 207 ff., and Ergon 1961, p. 141 ff. with the revised date, ca. 450.

<sup>9</sup> A. DE CAPITANI D'ARZAGO, « La Chiesa Maggiore » di Milano, Milan, 1942 and more recently, M. MIRABELLA ROBERTI, « La cattedrale antica di Milano », *Arte Lombarda* 8 (1963), p. 77 ff.; see also KRAUTHEIMER, *op. cit.*, 1957, p. 285 ff. and *op. cit.* 1965, p. 59 f.

## S. P R A S S E D E

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(R. Krautheimer, S. Corbett) \*

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## B. — ANCIENT DESCRIPTIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

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- ca. 1475 IL CRONACA (SIMONE POLLAIUOLO), Antique column and section of pilaster "a santa prasseda", pen and ink; Uffizi, dis. arch. Sant. 161<sup>v</sup> (BARTOLI, *Monumenti*, I, pl. XV, fig. 32, 2 and 3).
- ca. 1491 ANONYMOUS, Distant view of church, pen and ink; Codex Escorialensis, fol. 40<sup>v</sup> (EGGER, II, pl. 104).
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- ca. 1550-1560 SALLUSTIO PERUZZI, Drawings of plan and of measured Tuscan capital, pen and ink; Uffizi, dis. arch. 660<sup>v</sup>, 661<sup>v</sup> (BARTOLI, *Monumenti*, IV, fig. 657; fig. 668; our fig. 214).
- before 1557 Copy after VAN DER WYNGAERDE, Panorama with view of campanile, pen and ink (EGGER, II, p. 108).
- 1577 DUPÉRAC-LAFRERY, Bird's eye view of church with campanile and cloister, engraving; Map of Rome, 1557 (ed. EHRLE, 1908; FRUTAZ, *Piante di Roma*, II, pl. 253).
- ca. 1580 CIACCONIUS (Chacon), Mosaics of apse and S. Zeno chapel, water color; Vat. lat. 5407, f. 23 ff., 27 ff.
- 1588 FRA SANTI, View of façade showing details of doorway and upper window, woodcut; *Cose maravigliose*, c. 57 v. (our fig. 210).
- 1690-1699 ANONYMOUS, Mosaics of apse, face of apse, triumphal arch, and S. Zeno chapel, engravings; CIAMPINI, *Vetera Monumenta*, 1690-1699, II, pls. XLV-L.
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- 1748 NOLLI, Ground plan church and cloister, engraving; Map of Rome, 1748 (ed. EHRLE, Vatican City, 1932; FRUTAZ, *Piante di Roma*, III, pl. 411).

<sup>1</sup> For other drawings of these pieces, such as Giuliano da Sangallo, Barb. lat. 4424, f. 70 (HÜLSEN, *Il libro di Giuliano da Sangallo*, Leipzig, 1910), Antonio da Sangallo, Uffizi, dis. arch. 1597 (BARTOLI, *Monumenti*, I, pl. 69, fig. 112), and Baldassare Peruzzi, Uffizi, dis. arch. 570 (BARTOLI, *Monumenti*, II, pl. 141, fig. 263), see ASHBY, *loc. cit.* Given the height of the shaft, 3.56 m., the column might be one of the atrium columns. For a list of copies after the mosaics, see WAETZOLDT, *Kopien*, p. 72 f.

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- 1843 J. M. KNAPP, Ground plan of basilica and atrium, view of interior from nave, engravings; BUNSEN & KNAPP, *Basiliken*, pls. XXIX, XXX.
- 1846 L. CANINA, Plan and sections of church, mosaics of S. Zeno chapel, engravings; *Tempi Cristiani*, pls. XLVIII, XLIX.
- 1855 FONTANA, Views of church interior, details of mosaics, ground plan, engravings; *Chiese di Roma*, II, pls. XVI, XXIII.
- 1862 H. HÜBSCH, Ground plan of basilica and S. Zeno chapel, perspective view of interior, details of windows, elevations of exterior porch, engravings; H. HÜBSCH, *Die altchristlichen Kirchen*, Carlsruhe, 1862, pl. XLV, figs. 5-10.
- 1899 DE ROSSI, Mosaics of apse, apse face, triumphal arch, and S. Zeno chapel; DE ROSSI, *Mosaici*, 1899, pls. XXV, XXVI.
- 1916 WILPERT, Paintings in transept, mosaics of triumphal arch, apse, face of apse and S. Zeno chapel; WILPERT, *Mosaiken*, 1916, pls. 114-115, 202-204.

### C. — DATES<sup>3</sup>

- 491 Fragment of the epitaph of Argyrius, a member of the clergy TIT(uli p)RAXS(edis) found in the cemetery of S. Ippolito (DE ROSSI, *B.A.C.* ser. IV, 1 [1882], p. 64 ff.).
- 499 Caelius Laurentius "archipresbyter tituli Praxidae" and the presbyter Petrus sign the decisions of the Roman synod of 499 (*M.G.H., Auctores Antiq.*, XII, pp. 410, 414).
- 595 The presbyters Deusdedit and Aventius "tituli sanctae Praxedis" sign the minutes of the Roman synod of 595 (*M.G.H., Epistolae*, I, p. 367).
- 772—795 Hadrian I restores "in integro" the titulus S. Prassede, part of which had fallen into disrepair: "Titulum vero sanctae Praxedis ex parte ruens in integro renovavit" (*L.P.* I, p. 509).
- 802 and 806 Leo III donates a textile "vestem de stauraci cum periclisin de blathin in titulo sanctae Praxedis" and a silver crown "in ecclesia beatae Praxedis coronam de argento, pens. lib. V" (*L.P.* II, pp. 11, 21).<sup>4</sup>
- 817—824 Paschal I, foreseeing the collapse of the church ("ecclesiam ... martyris Praxedis"), built in former times ("quae quondam a priscis aedificata temporibus") and weakened by age so as to threaten collapse ("nimia iam lassata senio, ita ut fundamentis casura ruinam sui minaretur"), rebuilds it "better than it had been before" on a nearby site ("in alio non longe demutans loco"). He decorates the apse and the triumphal arch with mosaics ("decoravit ... absidam vero eiusdem ecclesiae musibo opere exornatam ... et arcum triumphalem"); transfers relics of saints from the catacombs ("multa corpora sanctorum dirutis in cimiteriis iacentia ... deportans recondidit"); erects the monastery "sanctae Praxedis" for Greek monks ("in quo et sanctam Gregorum congregationem adgregans"), endows it with gifts, and builds in the monastery a chapel to S. Agnes ("fecit in ... monasterio oratorium beatae Agnetis..."). He gives to the church a silver ciborium ("ciburium ex argento, pens. lib. DCCCCX"); ornaments the "propitiatorum sacri altaris"<sup>5</sup> with silver plate; equips the confessio with double doors ("... rugulis suis

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 89, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> See above, Vol. II, p. 5, n. 7.

<sup>3</sup> The legendary foundation by pope Pius I [142 (?)–157 (?)] of the titulus of S. Pudenziana in the thermae of Novatius and of that of S. Prassede in the vicus Lateranus cannot be substantiated. Not only is the entire *passio* a piece of pious fiction; but also the passage regarding the church of S. Prassede is a later insert. See *AA. SS. Maii*, IV, p. 298: «Praxedis, accepta potestate, rogavit B. Pium Episcopum ut Thermas Novati, quae jam tunc in usu non erant, ecclesiam consecrare; quod & placuit Sancto Pio Episcopo, Thermasque Novati dedicavit ecclesiam sub nomine beatae Virginis Potentianae (in vico Patricii: dedicavit autem etiam aliam sub nomine beatae Virginis Praxedis) infra urbem Romam, in vico quo appellatur Lateranus, ubi constituit & Titulum; see also *L.P.* I, p. 132.

<sup>4</sup> See HÜLSEN, "Osservazioni sulla biografia di Leone III", *Rendic. Pont. Accad.* 1 (1922) p. 107 ff. esp. p. 110.

<sup>5</sup> First mention of the *propitiatorum altaris* (rendered by the King James Bible as «Mercy Seat») in the *Liber Pontificalis*; the term occurs only in the lives of Paschal I (817–824) and Leo IV (847–855).



*interius exteriusque vallantem pulcherrime compsit atque deauravit, qui simul pens. lib. CCC*"); places above the altar a jewel-encrusted covered gold crown ("... *regnum spanoclistum ex auro fulvo seu diversis lapidibus exornatum, pens. lib. V, unc. II semis*"); donates precious textiles ("... *vestem de chrisoclabo cum diversis storiis ... vestem chrisoclabam ex auro gemmisque confectam...*") and a silver-plated statue or relief ("... *imaginem ex lamminis argenteis praefiguratis, pens. lib. XCVIII*"); and erects in the church a chapel dedicated to S. Zeno, decorated with mosaics ("... *et in eadem ecclesiam fecit oratorium beati Zenonis Christi martyris ... musibo amplianter ornavit*"; *L.P. II, p. 54 f.*). Inscription and monogram of Paschal I above entrance to S. Zeno chapel: PASCHALIS PRAESVLIS OPVS DECOR FVLGIT IN AVLA//QVOD PIA OPTVLIT VOTA STVDVIT REDDERE DŌ.

827—844 Gregory IV donates a textile "... *vestem de olovero cum periclisin de stauraci I in monasterio sanctae Praxedis*" (*L.P. II, p. 79*).

847—855 Leo IV donates a textile "*in monasterio sanctae Praxedis*" (*L.P. II, p. 109*).

1073—1087 Benedetto Caio, titular cardinal of S. Prassede, restores and decorates the crypt and sets up an altar; inscription in crypt, now lost:

" *Benedictus Cao Calaritanus | Anastasii  
filius praesbiter | Card. tt. huius fieri | fecit  
sub pontificatu domini | Gregorii papae septimi* "

(BRUZIO, *Vat. lat. 11886, f. 81<sup>v</sup> [321<sup>v</sup>]* and FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni, II, p. 494*); CIACCONIUS (*Res gestae Pontificum...*, Rome, 1677, I, col. 867) records an inscription formerly in the cloister of S. Prassede and suggests that it refers to the possible erection of the cloister by Cardinal Caio:

*Benedictus presbyter card. | Tit. huius fieri fecit | Sub pontificatu d. Gregorii pp. VII.*

1198 Innocent III transfers the monastery of S. Prassede to the Vallombrosians (KEHR, *It. Pont.*, I, p. 49; FEDELE, *op. cit.*, p. 33, quoting *Bullarium Vallombrosanum...*, Florence, 1729, p. 85 ff.).

first half XIII century Marble plaque placed in nave, purporting to be list of saint's relics transferred by Paschal I:

XIII  
century

TEMPORIBVS . . . . . PASCHALIS  
PAPAE INFRADVCTA SVNT VENERANDA SCORVM COR  
PORA IN HANC SCAM ET VENERABILEM BASILICAM  
BEATAE XPI VIRGINIS PRAXEDIS QVAE PRAEDICTVS  
PONTIFEX DIRVTA EX CYMITERIIIS SEV. CRYPTIS IAGEN  
TIA AVFERENS ET SUB HOC SCO ALTARE SVMMA  
CVM DILIGENTIA PROPRIIS MANIBVS CONDIDIT IN MEN  
SE IVLIO DIE XX INDICTIONE DECIMA  
(follows list of names, ended by)  
FIVNT ETIAM INSIMVL OMNES SCI DVO MILIA CCC

The present plaque was apparently prepared during the 1730 restorations but appears to follow, in general, the wording of what was a thirteenth century original<sup>1</sup>.

1223 Relic of column of flagellation supposedly brought back from Constantinople by papal legate Giovanni Colonna, titular cardinal of S. Prassede.

Memorial plaque commemorating this gift placed in nave, to right of S. Zeno chapel, in 1635 by titular cardinal Francesco Colonna:

IOANNI TIT. S. PRAXEDIS  
CARDINAL COLVMNAE  
QVOD APOSTOLICVS LEGATVS IN ORIENTE  
AN. SAL. M. CC. XXIII  
COLVMNAM CHRISTI...  
... ASPORTAVERIT  
. . . .  
FRANCISCVS COLVMNA  
. . . .

<sup>1</sup> See GRISAR, *Analecta Romana*, pl. V, 2; GROSSI-GONDI, *op. cit.*, 1916, p. 443 ff., and below, p. 236 f. dig. 1730. Assuming the lost thirteenth century inscription to have been based on a ninth century document, the transfer of relics would have taken place in 817, the only year in Paschal's pontificate to coincide with a tenth indiction; see F. K. GINZEL, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, III, Leipzig, 1914, p. 397.

HOC AD POSTEROS MONVMENTVM  
 POSVIT  
 AD. DOM. M. DC. XXXV

(CIACCONIUS, *op. cit.*, II, c. 57; FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, II, p. 512).

- 1259 Donations to church made by Cardinal Pietro Capocci (FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, II, p. 495; FEDELE, *op. cit.*, 1904, p. 30 f.).
- 1286 Donations to church made by Cardinal Ancherus (FORCELLA, *loc. cit.*; FEDELE, *ibid.*, p. 31 ff.).
- ca. 1320 Entry in Catal. Taurin.: “*Monasterium Sanctae Praxedis, titulus presbiteri cardinalis, habet abbatem et VI monachos* (HÜLSEN, *Chiese*, p. 32, no. 155; FERRARI, *Monasteries*, p. 4).
- 1331 Cecco de Petesce builds a chapel in or adjoining the church (FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, II, p. 497; FEDELE, *op. cit.*, 1904, p. 32).
- 1447—1455 TITI (*Descrizione delle pitture...*, 1763, p. 478) reports the restoration of the church by Nicholas V after designs of Bernardo Rossellino: “*Questa chiesa fu restaurata da Niccolo V col disegno di Bernardo Rossellini Fiorentino*”; also cf. URBAN, “*Kirchenbaukunst*”, p. 264 f.
- 1489—1503 The titular cardinal Antoniotto Pallavicini provides a new marble pavement (UGONIO, *Stazioni*, c. 299: “*Un Cardinale di casa Pallavicina, come si vede per le arme rinovò il piano della chiesa, che è di tavole di marmo bianco...*”) and builds the choir lofts within the transept wings, as shown by his arms, still visible in the seventeenth century (BRUZIO, *op. cit.*, Vat. lat. 11886, f. 91<sup>v</sup> [331<sup>v</sup>]: “*All’entrata della Tribuna due porte ... e sopra le porte sono alzati due Chori di marmo larghi pal. 25 con l’Arme del Card. Antoniotto Palavicini...*”; see also MELLINI, *op. cit.*, Vat. lat. 11905, f. 324<sup>v</sup>).
- 1560—1566 The titular cardinal S. Carlo Borromeo restores portico, façade, main door, and interior of church (PANCIOLOLI, *Tesori nascosti*, 1625, p. 229 f.: “*Rifece il portico auanti la chiesa con la sua facciata, e la porta, rassetto, e ripoli d’ogn’intorno le navi...*”); places stairs leading to main altar (*loc. cit.*: “*accommodo i gradi per salire all’altare maggiore*”); restores altar and chancel (*loc. cit.*: “*... e lo rinchiuse tra cancelli di marmo, ornati con balustri di metallo...*”). Above the high altar he places a tabernacle supported by four porphyry columns, and in front of the triumphal arch, statues of Saints Praxedis and Pudentiana (PANCIOLOLI, *loc. cit.*). According to DAVANZATI, *op. cit.*, p. 506 f., Cardinal Borromeo restored and added columns to the atrium (“*pose alcune colonne per l’Atrio, del quale ancora rifece il soffitto*”) and built an adjoining palace, later bought by Cardinal Gabbrielli (“*fabbricò un Palazzo ... il quale fu poi comprato dal Monastero dal Cardinale Gabbrielli*”). Inscription of 1730, placed in choir, commemorates the restorations of Cardinal Borromeo:

S. CAROLO BORROMEO  
 . . . . .  
 RENOVATA EXPOLITAQVE TEMPLI FACIE  
 SVPPLETIS IN ATRIO COLVMNIS  
 E MARMORE STRATIS ALTARIS GRADIBVS  
 ET ABSIDE INSTRVCTA  
 STATVIS PICTVRIS LAQVEARI  
 ALISQVE ORNAMENTIS AVXERIT  
 . . . . .  
 CARDINALIS PICVS DA MIRANDVLA  
 . . . . .

M. P.

ANNO DOMINI MDCCXXX (FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, II, p. 518).

- 1590 Erection of Olgiati chapel (DAVANZATI, *op. cit.*, p. 238 f.).
- 1594—1600 Titular cardinal Alessandro Medici (later Leo XI) decorates nave with paintings (PANCIOLOLI, *Tesori nascosti*, 1625, p. 230; arms of Alessandro de Medici and Clement VIII in nave frescoes).
- 1730 Ludovico Pico della Mirandola, titular cardinal 1728-1731, restores and decorates main altar and transept; places plaque commemorating renovations of S. Carlo Borromeo in choir (see above, dig. 1560-1566); remodels crypt (TITI, *Descrizione delle pitture*, p. 247); and apparently replaces with a more legible version (“*conspicuum exemplum*”) the thirteenth century original purporting to be the relic list of Paschal I (see above, dig. first half XIII century, and GROSSI-GONDI, *op. cit.*, 1916, p. 443 ff.).

Inscription in choir relating to work on crypt:

.....  
 LVDOVICVS PICVS DE MIRANDVLA  
 HVIVS TITVLI PRESBYTER CARDINALIS  
 .....  
 EXTRVCTO SVB ARA MAXIMA SACELLO  
 CONDIDIT  
 AC VETERIS MONVMENTI  
 SANCTORVM NOMINIBVS INSCRIPTI  
 QVOD DETRITVM AC PROPE DELETVM  
 ANTECESSORVM CVRA RESTITVIT  
 CONSPICVVM EXEMPLVM

.....  
 ANNO DOMINI MDCCXXX (FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, p. 519)

During this restoration six columns of unusual foliate and fluted design were uncovered in the lateral walls of the chancel (MARANGONI, *Cose gentilesche*, 1744, p. 348: “*Nell’ultimo ristoramento del Presbiterio ne furono scoperte 4 antiche di bianco marmo, formate tutte a fogliami, le quali giacevano entro a muri laterali del Presbiterio, che oggi fanno la sua comparsa...* [Marangoni mistakenly specifies 4, rather than 6 columns]; *Relazione* of 1729, as noted by BALDRACCO, *op. cit.*, 1941, p. 277 ff.). The columns at present decorate the partitions which separate the transept wings from the chancel area.

- 1742 Renovation of pavement and dispersal of ancient plaques set into the floor; restoration of atrium (MARANGONI, *Cose gentilesche*, p. 432: “*fu preso l’impegno di rinnovare il pavimento ... riempito ne fu l’Atrio della medesima Chiesa*”).
- 1819 Repairs of unknown extent; inscription (FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, II, p. 522).
- 1914 Replacement of brick pavement with marble pavement in *stile cosmatesco* (MUÑOZ, *op. cit.*, 1927, p. 447).
- 1937 Restoration of façade and uncovering of some of the original columns of the atrium (MATHIAE, *op. cit.*, p. 518 ff.).

#### D. — GENERAL DESCRIPTION

S. Prassede stands on the Esquiline plateau, about 120 m. north of S. Martino ai Monti and only 90 m. to the south of S. Maria Maggiore. The main entrance, at the south end of the church, is reached via a long flight of stairs leading up from the north side of Via di S. Martino, the ancient *Clivus Suburanus* (pl. X). The axis of the church is north-south with a slight inclination towards the west; the altar is at the north end. To the south the basilica is preceded by a colonnaded atrium.

The simple and regular plan is obscured by later additions and encroachments. A triumphal arch at the north end of the nave leads into a narrow transept set at right angles to the main axis of the church and extending to the north and south beyond the side walls of the aisles. The apse on the axis of the nave opens out from the north wall of the transept. The triumphal arch, the arch of the apse wall, and the half dome of the apse are embellished with mosaics of the time of Paschal I, as the *Liber Pontificalis* records<sup>1</sup>.

The small cross-shaped chapel of S. Zeno is attached to the east wall of the east, or right hand, aisle; its structure together with the mosaic decorations of its groin and barrel vaults are likewise the work of Paschal I<sup>2</sup>. In the Romanesque period a campanile was built over the western end of the left transept wing. At a later date (probably in the late thirteenth or fourteenth century), the nave was divided into four compartments by means of three large transverse arches. Towards the end of the fifteenth century, the wings of the transept were shut off from the crossing by partition walls. A chancel bay was thus created in front of the apse, while the lower portions of the transept wings were vaulted over and made to carry choir lofts<sup>3</sup>. At the same time the level of the chancel was raised by three *palmi* (ca. 67 cm.) and covered with a pavement of white marble, but the original chancel level was restored in the restoration campaign of 1730<sup>4</sup>.

A thorough program of redecoration was initiated in 1564 while S. Carlo Borromeo was the titular cardinal of the church. The stairs leading up to the atrium from Via S. Martino were repaired and the porch was renewed, probably with the construction of its Cinquecento upper *loggetta*; two columns with Doric capitals were set up in the northern corners of the atrium; the doorway leading into the nave from the atrium was given a new frame, and a triple window was inserted in the façade above the door (it survived until 1937). Inside the church, a coffered ceiling was hung above the nave (fig. 212), and the original marble revetment of the apse was restored (it has since disappeared). This work may have been interrupted when S. Carlo was transferred to Milan in 1565, but it was still being carried out under Cardinal Alessandro de' Medici between 1592 and 1600; his arms together with those of Clement VIII (1592-1605) appear among the frescoes which a bevy of painters executed upon the nave walls<sup>5</sup>. On the other hand, the stucco remodeling of the Corinthian capitals may have started before the Medici cardinalate and continued afterwards, since they include emblems from the arms of Gregory XIV (1590-91) and Cardinal Philip Gallo (1600-1605): eagles, oak trees, doves and cocks<sup>6</sup>. The reversed helices of these capitals anticipate a motif frequently employed by Borromini.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 234, dig. 817-824.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 236, dig. 1489-1503.

<sup>4</sup> See preceding note and APOLLONJ-GHETTI, *op. cit.*, p. 54, referring to Don Benigno ALOISI's manuscript as listed above, p. 233, under Ancient Descriptions.

<sup>5</sup> Based largely on BAGLIONE (*Vite*, pp. 74, 85, 183, 187, 208), both DAVANZATI, *op. cit.*, p. 269, and TITI, *Descrizione delle pitture*, 1763, p. 246 (also edition of 1686, p. 221), list Giovanni Cosci, Baldassare Croce, Agostino Ciampelli, Paris Nogari, Cesare Rossetti, Girolamo Massei and Stefano Pieri. DAVANZATI, *loc. cit.*, adds the name of Domenico Passignani as the painter of a canvas covered by the organ.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 236, digs. 1560-1566, 1594-1600.

The next major changes date from 1730 when, under Cardinal Pico della Mirandola, the chancel was remodeled. The wall of the apse received new marble revetments. The partition walls between the wings and the central part of the transept were rebuilt and decorated with marble paneling and a set of six magnificent marble columns; the latter had been found lying inside the older partition walls of the fifteenth century. A sumptuous new canopy was raised over the high altar. Lastly, the confessio below the altar was remodeled and provided with an axial entrance facing the nave and with new flights of stairs ascending on either side to the level of the chancel<sup>1</sup>.

A program of restoration undertaken in 1914 caused the sixteenth century brick floor of the nave to be replaced by a neo-cosmatesque pavement; some *plutei* from the ninth century chancel screen, found during this operation, were placed into the right hand transept wing, as was the *gisant* sarcophagus of Cardinal Ancherus<sup>2</sup>. A second campaign, in 1937, restored the façade to its medieval aspect; during this restoration, Roman walls below the façade of the church and some of the columns of the original atrium were discovered<sup>3</sup>.

## E. — ANALYSIS

### 1. Roman Structures

The site of S. Prassede is rich in remains of classical antiquity; detailed studies of these have already been presented by Apollonj-Ghetti<sup>4</sup>, and we shall only summarize the findings here. Three parts have been distinguished:

a) Substantial parts of a Roman *insula* exist inside the buildings which stand between Via S. Martino and the atrium of the church (fig. 201). The cellar of the most westerly house encloses a Roman street pavement, presumably the *Vicus Suburanus*, which lies 3 m. below modern road

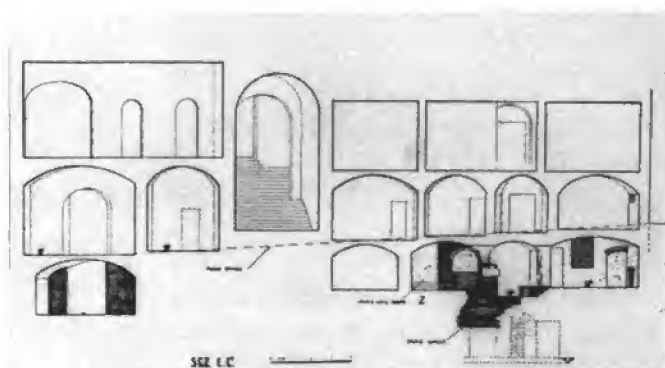


Fig. 201. S. Prassede, Roman buildings, section through houses along *Vicus suburanus*

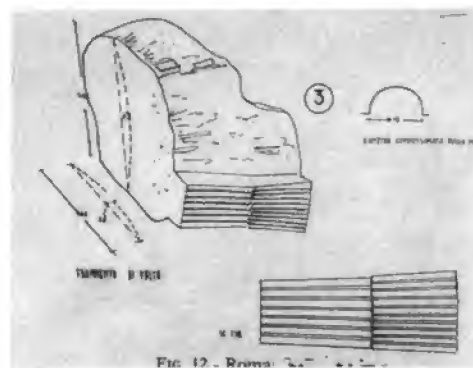


Fig. 202. S. Prassede, Fragment of half dome

level. Two Roman walls stand about 7 m. to the north. Further east, below the present atrium stairway, Apollonj-Ghetti noted the side walls of a staircase and a landing at a level 1.80 m. above the Roman street level and, some 5 m. to the right at the end of a short vestibule, he identified

<sup>1</sup> See above, dig. 1730, and in particular ALOISI's manuscript, as excerpted and referred to by APOLLONJ-GHETTI, *op. cit.*, p. 47 ff. The inscription of Cardinal Pico della Mirandola mentions only the remodeling of the crypt. The building of the curved steps ascending to the chancel and of the altar canopy is described in detail by ALOISI (APOLLONJ-GHETTI, *op. cit.*, p. 54 f.). Moreover, MARANGONI, *Cose gentilesche*, p. 348, states that «in the recent restoration of the chancel were found four [sic!] columns with foliage lying inside the side walls of the chancel»; hence, these walls were rebuilt in the campaign of 1730.

<sup>2</sup> MUÑOZ, *op. cit.*, 1918 and KAUTZSCH, "Die römische Schmuckkunst ... vom 6. bis zum 10. Jahrhundert", *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 3 (1939), pp. 1 ff., 6, 10, 17.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 237. digs. 1914, 1937.

<sup>4</sup> APOLLONJ-GHETTI, *op. cit.*, p. 11 ff. and especially the surveys reproduced on p. 17-30.



the archway through which the lower flight was entered. Still further east, parts of the insula façade were observed close to the present street front, including openings at ground and first floor level.

b) Ancient walls of uncertain date but presumably Roman also turned up in the atrium, at a level nearly 8 m. above the Roman street. Below the main entrance to the church and a little to the east, a brick stairway was revealed (figs. 203, 204) descending nearly parallel to the façade



(Photo: Soprint. ai Mon. del Lazio)

Fig. 203. S. Prassede, Roman structures below façade of church (to the left: foundations of church)



(Photo: Soprint. ai Mon. del Lazio)

Fig. 204. S. Prassede, Roman stairway below façade of church

from east to west; at the bottom it turned to the left in front of a brick wall which stood more or less on the axis of the nave. The relationship between these steps and the *insula* remains undefined<sup>1</sup>.

c) Another remnant of undetermined date was noted by Apollonj-Ghetti near the southwest corner of the present forecourt (that is, close to the center line of the left hand arcade of the original atrium). It is a fragment of concrete vaulting faced with a double archivolt, the inner ring of bipedal voussoirs, the outer ring of sesquipedals (fig. 202)<sup>2</sup>. The vertical and horizontal curvature of the intrados suggested a half dome with a diameter of 12 m. This led Apollonj-Ghetti to conclude that the fragment belonged to the apse of a fourth century church which stood on the same site as the present church but with reversed orientation. To us, the fragment seems as likely to have come from one of the Roman structures which occupied the site, perhaps a bath building.

## 2. The Church

By the time the present church was laid out, the street level had apparently risen nearly to the present level of Via di S. Martino ai Monti. The main entrance is a porch opening off the modern street. The porch (fig. 205) consists of a brick-fronted barrel vault set on two parallel marble brackets which protrude from the wall; it is supported near the front on a pair of stout columns.

<sup>1</sup> BALDRACCO, *op. cit.*, 1944/45, p. 107 f.

<sup>2</sup> APOLLONJ-GHETTI, *op. cit.*, pp. 16, 31 and fig. 12, 3.

The column bases are inverted Tuscan capitals<sup>1</sup> and the antique granite shafts are crowned by Ionic capitals — the one on the right being an ancient spoil, the one on the left a medieval copy. The porch appears to be Romanesque and is comparable with those found at S. Cosimato, S. Clemente, and S. Maria in Cosmedin. Nevertheless, it may incorporate elements of a Carolingian porch<sup>2</sup>. Behind the porch, a plain doorway leads to a long flight of stairs which ascend through



(Photo: Parker)

Fig. 205. S. Prassede, Porch of atrium, 1870

a covered passage to emerge in the open courtyard in front of the basilica (pl. XII). Eight meters from the street doorway, the stairs are traversed by an arch resting on brick piers which are 1 m. thick and project slightly from the passage walls. This arch marks the point where the stairway passes through a thick wall; other traces of the same wall are seen inside the adjacent shops and houses. Westwards along Via di S. Martino, ten meters from the church porch, a narrow lane ascends to the right, parallel to the church stairway, and leads to the entrances of some private dwellings. The western extremity of the thick wall through which the church stairway passes rises on the east side of this lane (pl. XI), where it makes a right-angled turn and proceeds north-

<sup>1</sup> We are undecided as to whether or not these capitals are the ones shown « *apud s. praxedem* » and « *circa s. praxedem* » in the Coner sketch-book (T. ASHBY, *Papers Brit. School* 2 (1904), p. 61 and pl. 122) and in other Renaissance drawings (Uffizi, Dis. arch. 579, 661<sup>v</sup>, 1597 1650 as reproduced in BARTOLI, *Monumenti*, II, fig. 263; IV, fig. 668; I, fig. 112; IV, fig. 569).

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 243.

wards, forming the right hand side of the ascending lane. The wall runs parallel to the axis of the church, in line with the left hand side wall of the basilica, and is, in fact, the perimeter wall of the atrium, now embedded in the shops and houses that encroach upon what was formerly the east wing of that forecourt. Farther north the atrium wall emerges from the later buildings and



(Photo: Sansaini)

Fig. 206. S. Prassede, Left hand wall of atrium, exterior

forms the east side of an open garden (fig. 206); the undulating Carolingian brickwork of the exposed wall face is unmistakable. The shuttered windows seen in fig. 206 belong to the apartments which occupy the northwest corner of the former atrium.

Within the courtyard at the top of the stairway, the buildings to the south and east are without interest. The west wall, however, incorporates two of the original atrium columns, still *in situ* (fig. 207). The base of a third column exists to the north of the exposed pair, but it is now walled up and invisible; a fourth column of the same west colonnade stands to the south, hidden inside one of the apartments (fig. 208). These remnants of the atrium were discovered by the Soprintendenza



ai Monumenti in 1937, together with other elements which have since been reburied<sup>1</sup>. The atrium columns, set at 2.60 m. centers, stand on a stylobate of reused "Servian blocks"; above these rise rectangular stone pedestals, raised to the required level by a few courses of brick (fig. 207). The column bases are inverted Tuscan capitals, identical with those seen in the porch opening off Via di S. Martino. (Thus the porch, while Romanesque, may include older Carolingian ele-



(Photo: Soprint. ai Mon. del Lazio)

Fig. 207. S. Prassede, Atrium, west wall, column and arcades

Fig. 208. S. Prassede, Column of atrium



(Photo: Soprint. ai Mon. del Lazio)

ments). Two of the atrium columns have shafts of grey granite; the third shaft is *cipollino*. Two of the capitals are Corinthian; the third (in the apartment) is of the blocked-out composite type. The columns are joined by semicircular arches formed with single rings of bipedals; above the arches, the Carolingian brick work appears to rise to a level at least 2.5 m. above the abacus of the capitals, a height which suggests a two story atrium. All the characteristics of the structure suggest a ninth century date. The foundation walls of reused blocks with brickwork in the interstices, the inverted capitals used as bases, the miscellaneous reused ancient capitals, and the style of brickwork in the archivolts and spandrels are all typical features of Carolingian building<sup>2</sup>.

The façade of the basilica forms the north side of the courtyard (fig. 209). Its present state is

<sup>1</sup> MATTHIAE, *op. cit.*, p. 521 and fig. 4.

<sup>2</sup> MATTHIAE, *op. cit.*, p. 518 ff., has described the finds made in 1937. DE ANGELIS D'OSSAT, *op. cit.*, p. 32 ff., propounds the theory that the arcades belong to a fifth century church which would have preceded Paschal's structure. The present writers disagree with this

due to a thorough restoration which became necessary in 1937. When the sixteenth century plaster was removed, the original brickwork was found to be so decayed that there was no choice but to reface the lower half of the wall entirely. Only the sixteenth century doorway was preserved. Excavations at the foot of the wall exposed the Carolingian foundations (fig. 203), consisting of



(Photo: Soprint. ai Mon. del Lazio)

Fig. 209. S. Prassede, Façade of church

the usual reused "Servian blocks" laid in several courses. They intersect the remains of the antecedent Roman stairway described above.

Eight meters above the level of the sixteenth century door sill, where the original brickwork of the façade still survives, the wall is pierced by a row of squarish beam holes, several spanned by minute brick archivolts. These are evidently seatings for the horizontal timber roof beams of

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interpretation. In *S. Prassede, op. cit.*, p. 15 ff., APOLLONJ-GHETTI expands the same argument and contributes useful notes about the building which lie beneath the stairway and to each side. Nevertheless, our divergent interpretation of the courtyard columns remains unchanged; the type of foundation and the brickwork of the superstructure are both typically Carolingian. We agree that remains of the older structure are most likely to be found in the region of the Carolingian atrium, but we assume that they would be at a much lower level than the colonnade which we see today, that is, more or less at the level of the *Cliivus Suburanus*.



the northern portico of the atrium which presumably crossed the front of the basilica (fig. 209). Higher up in the façade are remnants of marble brackets – projecting from the wall 10 m. above the level of the door sill – which would have served as the seating for the inclined beams of the lean-to roof. Only one of these brackets survives, at the left hand extremity of the façade, but the mortise holes for others can be distinguished. Presumably the brackets sustained a horizontal timber purlin on which the inclined roof beams rested<sup>1</sup>. About a foot above the brackets we see three round-headed windows; the new central opening replaces a sixteenth century window (fig. 210), but the others are original. In 1937 fragments of mosaic with geometrical patterns were found still attached to the embrasure of the left hand opening<sup>2</sup>; they are a vestige of mosaic revetment which at one time may have covered the façade from the portico roof upwards. The present gypsum window lattices are modern reproductions based on traces of similar fittings surviving in the left hand transept wing<sup>3</sup>. The window arches are formed with double rings of bricks arranged with some pretense at radially. At a still higher level, in the gable of the façade, the restorers discovered two small arched openings flanking a central feature which includes the remains of a niche. As Matthiae observes, the niche, the gable wall and the elaborate saw-tooth cornice which surmounts it are all Romanesque additions to the Carolingian fabric.

On the interior, the basilica has a nave 36 m. long, 14 m. wide and 15 m. high (pl. XII; figs. 211, 212). The aisles which flank it are 5½ m. in breadth. While the nave carries a coffered ceiling, the aisles are roofed with elliptical barrel vaults, probably dating from the sixteenth century. The clerestory walls are supported by trabeated colonnades 5 m. high, each of twelve intercolumniations with eleven columns set between rectangular end piers. The intercolumniations are somewhat irregular, but they average 2.90 m. from column centers. The third, sixth and ninth columns on each side are enclosed in rectangular piers which support three transverse diaphragm arches, dividing the nave into four bays. They were noted by Sallustio Peruzzi (fig. 214), and a small frescoed Crucifixion of thirteenth or fourteenth century date, preserved on the side of one of the piers, in the right hand aisle, provides a *terminus ante* for the construction of the cross arches<sup>4</sup>. The sixteen columns which remain visible have grey granite shafts surmounted by a uniform set of foliate capitals



(Fra Santi, Cose Maravigliose)

Fig. 210. S. Prassede, Façade, 1588

<sup>1</sup> This method of supporting the ridge of a lean-to roof has also been noted in the Carolingian churches of S. Martino ai Monti (see above, p. 110) and SS. Nereo ed Achilleo (see above, p. 145 f.). In the fifth century church of S. Pietro in Vincoli, on the other hand (see above, p. 216), we find the inclined beams of the aisle roof inserted into putlog holes left for them in the brickwork of the clerestory wall. The fifth century method suffers from the defect that the beams rot away at the point where they enter the putlog holes due to the difficulty of maintaining a watertight joint between the roof tiles and the clerestory wall. We assume that the Carolingian bracket system was invented to overcome this defect.

<sup>2</sup> MATTHIAE, *op. cit.*, p. 518. The façade mosaic of old St. Peter's, as transmitted by the eleventh century Codex Farfensis at Eton College (cod. 124, f. 122; illustrated, e.g., SCHÜELLER-PIROLI, *2000 Jahre Sankt Peter*, Olten, 1950, p. 105) comes to mind.

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. 250 and fig. 217.

<sup>4</sup> See also MUÑOZ, *op. cit.*, 1918, p. 126.



(Photo: Alinari)

Fig. 211. S. Prassede, View of interior



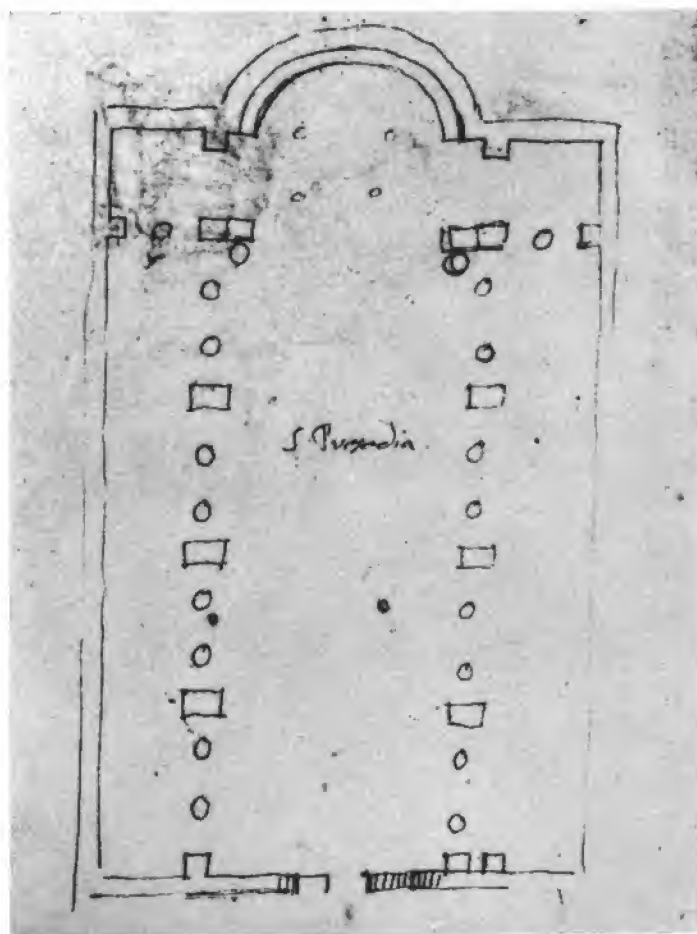
Fig. 212. S. Prassede, Rossini, View of interior, ca. 1840

executed in stucco. Apparently the original decoration of the capitals was shaved off because of damage and the plaster cabbage leaves and inverted volutes which we see today substituted (fig. 213). The interval between the top of the granite shaft and the underside of the architrave shows that the original capitals were either Corinthian or composite. The white marble lintels were plastered over late in the sixteenth and early in the seventeenth century<sup>1</sup> to create a



(Photo: Soprint. ai Mon. del Lazio)

Fig. 213. S. Prassede, Capital of nave



(Uffizi, dis. arch. 660v)

Fig. 214. S. Prassede, Peruzzi, Plan of church, 1550-1560

uniform surface, but the plaster has recently been removed and the original moldings once more exposed. Many of the architrave blocks vary in size and in style of decoration. The ones nearest the high altar are richly sculptured with foliate scroll work and egg-and-dart or bead-and-reel moldings; others have plain cymatium moldings with two or with three fasciae. Several retain fragments of inscriptions on the fasciae. One of them has truncated architrave moldings on the front and is plain on the back, showing that it has been cut out of a larger lintel. It is clear that the builders collected the architrave stones from many sources and that they were careful to place the richer pieces nearer the high altar. The architraves are surmounted by plain horizontal plaster cornices, almost without decoration, but these must be sixteenth or seventeenth century substitutes for the original cornices. These were probably ancient spoils no less irregular than the lintel stones, and it is likely that their shaved-off cores still exist under the Baroque plaster<sup>2</sup>. The four rectangular end piers of the colonnades are larger than they were originally, and the one at the southwest corner of the nave partly overlaps a tomb slab dated 1388<sup>3</sup>, but the additional thickness is

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 236, dig. 1594-1600.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly the cornice recorded in the Coner notebook (ASHBY, *op. cit.*, *Papers Brit. School* 2 [1904], p. 44, pl. 83) was among them; nothing found in the church today corresponds to it.

<sup>3</sup> MUÑOZ, *op. cit.*, 1918, p. 127.



probably only plaster, added when the nave was redecorated at the turn of the seventeenth century. Three of the end piers are surmounted by disparate, antique Corinthian capitals while the north-east corner pier carries a rectangular pilaster capital, also antique<sup>1</sup>.

The structure of the lower zone of the clerestory walls can be seen in its original state in attic chambers situated between the aisle vaulting and the lean-to roofs. The Carolingian masonry is



Fig. 215. S. Prassede, Right hand (eastern) clerestory and transept wing

(Photo: Corbett)



Fig. 216. S. Prassede, Left hand (western) clerestory, seen from north

(Photo: Corbett)

composed of bricks of every size and thickness, carelessly laid, more like rubble than brickwork, with steeply inclined or undulant coursing and almost without pointing. The mortar beds are thin, giving a modulus of six courses per R. ft. Just below the incidence of the present roof beams some of the marble brackets which originally supported the top purlin of the roof have survived;

<sup>1</sup> At first sight the three round capitals suggest that column shafts are concealed within the end piers. But the rectangular specimen argues to the contrary, suggesting that the end piers were originally square and that the builders capped three of them with round capitals merely because square ones could not be found. If shafts had been present, they would have been discovered when the capitals were re-exposed (probably about 1918) and would doubtless have also been uncovered, at least in part. Hence we conclude that the end piers were originally rectangular and probably of brick, and that the round capitals are adventitious.

they are comparable to those which carried the atrium roof along the nave façade. Ornamented with moldings, presumably because they were previously used in some more decorative context, these brackets are spaced 3.20 m. apart. Above the lean-to aisle roofs the original clerestorey windows, more or less intact, are outlined on each side of the nave (figs. 206, 215, 216), though sealed up and replaced by segment headed openings of sixteenth century date. Originally twelve round-headed windows opened on each side of the nave, corresponding to the twelve intercolumniations of the colonnades. Each opening was 1.40 m. wide and about 2 m. high. The brick piers between the windows have about the same width as the windows, 1.40-1.50 m. Only the pier between the third and the fourth windows in the western clerestorey differs, being 1.85 m. wide, presumably through a builder's miscalculation in starting the clerestorey wall simultaneously at both ends<sup>1</sup>. The original windows are spanned by double ring arches of sesquipedals, rather carelessly disposed as regards radius, and interpenetrating at the springing because the depth of the double archivolt (0.90 m.) is more than half the width of the intervening pier (except for the pier just mentioned). Above the apex of the archivolts, the undulant Carolingian brickwork continues for the height of one meter, with the modulus of six courses per R. ft.; but it is capped by a Romanesque cornice of saw-tooth bricks and marble modillions – a continuation of the cornice already noted on the nave façade. The apparent truncation of the inclined Carolingian coursing by the horizontal Romanesque cornice leads to the conjecture that the walls may originally have been somewhat higher.

The structure of the transverse arches which span the nave can be studied in the attic between the coffered nave ceiling and the pitched roof. The mortar is very thick (only 4 to 4.5 courses per R. ft.), flush pointed and smeared across the brickface. The great transverse archivolts are 1.10 m. in depth and in them alone the brick face is treated with the *falsa cortina* pointing which, in Rome, indicates work of the eleventh to thirteenth centuries. The great arches support diaphragm walls, of the same thickness as the arches themselves, which rise to the roof purlins. Two small openings in each diaphragm link bay to bay.

The transept lies across the end of the nave and aisles and in plan projects beyond the line of the aisle walls. On the interior it is 6 m. wide and 30.50 m. long. It communicates with the nave through the triumphal arch; the latter, 10.50 m. wide and 13.0 m. high to the apex, is decorated with the original mosaic showing the Elect of Revelation XXI and including, on the intrados, the monogram of Paschal I.

From the aisles, the transept is entered through trabeated openings 4 m. wide, each opening spanned by two horizontal marble lintels which rest on rectangular piers and a center column. Piers and columns are 0.70 m. taller than those of the nave. The capitals surmounting these supports are Roman spoils: Corinthian half capitals on the side piers; a Corinthian capital on the center column on the west side; a composite capital on the center column on the east side. In the attic above the vaulting of the east aisle, relieving arches in the brickwork of the transept wall lighten the load on the lintel stones, which are only 0.46 m. thick (pl. XII). The mosaic decoration of the triumphal arch is continued on the rear wall of the transept by a huge mosaic which outlines the opening of the apse, showing the Four and Twenty Elders and the Lamb of Revelation IV (fig. 211). The fresco decoration of the north transept, well preserved inside the campanile, must be contemporary with the mosaic despite its old-fashioned style<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See above, Vol. II, p. 54, and above, p. 44 for the comparable procedure in building the clerestories of S. Lorenzo f. l. m. and S. Maria Maggiore.

<sup>2</sup> During our recent visit to the church, Dr. Carlo Bertelli, helpful as always, was kind enough to discuss at length the old-fashioned features of the frescoes and to provide new photographs.



The main outlines of the transept can be distinguished easily on the exterior (fig. 215). It is built in the usual Carolingian brickwork (modulus of 6 courses per R. ft. with much undulation) and was copiously illuminated by windows in the north, east and west walls, and likewise in the southern walls above the aisle roofs. Each south wall had two arched windows, similar to those of the clerestorey but set at a slightly lower level. The end walls had two more windows at the same level (the pair at the west end still exist), and there may have been still more windows in a lower story. Other windows pierced the north wall of the transept on each side of the apse. The one to the west of the apse survives in its original state – including its transenna – and seems never to have been modified or repaired (fig. 217); since the Romanesque period, it has been walled up inside the campanile. The perforated gypsum transennae are secured to the vertical timber mullion and to the brickwork on each side by large, wedge-shaped iron nails.

On the interior the transept is equally complete, but it has been cut up by partition walls, vaults and floors. Screens, originally of fifteenth century date but rebuilt in the eighteenth century<sup>1</sup>, are placed on each side of the high altar, nearly in the alignment of the nave colonnades, and divide the east and west transept wings from the central part or presbytery. In the rebuilding of 1730, six white marble columns were placed in front of the screens. They are obviously Roman spoils of an elegant and unusual design (fig. 218): the shafts are divided by horizontal fillets into four drums, each of the drums rising from a “cup” of broad acanthus leaves<sup>2</sup>. At ground level the east wing of the transept has become a separate chapel covered by a barrel vault with interpenetrating lunettes in a pattern characteristic of the fifteenth century in Rome. A keystone in the center of the vault, presumably carrying the arms of the founder, has fallen off, but its trace remains visible. The upper part of the wing, originally a choir loft, has been converted into apartments of the adjoining monastery including another chapel. The internal subdivision of the transept, however, antedates the fifteenth century. Already in the Romanesque period a dividing wall 0.80 m. thick partitioned the extremity of the western wing, and the campanile was erected over the quadrilateral compartment thus created (fig. 219)<sup>3</sup>. Serafini assigns the campanile to the second half of the eleventh century<sup>4</sup>. This Romanesque structure rises above the north, west, and south walls of the transept without any setback in the wall face; a lower story, 3 m. high, without openings, is surmounted by a belfry of the usual loggia type with two pairs of arcaded openings in each wall.

The apse opens from the north wall of the transept, on the center line of the nave. It is unusually shallow in plan, being struck from a center on the inner face of the transept wall, instead of externally or with a stilted plan as is usual. The external wall face of the apse is built into the adjoining monastery and can be examined at only a few points. The apse vault retains its original mosaics, showing Christ flanked by Saints Peter, Paul, Praxedis, Pudentiana and Zeno and by Pope Paschal I (whose monogram appears on the intrados of the apse arch) and at their feet the Agnus Dei flanked by twelve lambs. The walls of the apse are hidden on the interior by an eighteenth century revetment. The shoulders of the apse are strengthened externally by buttresses at the point where the curved wall meets the north side of the transept. The exedra was illumi-

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 236 f., dig. 1730.

<sup>2</sup> The shafts (see above, dig. 1730) were found lying inside the older dividing walls which Cardinal Pallavicini set up late in the fifteenth century. One can hardly imagine a fifteenth century builder walling up such extraordinary Roman spoils. Is it then possible that Pallavicini simply redecorated medieval partition walls in which these columns had been reused as building material, he himself being unaware of this secondary use? Similar column shafts are known but rarely from Roman buildings. Mrs. Debra Dienstfrey has called our attention to a late fifteenth century painting attributed to Gentile Bellini (Thyssen Coll., Lugano; see *Sammlung Schloss Rohoncz*, ed. HEINEMANN, Lugano, 1958, no. 26, and SUIDA, « Die italienischen Bilder der Sammlung Schloss Rohoncz », *Belvedere* 9 (1930), p. 177, fig. 14), representing the Annunciation, where four columns of just this type are shown supporting the loggia in which Mary stands.

<sup>3</sup> It can hardly be called rectangular (pl. XI); why the end wall of the transept should have been set out so crookedly is a mystery.

<sup>4</sup> SERAFINI, *Torri campanarie*, p. 201 ff.



(Photo: Parker)

Fig. 217. S. Prassede, Western (left hand) transept wing, window with transenna



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 219. S. Prassede, Campanile over left hand transept wing



(Photo: German Arch. Institute, Rome)

Fig. 218. S. Prassede, Roman column in chancel

nated by round-headed windows with double archivolts, slightly smaller than those of the clerestorey (1.25 m. wide), and set 4.5 m. above floor level. Only one window is visible today (fig. 220) in the outer wall of the apse, the first on the left hand side (as seen from inside the church). We cannot be sure if there were originally three, four or five openings. The apse brickwork has the usual Carolingian modulus of six courses per R.ft.

Inside, at the base of the apse wall, the Carolingian annular crypt is still intact. It is entered from each side by flights of steps which descend close to the north wall of the transept (pl. XI). The left hand, western, flight is in its original state; the eastern flight has been reconstructed and



(Photo: Sansaini)

Fig. 220. S. Prassede, Apse window and buttress

probably moved from its former position. These stairs lead to two curved passages which follow the apse wall and meet on the center line of the church. The floor of the passages is 1.60 m. below the nave floor level and the walls are 1.95 m. high. The curved walls retain the original marble plating, and fragments of the original plaster decoration adhere to the flat ceiling (fig. 221 *a, b*) which is formed of horizontal slabs of marble. Small wedge-shaped recesses in the walls were intended for lamps. From the meeting place of the two curved passages, a rectilinear passage leads back to the focal point of the apse, where, immediately underneath the high altar, there must formerly have been a shrine for the principal relics. In the remodeling of 1730, however, this passage was prolonged southwards to emerge at the foot of the triumphal arch, thus providing a third entrance to the crypt and necessitating the transfer of the relics to an altar at the meeting point of the three passages<sup>1</sup>.

The small chapel of S. Zeno opens off the right hand aisle on the center line of the eighth intercolumniation in the nave colonnade<sup>2</sup>. A pair of Ionic columns with black granite shafts flanks

<sup>1</sup> BALDRACCO, *op. cit.*, 1941, p. 278 ff. basing his account in part on finds made in 1729 and described by Benigno ALOISI (see above, p. 233), has been able to reconstruct the original crypt in all its details.

<sup>2</sup> BALDRACCO, *op. cit.*, 1942, p. 185 ff., esp. p. 190 ff.



(Photo: Parker)

Fig. 221a. S. Prassede, Ceiling of crypt, stucco decoration, ninth century

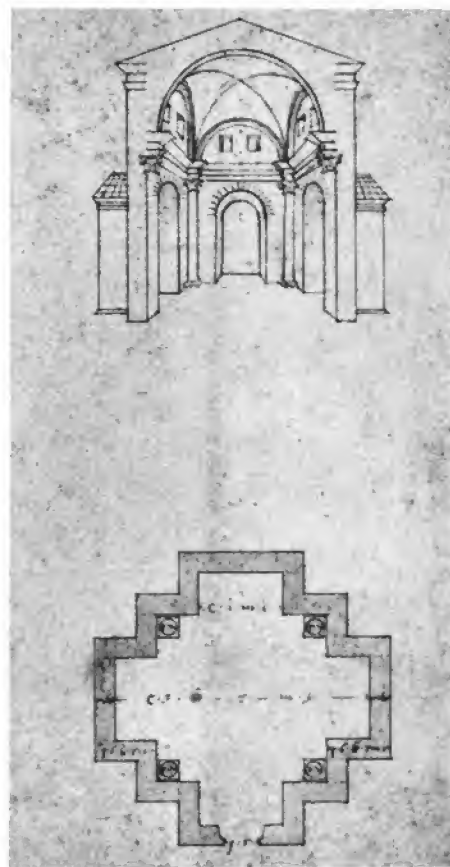


(Photo: Bertelli)

Fig. 221b. S. Prassede, Ceiling of crypt, keystone in stucco

the entrance doorway; they support a sculptured cornice inscribed with a dedicatory verse and the monogram of Paschal I (fig. 223). The shafts and bases of the columns and the cornice are apparently Roman spoils, reused and inscribed by Paschal, while the Ionic capitals are ninth century free imitations *all'antico*. The wall over the cornice is covered with mosaics showing medallions of Christ, the Apostles, the Virgin and Saints; a small window allows the rich mosaic decorations of the interior to be glimpsed from the aisle. The chapel is a square, cross vaulted chamber, measuring only 3.50 m.  $\times$  3.60 m. in plan, with barrel vaulted rectangular exedrae opening in three sides (fig. 222). All the vaults are encrusted with mosaics. Four columns in the corners of the square support independent architrave blocks which are set diagonally into the angles of the chamber. Above these rise the groins of the cross vault (fig. 224). The exedra 2.50 m. wide and 1.50 m. deep, facing the doorway, shelters the altar. The narrower lateral exedrae are set asymmetrically into the side walls of the square so as to be nearer to the altar than to the entrance. They are 1.70 m. wide and 1.30 m. deep.

Small windows above the apex of each exedra pierce the lunettes under the central cross vault<sup>1</sup>. The rear wall of each



(Photo: Alinari)

Fig. 222. S. Prassede, Palladio, Plan and elevation of chapel of S. Zeno

<sup>1</sup> The two lateral windows are off center with regard to the vault of the main bay of the chapel. This has led BALDRACCO, *op. cit.*, 1942, p. 192 ff., to assume that the side walls belong to an older structure which was only remodeled by Paschal I. However, the position of the windows was obviously thrown off center of the main vault by their coincidence with the axes of the niches below.



lateral exedra is now an opening, leading to an adjacent chapel, but these openings are presumably secondary modifications.

Where the brickwork of the chapel is visible on the exterior, a modulus of six courses per R. ft. is measurable but, apart from this, the masonry has been refaced and has no particular character. The sculptural decoration, on the other hand, illustrates the character of ninth century art



(London, Royal Institute of British Architects)

Fig. 223. S. Prassede, Chapel of S. Zeno, portal

in the use both of spoils and of original ornament. The reused antique pieces include the shafts of black granite, all of different length; their capitals – the pair to the east (with lotus leaves) identical, the pair to the west (Corinthian) divergent in workmanship and design; the four brackets, all identical; the support of the southeast column – a pedestal and a richly decorated base of fifth or sixth century date combined with a late antique capital<sup>1</sup> reversed to serve as a second high base for an all too short shaft; finally, the plain Attic bases of the other columns. Ninth century orna-

<sup>1</sup> BALDRACCO, *op. cit.*, 1942, p. 203 f., assigned the capital to the sixth century.



ment, aside from the Ionic capitals at the door, is seen on the three socles under the columns in the southwest, northwest and northeast corners of the chapel (fig. 225 *a, b*). All differ in height due to the differing length of the column shafts, but they also differ in the details of the common design motif: tendrils with grapes and vine leaves coiling out from a vase-like receptacle and flanking a standing leaf or a fleur-de-lys. Mosaics on gold ground cover the vaulting zone of the chapel:



Fig. 224. S. Prassede, Chapel of S. Zeno, vault



(Photo: Stapleford)

Fig. 225. S. Prassede, Chapel of S. Zeno, column bases

four angels support the bust of Christ on the groin vault, figures of saints occupy the lunettes, and smaller groups, including a bust of Paschal's mother, Theodora, fill the exedrae lunettes<sup>1</sup>. The walls are covered with a marble revetment, original though largely restored. The floor carries a pavement in *opus sectile*, with a huge round porphyry plaque in the center.

<sup>1</sup> A detailed description of the mosaic has been given and the relation to Ravenna brought out by DE ROSSI, *loc. cit.*, and BALDRACCO, *op. cit.*, 1942.

## F. — RECONSTRUCTION

The reconstruction of the church (fig. 226) presents few problems. Atrium, nave, aisles, transept, apse, annular crypt and S. Zeno chapel are clearly outlined in plan and elevation. We can confidently establish the colonnades and their entablatures in the nave; the number of columns, either eleven or thirteen, depending on whether the end supports were half piers or columns; the twelve windows in the clerestory walls, one window to each intercolumniation; the six win-

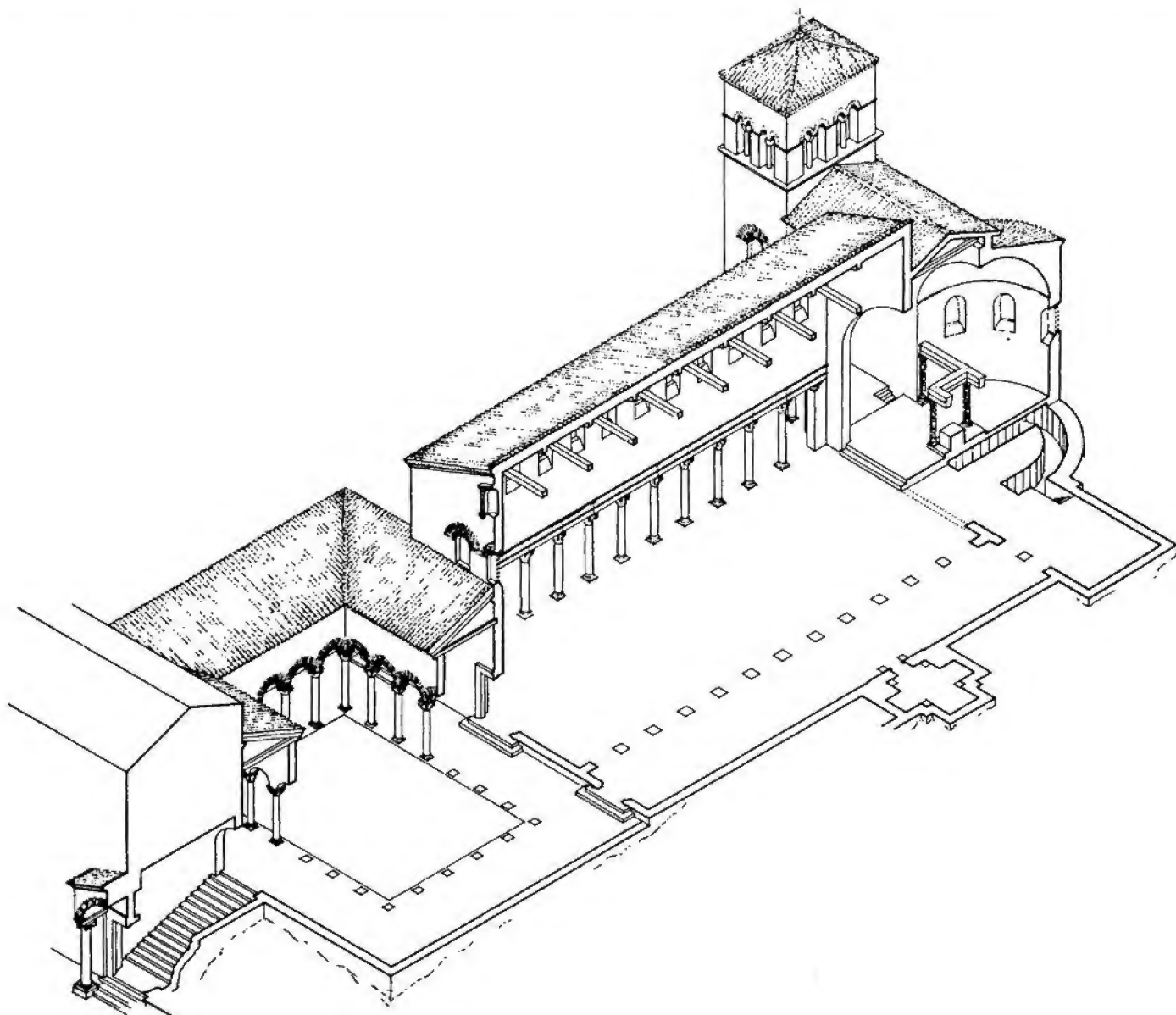


Fig. 226. S. Prassede, Reconstruction of church

(Drawing: Corbett)

dows in each of the transept wings; the smaller apse windows, although their number remains uncertain; the single entrance door from the atrium; the façade windows; the columns and architraves which separate aisles and transept wings; the triumphal arch, and the height of the transept wings equal to that of the nave; the apse and its half dome; finally, the quadriporticus of the atrium. Even the details are fairly well known. The present difference between the levels of nave and apse, 1.40 m., may be greater than the original discrepancy, but since the ceiling of the crypt, not counting its thickness of at least 30 cm., rises .35 m. above nave level, the apse from the outset must have been raised at least 65 m. and hence three or more steps above the floor of the nave.

Until 1730 the apse wall was sheathed with marble plaques, restored under Cardinal Carlo Borromeo but apparently part of the original decoration<sup>1</sup>. In at least one window the ninth century gypsum gratings have survived, and it is fairly certain that similar gratings filled the other windows as well. Both the size of windows and window piers, each about 1.40 m., and their mica panes demonstrate that the nave was filled with sufficient, though not abundant, light. The atrium arcades – at least the porticoes to the left and across the façade – carried comparatively high walls. The left hand portico perhaps contained an attic floor, and it is reasonable to assume a similar arrangement for the right hand portico as well. Nave, aisles, transept, and the porticoes of the atrium carried open timber roofs, while the apse and the entire S. Zeno chapel were vaulted. Only a few points remain to be clarified: the number of windows in the apse; the layout of the exterior flight of stairs, which must always have ascended from Via di S. Martino to the atrium; the exact shape of the chancel, of which some *plutei* survive<sup>2</sup>; finally, whether or not from the very beginning a porch protected the entrance at street level.

Column shafts, capitals, bases and architraves are all Roman spoils, of different date and workmanship, except for the ninth century imitations *all'antico* employed in decorating the S. Zeno chapel<sup>3</sup>. Nevertheless, the spoils have been assembled so that they convey an impression of extraordinary unity, and this impression is strengthened by the mosaic decoration of the apse, transept and triumphal arch. Indeed, the mosaic decoration seems to have extended into the transept wings as well. We do not know if the nave walls were also originally covered with mosaics, but this is not impossible considering the sheathing of apse and transept with mosaics and marble revetment and the remnants of mosaic even in the embrasures of one of the façade windows, a remnant which implies a mosaic covering the exterior façade above the atrium portico<sup>4</sup>.

The six decorative Roman columns which in 1730 were placed against the side walls of the chancel were in all likelihood used in the church of Paschal I. It is tempting to visualize a pattern recalling the fourth century fastigium at St. Peter's with four columns carrying the ciborium and two flanking the entrances to the apse on either side<sup>5</sup>. The fourth century arrangement at St. Peter's had, of course, disappeared long before the time of Paschal, and our proposal must remain entirely conjectural.

## G. — CHRONOLOGY

The basilica of S. Prassede in plan and elevation was built in its entirety by Paschal I, between 817 and 824. The few later additions still surviving are easily defined: the Romanesque campanile; the cornices along the eaves of the nave and the gable of the façade; the porch on Via di S. Martino, in its lower part likewise Romanesque; the diaphragm arches across the nave and their pier supports, of uncertain date, but prior to the early fourteenth century; the fifteenth century vaulting in the right hand transept wing; the sixteenth century decorations of the nave and the main portal, the vaulting of the aisles and the building of most of the side chapels; the eighteenth century redecoration of the chancel; finally, in the twentieth century, the addition of the "cosmatesque" pavement and the restoration of the façade.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 236, fig. 1560-1566.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 239.

<sup>3</sup> A report in 1786 (APOLLONJ-GHETTI, *op. cit.*, p. 55) mentions a cornice of red granite in the apse, obviously also a Roman spoil.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 245.

<sup>5</sup> TOYNBEE and WARD PERKINS, *The Shrine of Saint Peter*, London, 1956, p. 201 f., fig. 20, following APOLLONJ-GHETTI-FERRUA-JOSI-KIRSCHBAUM, *Esplorazioni sotto... San Pietro in Vaticano*, Vatican City, 1951, p. 161 ff. The suggestion was originally made in 1956 by Prof. JOACHIM GAEHDE. If accepted, the ninth century ciborium, four arches of which still survive in the right hand transept (see also PESARINI, *Vat. lat.* 13128, c. 245<sup>v</sup>), can have covered only a lateral altar, a hypothesis supported by the small size of these arches, 1.13 m. × 2.13 m.

The documentary evidence leaves no doubt that the church of Paschal I replaced a titulus which is mentioned from the last years of the fifth century onwards<sup>1</sup>. The biographer of Paschal I in the *Liber Pontificalis* adds the information that the new structure was erected on a site somewhat distant from the old building<sup>2</sup>. Moreover, he uses for that old building the term *ecclesia*, thus implying a regular church building, and not the term *titulus* as still used by the biographer of Leo III early in that pope's pontificate (in the donation list of 806, he, too, speaks of the *ecclesia beatae Praxedis*; but the *corona* he donates is among the smallest given to a *titulus*)<sup>3</sup>. With this in mind, it has been suggested that the left hand arcade of the atrium is a remnant of the nave arcade of an earlier church with reversed orientation and presumably of fourth or fifth century date<sup>4</sup>. The alleged non-conformity of the intercolumniations in the left hand arcade with those possible across the church façade and the supposedly different roof levels across the façade and over the left hand portico have been used in support of this position. But as our reconstruction shows, these arguments are unconvincing. The entire north arcade is Carolingian, from the foundations in "Servian blocks" to the reused capitals and bases and the undulating brick work in the spandrels<sup>5</sup>. The fragment of a half dome found near the southwest corner of the atrium may supply sounder evidence for the existence of a church preceding that of Paschal I<sup>6</sup>. The original span of the vault, roughly 12 m., suggests a sizable building, and the position of the find implies that the vault rose somewhere near the present atrium. Thus it is possible that a church existed on the site oriented south, unlike the north orientation of Paschal's basilica. But the fragment may just as well have come from one of the Roman buildings below the atrium and beside Via di S. Martino. In fact, at present no archaeological evidence supports the existence of a regular church building on or near the site occupied by the ninth century basilica<sup>7</sup>. Nor is the documentary evidence sufficient for such an assumption; the term *ecclesia* employed by the biographers of Leo III and Paschal I does not necessarily designate a church as we know it, but may refer to a large room inside a *titulus*.

No doubt, such a *titulus Praxedis* existed, and its most likely site is the Roman *insula* which has survived in part in the houses along Via di S. Martino and higher up below the atrium and façade of Paschal's church, and thus 8 m. above the Roman street level. Assuming that the *titulus* occupied this *insula* since at least the fifth century and possibly continued to do so even in the early ninth century, the biographer of Paschal I would be correct in saying that his pope replaced the old church by his new basilica "*in alio non longe demutans loco*".

## H. — HISTORICAL POSITION

S. Prassede is a perfect example of the Carolingian revival in Rome, well-preserved and with only minor changes to the original fabric. Completed during the pontificate of Paschal I, it testifies to the continuation of the movement which, begun under Hadrian I and Leo III, strove toward a renaissance of Early Christian types and ideas in politics, liturgy and architecture<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 234, digs, 491, 499 and the following.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 234 f., dig. 817-824.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 234, dig. 802 and 806.

<sup>4</sup> DE ANGELIS D'OSSAT, *op. cit.*, APOLLONJ-GHETTI, *op. cit.*, p. 11 and MARUCCHI, *Basiliques*, III, 1909, p. 323 f.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 243 and n. 2.

<sup>6</sup> APOLLONJ-GHETTI, *op. cit.*, p. 16 f. and fig. 6; see also above, p. 240, and our fig. 202.

<sup>7</sup> Earlier attempts to locate the church preceding Paschal's, place it « on the street skirting the convent and leading to the side door of the present basilica ... some steps down and vaulted » (DE WAAL, *op. cit.*, p. 171, note; perhaps the lower section of Paschal's transept, which was then inaccessible?); « not many yards from the present [church where] ... a part of the apses of the old church has been recently found » (NESBITT, *op. cit.*, p. 158, note); and near S. Clemente (CECCHIELLI, in ARMELLINI-CECCHIELLI, *Chiese*, 1942, p. 1418 ff.).

<sup>8</sup> KRAUTHEIMER, « The Carolingian Revival of the Early Christian Basilica », *Art Bulletin* 25 (1942), p. 1 ff.

Within this general movement, S. Prassede stands out as a high point in that it fastens on a specific prototype, old St. Peter's. Although the use of this model is common north of the Alps, in the Carolingian architecture of Rome S. Prassede has only one parallel in this respect: S. Stefano degli Abessini, which is by no means as well preserved. Both in overall plan and in details, the resemblance of S. Prassede to old St. Peter's is obvious. Nave and aisles terminate in a tall and narrow transept which projects beyond the line of the side aisles; an architrave runs above the nave columns; in the opening between aisle and transept, a column is inserted, recalling both the duplication of the aisles at St. Peter's and the pairs of columns which in the Constantinian church screened the openings of the aisles from the transept. Below the high altar and along the inner curve of the apse, an annular crypt is inserted, as it had first been laid out in St. Peter's by Gregory I<sup>1</sup>. An atrium enveloped by a quadriporticus precedes the nave and aisles and is reached, again as at St. Peter's, by a short flight of steps. In addition, the presence of a façade mosaic at S. Prassede would provide another link with old St. Peter's. More generally, the chapel of S. Zeno is closely based on two Roman mausolea – one pagan, the tomb of the Cercenii, the other presumably Christian, the so-called chapel of Saint Tiburtius adjoining SS. Marcellino e Pietro – and both were well known in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries<sup>2</sup>.

On the other hand, the characteristics of Carolingian church building in Rome are equally evident. These include the comparatively small size of the church; the reduction of aisles from four to two; the comparatively small windows with double voussoirs; the resulting wide distances between these windows; and finally, the masonry technique with its undulating courses and careless pointing.

<sup>1</sup> TOYNBEE and WARD-PERKINS, *op. cit.*, p. 213 ff. and fig. 22, following *Esplorazioni ...*, *op. cit.*, p. 173 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The tomb of the Cercenii was drawn by an unknown artist associated with Palladio (London, R. I. B. A. vol. VIII, fol. 7, reproduced by ZORZI, *I disegni della antichità di Andrea Palladio*, Venice, 1919, p. 106 f. and fig. 272). For the chapel of Saint Tiburtius, see, e. g., ARINGHI, *Roma Subterranea*, Rome, 1651, II, p. 53.



## S. PRISCA

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## B. — ANCIENT DESCRIPTIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

### I. DESCRIPTIONS

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### II. ILLUSTRATIONS

- 1474 ANONYMOUS, View of unnamed church on Aventine, perhaps S. Prisca, pen and ink; Map of Rome, Florence, Bibl. Laurentiana, Red. 77 (DE ROSSI, *Piante*, pl. IV).
- early XVI ANTONIO DA SANGALLO THE ELDER, Drawing of a Doric cornice "apresso a santta prischa", pen and ink; Uffizi, dis. arch. 1616 (BARTOLI, *Monumenti*, I. pl. XCII, fig. 168).
- 1537-1541 BASTIONE ARDEATINO, Drawing of the same cornice, pen and ink; Uffizi, dis. arch. 1289 (BARTOLI, *Monumenti*, III, pl. CCLVII, fig. 439, 3).
- before 1551 COPY AFTER ANTON VAN DER WYNGAERDE, Panorama from the north Aventine with choir and flank of S. Prisca (?), pen and ink; Oxford, Bodleian Library (EGGER, II, pl. 116).
- 1551 BUFALINI, Plan of church, woodcut; Map of Rome, 1551 (ed. EHRLE, 1911).
- 1577 DUPÉRAC-LAFRÉRY, Bird's eye view of church and surrounding buildings, pen and ink; Map of Rome, 1557 (ed. EHRLE, 1908).
- 1588 FRA SANTI, View of façade and atrium of church, woodcut; *Cose maravigliose*, c. 67<sup>v</sup>.
- 1625 MAGGI-MAUPIN-LOSI, View of church from north, engraving; Map of Rome, 1625 (ed. EHRLE, 1915).
- 1676 FALDA, View of church from west, engraving; Map of Rome (ed. DANESI, [1960]).
- 1680-1725 A. VAN WESTERHOUT, View of façade, engraving; portrait of Girolamo Rocca, bishop of Catanzaro (?), Rome, Palazzo Venezia, Racc. Lanciani, 31155.
- 1748 NOLLI, Plan of church, engraving; Map of Rome, 1748 (ed. EHRLE, 1932).
- 1747-1761 G. VASI, View of façade of church and convent, engraving; *Delle Magnificenze di Roma*, 1747-1761, III, Pl. XLI.
- before 1789<sup>1</sup> SEROUX D'AGINCOURT, Plans and elevations of church and crypt, view of façade, engravings; *Histoire de l'Art*, IV, pl. XIII, figs. 9-16.
- 1846 CANINA, Plan of church, engraving; *Tempi Cristiani*, pl. LIV.
- 1852 A. LENOIR, Plan of church, wood engraving; *Architecture monastique...*, Paris, I, 1852, p. 215.

## C. — DATES

- V century Funerary inscriptions of two presbyters, Adeodatus and Aurelius, both associated with the *titulus Priscae*, LOC ADEODATI PRESB TIT PRISCAE... and AUR. TIT. PRISCAE SORORI..., the former from the cemetery of Lucina, now in the museum of S. Paolo f.l.m. (MARUCCHI, *Basiliques*, 1901, p. 3; MARCHI, *Monumenti delle Arti Cristiane primitive*, Rome, 1844, p. 26), the latter from one of the cemeteries on the Via Appia (MARCHI, *loc. cit.*, quoting BOTTARI, *Sculture e pitture ... della Roma Sotterranea*, Rome, III, 1754, p. 117).
- ca. 450—600 Funerary inscriptions, reused in a wall blocking in S. Prisca, of unknown provenance, but dated on epigraphical grounds (FERRUA, *R.A.C.* 17 [1940], p. 271 f.).

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 89, n. 1.

- 499 *Dominicus presbyter tituli Priscae* attends the Roman synod of that year as the only representative of the title (*M.G.H., Auct. Antiq.*, XII, p. 413).
- 595 *Maurus presbyter tituli Sanctae Priscae* attends the Roman synod of that year (*M.G.H., Epistolae*, I, p. 367).
- VI century (?) The *Passio Sanctae Priscae* reports the resting place of the relics of SS. Aquila and Prisca “*iuxta arcum Romanum in ecclesia sanctorum martyrum Aquilae et Priscae*” (KIRSCH, *Titelkirchen*, 1918, p. 104, quoting *AA.SS. Jan. II*, p. 551 f.).
- 721 and 745 *Joannes presbyter* and *Dominicus humilis presbyter* of S. Prisca attend respectively the first and second Roman councils (MANSI, *Sacrorum Conciliorum ... amplissima Collectio*, XII, Florence, 1766, col. 275, 374).
- VII or VIII century The *Sacramentarium Gregorianum* (ed. LIETZMANN, Münster, 1929, p. 19) is the first to mention a mass for the “*natale Sanctae Priscae*” on January 18<sup>1</sup>.
- 772—795 Hadrian repairs the roof of the church “*quae iam casurum erat et in ruina positum*” (*L.P.* I, p. 501).
- 795—816 Leo III donates in the “*basilica beatae Priscae*” a gilded chalice (“*calicem fundatum super auratum*”), lighting fixtures (*coronas III ... et gabathas VIII ...*), and textiles (*L.P.* II, p. 4), and in 806 a small corona “*in titulo beatis Aquile et Priscae*” (*L.P.* II, p. 20), this being the first occurrence of this designation<sup>2</sup>. He also gives “*in monasterio sancti Donati qui ponitur iuxta titulum Sanctae Priscae*” a silver basket (“*canistrum ex argentum*”) (*L.P.* II, p. 24; FERRARI, *Monasteries*, p. 274 f.).
- 853 *Johannes presbyter tituli S. Priscae* attends the council of Leo IV (MANSI, *op. cit.*, XIV, p. 1021).
- 1104—1105 The oratory of S. Prisca is demolished and replaced by a new church at the time of the visit to Rome of Walo, Bishop of Paris, who received from the (unnamed) titular cardinal of S. Prisca a relic of the martyr whose “*oratorium ... in quo beatissimus ... Petrus altare sacravit vetustate consumptum dirutum est et corpus martyris in nova recondendum ecclesia me astante levatum*” (EADMER, *De Vita Anselmi*, ed. SOUTHERN, London and New York, 1962, p. 132 f.). The seventeenth century guides note this restoration with different dates: “*ristorata ... da' fondamenti il 1198 da uno che l'haveva in titolo*” (PANCIROLI, *Tesori nascosti*, 1600, p. 708 [1625, p. 685]; SEVERANO and FRANZINI perpetuate this tradition, but the former dates the restoration to 1103 (*Sette Chiese, loc. cit.*).
- XI-XII century An inscription read by Petrus Sabinus on the architrave above the door of the church (DE ROSSI, *Inscriptiones*, II, p. 443, no. 165) summed up some of the medieval legends surrounding the church: “*Haec domus est Aquilae seu Priscae virginis almae | quos lupe: Paule tuo ore vehis domino | Hic Petre divini tribuebas fercula verbi | sepius hocce loco sacrificans domino*”. The style of the poem suggests an eleventh or twelfth century date rather than the eighth or ninth century date as suggested by DE ROSSI, *op. cit.*, 1867, p. 45.
- late XI-XII century The church is listed in the *Liber de ecclesia Lateranensi* as “*abbatia Sanctorum Priscae et Aquile ubi corpora eorum partium sunt...*” (DE ROSSI, *B.A.C.* ser. IV, 6 (1888-1889), “*Aquila e Prisca e gli Acilii Glabrioni*”, p. 128 ff., cf. p. 130, n. 1, and HÜLSEN, *Chiese*, p. 128).
- 1455 Pope Calixtus III restores the church and reinforces the nave colonnade: “*Questa chiesa fu ristorata tutta da papa Callisto III, circa il 1455 come si vede per i versi ... et per le armi sue che vi restano ... Essa chiesa ... è divisa in tre navi, delle quali le due minori furono da Papa Callisto ristrette con chiudere con un muro alcune colonne che minacciavano ruina*” (UGONIO, *Stazioni*, 1588, c. 303 and 304<sup>v</sup>). An inscription formerly to the left of the high altar gave the legendary history of the church and referred to Calixtus' rebuilding activity: “*... summus et antistes Calistus tertius ipsum extulit omne eius restituit que decus cui simul aeternae tribuit dona ampla salutis ipsius ne qua parte careret ope*” (FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, XI, p. 171, no. 312). Also, on September 11, 1455, a payment of 100 fiorini was made *pro opere Sanctae Priscae* (MÜNTZ, *Les arts à la cour des papes*,

<sup>1</sup> For the date of the *Sacramentarium Gregorianum*, see BOURQUE, *Études sur les Sacramentaires Romains*, I, Vatican City, 1949, p. 311 f. and more recently VOGEL, « Sources de l'histoire du culte chrétien », *Studi Medievali* ser. III, 3, 1 (1962), p. 1 ff., esp. 67 f.

<sup>2</sup> Regarding the date 806 for the donation list of Leo III, see HÜLSEN, « Osservazioni sulla biografia di Leone III nel « Liber Pontificalis », « *Rendic. Pont. Accad.* 1 (1922-1923), p. 107 ff.

I [*Bibl. Éc. Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, 4], Paris, 1878, p. 201); PLATINA, *Vitae Pontificum* (as quoted by LANCIANI, *Storia Scavi*, I, Rome, 1902, p. 63) in the biography of Calixtus III: *Restituit Sanctae Priscae templum*.

- 1600 Benedetto Giustiniani, as titular cardinal (1586-1621) employs Carlo Lombardo to restore and remodel the church (FELINI, *op. cit.*, p. 146: [Giustiniani] "... ha questa chiesa del tutto ristorato, e con bellissima architettura in vaga forma ridotta"; BAGLIONE, *Vite* [ed. Naples, 1743], p. 157: Carlo Lombardo, "per lo Cardinal ... Giustiniani ... rifece la chiesa di S. Prisca con sua facciata e suo altare ..."; PANCIROLI, *Tesori nascosti*, 1600, p. 708 [1625, p. 686]: "... Giustinianus fondò la facciata, e l'inalzò a miglior forma, allargando la piazza. Rinovò parimente la Confessione con la cappella di sotto...; see also inscription to the right of the high altar: BENEDICTVS IVSTINIANVS ... OLIM RESTITVTAM SED TEMPORIS DEINDE INIVRIA DEFORMATVM ET PENE COLLAPSAM NOVO PARIETE AD TEMPLI FRONTĒ EXTRVCTO VETERIBVS CONFIRMATIS CONFESSIOE AD ALTARE PROPRIVS ET DECENTIVS ADDVCTA ITERVM INSTAVRAVIT LACVNARI AVREO MARMORE ET PICTVRIS SACRIS ORNAVIT [FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, XI, p. 172, no. 315]). Above the doorway of the façade is inscribed the year MDC (*Ibid.*, p. 173, no. 316), and the arms of Giustiniani and Clement VIII (1592-1605) are painted in the crypt.
- 1712—1734 An inscription of Clement XII, dated 1734, lists the rebuilding activities of the titular cardinals: Giustiniani's nave ceiling, Casini's decoration of chancel and flanking side chapels (1712-1719), and Ludovico Belluga's construction of the nave vault: HANC ECCLESIAM... QVO... BENEDICTVS IVSTINIANI ET FRANCIS (sic) MARIA CASINI ALTER LAQVEARI AVRATO ET DEPICTO ALTER SACRARIO ET GEMINIS SACELLIS EAM ORNARVNT NOVISSIME VERO LVDVICVS BELLVGA ... AN. SAL MDCCXXVIII ... CONSECRAVIT ... CONSTRVCTO IN LAQVEARIS EVERSIS LOCO FIRMISSIMO FORNICE ... (FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, p. 173, no. 319).
- 1776 A small oratory is excavated near the church, decorated with frescoes depicting apostles and supposedly of fourth century date (Memorandum addressed by one Carrara to the papal treasurer, Paris, *Bibl. Nat.*, lat. 9697, p. 78; published by DE ROSSI, *op. cit.*, 1867, p. 48). A sketch made of the frescoes is mentioned, but no trace of sketch or oratory has apparently survived. A bronze plaque found at the same time bears a testimonial inscription addressed to the senator C. Marius Pudens Cornelianus and dated 222 A.D.
- 1798—before 1827 The church is abandoned in 1798 and restored prior to 1827: "Nel 1798 fu abbandonata, e negli anni scorsi fu risarcita di nuovo..." (NIBBY, *op. cit.*, 1827, p. 581).
- 1938 The church is restored and research begins on the *mithraeum* and other Roman buildings situated below and behind the church (FERRUA, *opp. citt.*, 1940).
- 1952—1956 The Netherlands Historical Institute in Rome undertakes further excavations of the *mithraeum* and the other Roman structures (VAN ESSEN, *op. cit.*, VERMASSEREN and VAN ESSEN, *op. cit.*).
- 1960 The nave is repaved, and the twin stairways which since 1600 had descended to the crypt are sealed. In the course of the work, a staircase of 34 steps — abandoned in 1600, but described by UGONIO (*Stazioni*, 1588, c. 305) — is rediscovered.

## D. — GENERAL DESCRIPTION

## 1. Present State

S. Prisca stands on the southern declivity of the Aventine and is oriented west-southwest to east-northeast (pl. XIII). The deviation is due to the reuse of ancient foundation walls. The nave is raised more than 3 m. above ground level on an artificial platform of walls and vaults which originally formed the substructure of a Roman building or buildings; at one point a *mithraeum* was inserted into these substructures<sup>1</sup>. The main entrance to the church is at the west end, preceded by a narrow piazza which slopes up steeply from street level to the flight of five steps in front



Fig. 227. S. Prisca, View from the southwest

(Photo: Stapleford)



Fig. 228. S. Prisca, View of interior

(Photo: Stapleford)

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 260, 261, 263, references to VAN ESSEN and to VERMASEREN and VAN ESSEN; NASH, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, II, London, 1962, p. 79 ff.



of the doorway. The north side of the piazza is occupied by a monastic building of seventeenth century date which houses the Augustinian Fathers who serve the church. The south side is flanked by the sacristy, a brick-faced structure dating in its present form from 1938<sup>1</sup> but incorporating older features, notably an arcade of four arches in the north wall (fig. 227). On the east side of the piazza rises the nave façade, a simple Baroque frontispiece with a single doorway at the center inscribed "MDC" on its entablature<sup>2</sup>.

The nave, a rectangular hall, is 29 m. long and 9 m. wide and carries a coffered wooden ceiling (fig. 228). Its upper walls are now supported by masonry piers. Although the former aisles are broken into at intervals by transverse walls extending in back of the piers, narrow openings left on the nave side of each pier reveal the column shafts which originally carried the clerestorey walls. The chancel at the east end, separated from the nave by a balustrade, consists of a forechoir — formed by lateral walls which replace the last two intercolumniations of the original nave colonnade — and of a semicircular apse. The apse and the forechoir are decorated with eighteenth century paintings<sup>3</sup>. Flanking the choir are small domed chapels which occupy the two easternmost bays of each aisle.

Until recently the nave was set off from the choir by two parallel balustrades. Between these balustrades, on either side of a central passage way, twin flights of steps led down to a vaulted crypt below the eastern end of the nave. Both stairways were sealed in 1960, making the crypt accessible only from the Roman substructures. Near the center of the nave, an iron grating formerly closed the upper end of an inclined tunnel which prior to 1600 sheltered a staircase of 34 steps descending to the crypt, as still seen by Ugonio<sup>4</sup>. The upper part of the staircase became unusable in 1600, and the remaining tunnel opening to the crypt was closed in 1960. The lower part of the staircase, which was concealed in 1600 by a niche at crypt level, was reopened in 1960.

The crypt chapel is a vaulted chamber 3.80 m. wide, 8.60 m. long and 3.20 m. high to the apex of the barrel vault, which is 2.50 m. below the nave floor; its axis lies 0.60 m. to the left of the center line of the nave. From the level of the vault and the placement of the walls in relation to other adjacent Roman walls, it is clear that the chapel occupies a basement chamber of the classical building which originally rose on the site. The *mithraeum* occupies another chamber of the Roman basement, to the east of the crypt and largely outside the area of the church; only the extremity of the apse overlaps the pagan sanctuary. Other rooms of the Roman substructures extend north of the *mithraeum*, beyond the area of the church, while still others — including the hemicycle of a *nymphaeum* — extend below the south aisle and the sacristy. These latter Roman rooms now house a small museum for the display of objects discovered in the excavation of the *mithraeum* (pl. XIII).

## 2. Renaissance and Baroque Periods

Nibby states that the church was abandoned in 1798 but was restored "*negli anni scorsi*", presumably about 1820<sup>5</sup>. These restorations brought the nave and aisles to the state described above. Before 1798 the nave had been vaulted; the construction of the vaults is recorded in an inscription of 1734<sup>6</sup>. The vaults have left their traces, as witness the rounded tops of the frescoes which still

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 263, dig. 1938.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 263, dig. 1600.

<sup>3</sup> The frescoes have been largely repainted in recent years. The guide books still in the early nineteenth century (VASI, *Itinerario ... di Roma*, Rome, 1807, p. 418), following BAGLIONE, *op. cit.*, p. 154, attribute them to Anastasio Fontebuoni and to the restoration executed by Cardinal Giustiniani; but it is our impression that those extant were at least thoroughly gone over between 1719 and 1734.

<sup>4</sup> See below, p. 267 n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 263, dig. 1798-1827.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 263, dig. 1712-1734.

decorate the walls of the choir (fig. 228), the reinforcement of the clerestorey walls by an outer skin of masonry<sup>1</sup>, and the buttresses which extend outwards for 3½ m. and cause the aisles to be subdivided into compartments (fig. 229, 230). The buttresses are far too strong for the support of a wooden ceiling and roof. They must have been inserted in 1734 when the vaults were built and allowed to remain in position after the vaults had been removed some time after 1798. The inscription of 1734 also mentions Cardinal Casini's decoration between 1712 and 1719 of the side chapels which flank the main altar<sup>2</sup> and the collapse of the coffered nave ceiling which occasioned



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 229. S. Prisca, Exterior, right flank



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 230. S. Prisca, Exterior, right flank and apse

the building of the vault. This ceiling had been erected in 1600 by Cardinal Giustiniani, who built the twin stairways to the crypt, decorated the crypt with frescoes, and erected the present façade<sup>3</sup>.

In building the façade, the end wall of the nave was apparently moved eastwards from its former position, thus reducing the length of the nave by about 12 m. Indeed, while Ugonio in 1588 estimated the number of columns on either side of the nave to have been twelve — some enclosed in piers — the present number is only eight or at most nine. His emphasis on the length of the nave ("*assai grande in lunghezza*") makes sense only on the assumption that he saw a nave considerably longer than the present one<sup>4</sup>. Further, Panciroli, writing in 1625, implies that the façade was moved eastward (thus shortening the nave) by noting that the rebuilding of the façade resulted in the enlargement of the piazza<sup>5</sup>. Ugonio also describes the staircase — a straight flight of 34 steps

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 273.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 263, dig. 1712-1719 and R. VENUTI, *Roma Moderna*, Rome 1767, p. 924.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 263, dig. 1600.

<sup>4</sup> UGONIO, *Stazioni*, 1588, c. 305.

<sup>5</sup> PANCIROLI, *Tesori nascosti*, 1625, p. 686: « ... rifonde la facciata ... allargando la piazza ».

from west to east, nearly on the center line of the nave — which in his time led down to the crypt<sup>1</sup>. Moreover, at his writing the church had two entrances, to the north and to the south, although the south entrance was blocked. The north entrance was approached through a porch beneath which, on turning left, one entered the church<sup>2</sup>.

This L-shaped approach may help to explain Fra Santi's woodcut showing the church as of 1588 (fig. 231). He depicts a plain façade with a center arched doorway surmounted by three windows; the middle window is enclosed in a decorative frame, the side windows oblong and of different sizes. A center figured panel, either a painting or a mosaic, appears at the very top of the façade. The upper portion of the façade is narrower than the lower. This upper section is centrally placed in terms of the doorway, but the point at which the wall begins to narrow is higher on the left than on the right. To the left of the façade we see another wall, set with three small windows, coming forward at right angles. To the right of the façade, there is a low parapet (running parallel to the wall on the left), and beyond the parapet the ground drops to a lower level. Another wall — pierced by another arched opening — is also shown in this part of the picture, as if in the general vicinity of the parapet; it is evidently not in the plane of the façade, and either (it is unclear which) comes forward toward the observer or runs back. We are unable to associate any of these features with the walls which stand today, but in light of Ugonio's remarks it seems possible that Fra Santi's woodcut represents an entrance to the church which passed through adjacent buildings to the north. On the other hand, Fra Santi may have attempted to depict the north side of an archway which, according to Dupérac-Lafréry, traversed the road at the west end of the nave, in front of the church buildings.



Fig. 231. S. Prisca, Fra Santi, View of church and convent, perhaps from the north, 1588

The interior of the church is described by Ugonio as having a nave and two aisles; the latter were somewhat narrowed by lateral walls which Calixtus III inserted to reinforce the original nave columns in danger of collapse<sup>3</sup>. Calixtus' reinforcing walls may still be represented to some extent by the diaphragm walls which now subdivide the aisles, but these walls are covered by plaster revetment and cannot be examined. Nevertheless, it should be noted that they do not all correspond with the buttresses seen on the exterior above the aisle roofs and therefore may be of an earlier period. In Ugonio's opinion, the whole church was restored about 1455, as Calixtus' arms painted in the church and his inscription showed<sup>4</sup>. Although much of Calixtus' work has disappeared in

<sup>1</sup> UGONIO, *Stazioni*, 1588, c. 305: « Nel grembo della chiesa, come parlano gli antichi, cioè nella nave di mezzo è una scala nel piano istesso cinta di tavole di marmo la quale per 34 scalini ne conduce in una cappelletta sotterranea ... ».

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, c. 304<sup>v</sup>: « Anticamente hebbe due entrate, una dalla banda che scende verso la porta di S. Paolo e l'altra dalla parte dove si sale dal principio dell'Aventino sotto S. Sabina. Hoggidi è aperta solo questa seconda. Il primo ingresso è in un portico rinchiuso sotto al quale a mano manca si volta dentro la porta della chiesa ».

<sup>3</sup> UGONIO, *Stazioni*, 1588 c. 305: « E divisa in tre navi delle quali le due minori furono da Papa Callisto ristrette con chiudere con un muro alcune colonne che minacciavano ruina. Restano nondimeno le altre scoperte. Tutte par che anticamente fussero 24, dodici per lato ... ».

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 262 f., dig. 1455.

later restorations, we are able to identify some of it by the style of masonry. The exterior north wall<sup>1</sup> is constructed of masonry in which courses of large, roughly squared tufa blocks, about 0.30 m. high, alternate with triple courses of very uneven brickwork. Similar masonry is seen in certain parts of the city walls, notably between Porta S. Paolo and the *Bastione del Sangallo*, which appear to have been restored by Nicholas V<sup>2</sup>. On the basis of this analogy, we tentatively assign the north wall of the church to Calixtus. The Borgia pope's work is probably also recognizable in the three pointed windows of the apse, cut through a wall which appears to have been previously windowless. The pointed arches are outlined in small bricks, very much like the aisle windows of SS. Nereo ed Achilleo near the Baths of Caracalla which were inserted by Sixtus IV about twenty years later<sup>3</sup>, and similar to those of the rotunda of S. Teodoro, built by Nicholas V in 1453-1454.

## E. — ANALYSIS

### 1. Roman Buildings beneath the Church

The Roman buildings which form the platform on which the church stands have been described by Van Vermaseren and Van Essen and need be mentioned here only summarily (pl. XIII)<sup>4</sup>. At a level 5 m. below the church floor, in the southwest part of the nave, a large vaulted hemicycle is found, apparently a *nymphaeum* backed by a curved passage; the brickwork suggests a date near the end of the first century A.D. Some 25 m. east, a rectangular structure, measuring 12 m. by 20 m. overall, encloses an inner rectangle about 4½ m. by 10 m. These concentric rectangles seem to be the substructures of a quadriporticus which stood approximately at nave level. The *nymphaeum* and the substructures of the quadriporticus are linked by several rectangular compartments, apparently designed in the first place to form a platform for the erection of buildings at a higher level, that is, at the level of the presumed quadriporticus. One compartment of the platform structure contains the crypt chapel. About 135 A.D. the quadriporticus substructures were adapted to create the *mithraeum*<sup>5</sup>. Only one chamber of the Roman building which stood on top of the platform is known. It measures 6.20 m. by 5.50 m. and lies to the west of the crypt, and, of course, on the story above it. One corner of the room overlaps the vault of the *nymphaeum* and the foundations of the west wall intersect the hemicycle, showing that when the structures of the terrace were built, the *nymphaeum* was no longer in use. The mosaic floor of the Roman room lies 0.70 m. below the level of the church floor; it is only accessible from below, by way of the central crypt stairs described by Ugonio and rediscovered in 1960, which cut their way through the floor and east wall of the Roman room.

### 2. The Church

a) *The nave and its colonnades.* The heavy piers and arches of the nave as well as the clerestorey windows with their segment shaped tops suggest eighteenth century construction (fig. 229, 230); the same seems to apply to the cross walls which run in back of the piers and cut the aisles into

<sup>1</sup> The north side of the church has two nearly parallel walls divided by a chamber only 1 m. in width (pl. XIII). The inner wall seems to be contemporary with the buttresses of the clerestorey, which appear to date from 1734; see above, p. 265 f.

<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately, none of this masonry is securely dated by an inscription, but Nicholas V's arms occur close to it.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 140 f.

<sup>4</sup> VAN ESSEN and VAN VERMASEREN, *op. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> FERRUA, *op. cit.*, articles of 1940 in: *Civiltà Cattolica*, *Bull. Com.*, and *R. A. C.*



short compartments. The reinforcing walls into which Pope Calixtus III enclosed some of the original columns appear to be no longer identifiable. But the eight columns which are exposed within the narrow openings left on the nave side of the piers belong to the original construction, antedating the remodeling under Calixtus III. Likewise the present floor level of the nave corresponds to the original one; the truncated walls of the mosaic paved Roman chamber rise to within 0.20 m. of the modern pavement, and the bases of the original columns stand approximately on the same modern level. Today eight column shafts are visible on each side of the nave; the two grey granite



(Photo: Soprint. ai Mon. del Lazio)

Fig. 232. S. Prisca, Atrium wall as of 1938, showing four bays of south arcade

shafts nearest the altar have only recently been discovered. Ugonio does not give the number of columns he actually saw, but he estimated the total original number at 24 columns<sup>1</sup>. Indeed, fourteen shafts in addition to those visible at present were apparently temporarily exposed during the restorations in the early nineteenth century: Corsi lists six of grey granite, one of "cipollino", one of red granite, three of "Hymettus" marble (as he calls proconnesian) and three of grey marble<sup>2</sup>. The shafts are about 2.75 m. long. In most cases, the capitals are concealed by the Baroque revetment, but two, apparently crude Doric, have been exposed on the first columns of the present nave. Outside the church, to the right of the narrow sloping plaza ascending to the façade, four bays of the south aisle arcading were found in 1938 and incorporated into the wall of the present sacristy (figs. 228, 232). The arches are formed with single archivolt of bricks 0.45 m. long, set radially and surmounted by brick spandrels in which the brickwork is laid to a modulus of from four to five courses per R. ft. A single Corinthian capital was found at the same time in this section of arcading; no shaft apparently had survived beneath it, and the capital as well as the adjacent arcades rest on brick piers. The stylobate of this part of the colonnade is revealed below, flanking the steeply inclined piazza. It has the same type of brickwork as noted in the spandrels, but this must be only a thin skin of refacing brickwork. The bulk of the structure is Roman, as is imme-

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 267, n. 3, and MARANGONI, *Cose gentilesche* (1744), p. 348: « XIV colonne non grandi formano e tre navi di granito orientale, nel ristoramento ultimo insainate co' pilastri (e) ... due simili sono fuori della porta della chiesa ».

<sup>2</sup> F. CORSI, *Pietre antiche*, Rome, 1845, p. 375.



diately evident from the Roman technique of construction of the vaults and the walls of a chamber situated beneath the sacristy and adjoining the stylobate wall.

Indeed, throughout the church the foundations of the nave colonnades are by and large reused Roman walls (pl. XIII). The north colonnade makes use of a long Roman wall, 0.90 m. in thickness, which appears to continue for the whole length of the church and to extend eastwards for a further 13 m. outside the church, where it intersected the quadriporticus substructure in which the *mithraeum* is located. The south colonnade also uses Roman walls in parts of its foundations, but they are less continuous than in the northern colonnade. The second, third, and fourth columns in the wall of the modern sacristy, as noted above, have a Roman substructure. The fifth stands on top of the *nymphaeum* vault and has been provided with a special footing, at present a modern pier. The sixth column also stands on top of the vault, but its weight is borne by the secondary Roman wall which intersects the *nymphaeum* hemicycle. The next three columns use the wing wall which extends to the right of the hemicycle. The tenth column stands near enough for safety to a wall of the Roman substructure which lies at right angles to the line of the colonnade. The foundations of columns eleven and twelve have not been examined.

While Ugonio estimated the number of columns on either side at only twelve, the foundations of a thirteenth column have come to light in a compartment of the Roman substructure which has recently been excavated near the *mithraeum*. It consists of a rectangular pier inserted beneath the concrete vault of the Roman compartment and built in a poor sort of *opus listatum* with very small bricks (average length 0.18 m.), and with obviously reused *tufelli*. Two, or more often three, courses of *tufelli* alternate with one course of brick. On the east side of the same Roman compartment, a second foundation pier built of identical masonry underpins what was presumably the end pier of the colonnade. If they still exist, the thirteenth column and end pier are concealed by the eighteenth century decorations of the southeast chapel, but it is likely that the column had been removed even before the eighteenth century since Ugonio apparently saw no sign of the shaft.

*b) East wall and apse.* Behind the end pier, the east end of the aisle south of the apse (figs. 233, 235) is formed by a wall of the antecedent Roman building which stands over 10 m. high above ground. The wall is built of new bricks, uniform in color and with perfectly horizontal coursing in a regular modulus of 6 courses per R. ft., masonry typical of the second century A.D. On the east face of this wall, at a height of about 8 m. from the ground, we note the horizontal impost of a Roman vault. The situation is different to the north of the apse. The cross wall which terminates the aisle dates from the eighteenth century, but the adjacent end pier of the north colonnade and the extremity of the clerestory wall above it consist of a fragment of Roman wall, almost as tall as the one to the south of the apse but standing at right angles to it and thus in line with the colonnade (fig. 234). Evidently this is part of the superstructure of the wall which, in its lower courses, constitutes the north colonnade stylobate. It, too, appears to belong to the second century.

The interval between the two tall fragments of Roman masonry is occupied by the apse. At the base, its cylindrical wall is formed by eight courses of large, roughly quadrate stone blocks, mostly of travertine but including a few of tufa (figs. 233, 235, 236). They are reused elements of earlier buildings. Their wide interstices are stuffed with mortar and in some places with coursed brickwork. While this masonry resembles the familiar "Servian blocks", it differs in employing mostly travertine instead of tufa and, more significantly, in being built to a reasonably vertical profile instead of the haphazard setting back of the courses customary in Carolingian work. Three meters above ground the masonry of large stone blocks gives way to brickwork interrupted at three foot intervals by three horizontal bands of tufa stones smaller than the blocks used at the base. The



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 233. S. Prisca, Roman wall, left of apse



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 234. S. Prisca, Roman wall, right of apse



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 235. S. Prisca, Roman wall, left of apse and springing of apse



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 236. S. Prisca, Apse from north

coursing is horizontal, and the modulus is five brick courses per R. ft.; Calixtus III's three pointed windows are cut through this masonry. At a height of 10 m. above ground, the apse wall terminates in a simple cornice of overhanging saw-tooth brickwork and marble modillions (fig. 236). For foundations, the builders of the apse were content to use whatever Roman walls happened to exist (fortunately they are double the normal thickness; see pl. XIII). Where walls were lacking, the vault of the *mithraeum* hall was considered adequate. This carefree policy with regard to foun-



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 237. S. Prisca, Part of north wall



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 238. S. Prisca, Part of north wall, detail

dations contrasts with the substructures provided for the thirteenth column and the end pier of the south colonnade and suggests that the apse and the adjacent colonnade date from different periods.

*c) Aisle wall and clerestorey.* The greater part of the north wall can be attributed to the fifteenth century except for a small fragment of earlier construction near the middle of the wall, opposite the ninth column of the nave colonnade (figs. 237, 238). Only ten courses are seen of this earlier fragment; they extend over a length of 2.75 m. and terminate in a horizontal line 0.15 m. below the present floor level. The bricks are large and consistent in thickness, and the flush-pointed mortar joints are 0.02 to 0.04 m. thick. The ten courses have a total height of 0.66 m., giving a modulus of nearly five courses per R. ft. The brickwork resembles that found in the western part of the south arcade and in its stylobate, south of the forecourt<sup>1</sup>.

The south aisle wall in its central part is built in horizontally coursed brickwork with a modulus of  $5\frac{1}{2}$  and 6 courses per R. ft. The bricks are small, and the two relieving arches which it includes are constructed with broken bipedals set accurately in radius. The technique suggests a Romanesque date, even though the *falsa cortina* pointing, characteristic in Rome for Romanesque building, is absent (fig. 239). In plan, the central part of the aisle wall stands 2.20 m. to the north of the alignment which is indicated by the south wall of the first four bays (the present sacristy); thus the aisle is only  $3\frac{1}{2}$  m. wide in the eastern part as against  $5\frac{1}{2}$  m. in the western part. On the other hand, the fragment of early masonry in the north wall, noted in the preceding paragraph, indicates a width of 5 m. for the north aisle. It thus seems likely that the nave was flanked at one time by aisles 5 to  $5\frac{1}{2}$  m. wide but that the center and eastern parts of the south aisle were subsequently reduced in width. Possibly decay of the southern edge of the Roman platform on which the former aisle wall was built caused the reconstructed wall to be set farther back. The rebuilt wall stands

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 269.



on top of a confused jumble of ancient foundations; the two relieving arches inserted by the Romanesque masons must have been designed to carry the weight of the wall across places of dubious stability. Near the middle of the south aisle, the wall is supported on two piles made from old, fluted "peperino" column drums.

The masonry of the clerestorey walls can not be seen at any point except where the eastern extremity of the north clerestorey incorporates a fragment of the antecedent Roman building. Apparently the original clerestorey walls rising above the colonnades on either side were only 0.50 m. thick. Later they were reinforced on the outside by walls 0.45 m. thick, resting on independent supports, meaning the piers within which the columns were enclosed and their arches (fig. 228; pl. XIII, section X-X). The outer skin walls and the buttresses as well as their supporting piers across the aisles were probably built in 1734, at the same time as the nave vault. Presumably the inner wall which stands vertically over the columns is older, but we have nothing to date it by.

A small panel of ancient masonry has been revealed by plaster falling from the walls which flank the early staircase, to the crypt noted by Ugonio. The walls, which are of brick with an occasional course of *tufelli*, are very uneven and waver both in plan and in cross section. Where the plaster has fallen, we measure a modulus of five courses per R. ft., with the mortar struck off flush with the brickface like that of the fragment in the north wall.



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 239. S. Prisca, Part of south wall with relieving arch

## F. — RECONSTRUCTION

The layout of the Roman buildings which survive in large parts below the church and above ground at its east end does not come within the scope of our study. They concern us only in that their walls and vaults served as foundations for the building of the church. This church, which Calixtus III found in ruins and restored, was a basilica 41 m. long with a nave 9 m. wide, flanked by arcaded colonnades each of 13 columns and 14 arches which carried clerestorey walls. The apse at the east end measured  $6\frac{1}{2}$  m. in diameter; the north aisle was 5 m. wide; the south aisle had formerly been  $5\frac{1}{2}$  m. in width but all but the first four bays were reduced to  $3\frac{1}{2}$  m. In the center of the nave a straight flight of 34 steps descended to the crypt — a rectangular vaulted chamber 3.80 m. by 8.60 m. which had originally been a basement compartment in the Roman terrace substructure. The masonry of the walls of this staircase coincides with that seen in other parts of the building which antedate Calixtus III. The extent of Calixtus' remodeling remains largely unknown, except for the pointed windows pierced through the original apse wall and a reinforcing wall into which some of the columns were enclosed, although this wall is no longer identifiable. On the other hand, the north wall definitely dates from his time, as its masonry shows<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 272.

The church, as far as it antedates the time of Calixtus III, shows masonry of a number of periods, some Roman, others medieval. The Roman walls comprise the terrace substructures and two walls which to a considerable height were incorporated in the eastern part of the church<sup>1</sup>; but they need not concern us. Among apparently medieval walls, two periods can be distinguished. First, there is in the central portion of the south wall, in the foundations of the two easternmost columns of the south colonnade, and in the small stretch near the middle of the north wall opposite the ninth column of the nave, regularly coursed brickwork with flush mortar joints and small bricks, with relieving arches and a modulus of 5½ to 6 courses per R. ft. (figs. 237, 238). Second, in the lower part of the north wall, in the apse, and in the early staircase to the crypt there is the robust but inaccurate brickwork characterized by the use of large quadrate travertine blocks in several courses (base of apse wall); a modulus of nearly five courses per R. ft. in the brickwork, with a tendency to waver in plan and section despite the horizontal coursing; *tuffelli* courses interspersed at regular intervals in the brickwork (figs. 233, 235, 236). The masonry of the three westernmost arcades of the south aisle and the outer skin of their foundation wall, as it faces the forecourt of the church, appears to be close to this second type of masonry, but we are not entirely certain on this point.

## G. — CHRONOLOGY

### 1. Legends and documentary Evidence

When the *Passio Sanctae Priscae* — presumably of the sixth century — referred to the church of Saints Aquila and Prisca *iuxta arcum Romanum*<sup>2</sup>, popular belief already linked the titulus then extant on or near the site of the present church with the figures of Aquila and Prisca, Saint Paul's contemporaries<sup>3</sup>. By 800, the designation of the title in documents as "*titulus Aquilae et Priscae*" shows that the legend had become officially accepted<sup>4</sup>. By the high Middle Ages it had been expanded to include the figure of Saint Peter and the belief that he held frequent services in the building<sup>5</sup>. By the fifteenth century, the story had grown further to allege that the church occupied the site of a Temple of Diana, which in turn had replaced an altar of Hercules erected by Evander, and that moreover Saint Peter, who had taught and celebrated Mass in the church, had purified a nearby fountain of the Fauns<sup>6</sup>.

These traditions are unsupported by any documentary evidence. The existence near the present church of the domus of C. Marius Pudens Cornelianus can be presumed from the find in 1776 "in the ruins of an old building, a stone's throw south of the church" of a bronze plaque inscribed with the testimonial addressed to him by the town of Cluna in Spain<sup>7</sup>. But it is linked neither to the establishment of the titulus nor demonstrably to the Roman buildings preceding the present church. The find of a Christian gold glass "*inter antiquae ecclesiae rudera prope S. Priscam*" and of an oratory, both of uncertain date, "in an ancient structure nearby" — whether or not in

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 268 ff., and VAN ESSEN, *op. cit.*, p. 280 ff; also our figs. 233-235.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 262, dig. VI century.

<sup>3</sup> *Rom.* 16, 3; *II. Tim.* 4, 19; *Acts* 18, 2, 26. Both Luther and the King James version arbitrarily transcribe as Priscilla the name of the Prisca mentioned in the Letter to the Romans. On the other hand, the Aquila and Prisca mentioned in the Letter to Timothy lived apparently at Ephesus, not in Rome, and the wife of the Aquila in "Acts", who originally settled in Rome, was called Priscilla rather than Prisca.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 262, digs. 792-795 and 795-816.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 262, dig. 1104-1105. MARANGONI, *Cose gentilesche*, 1744, p. 293, saw in the crypt a capital transformed into a baptismal font and marked BACTIMVS SANTI PETRI (sic!).

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 262 f., dig. 1455.

<sup>7</sup> See above, p. 263, dig. 1776.



the same building – may, but need not, be linked to the *titulus Priscae*. The oratory discovered at the time was supposedly decorated with an apostle cycle, but if so, this cycle presumably depended on the legend as formulated in the Middle Ages, since the fourth century date suggested by the eighteenth century excavators is obviously arbitrary<sup>1</sup>. The existence of the *titulus Priscae* is first documented in the course of the fifth century<sup>2</sup>. Since it was represented at the synod of 499 by only one presbyter, it was presumably of minor significance. Nor does it seem to have increased in importance when, in the course of the sixth and seventh centuries, the Prisca whose name the title bore was identified with a martyr of that name who, in turn, was confused with the Priscilla mentioned by Saint Paul, a circumstance known from the signature of the presbyter Maurus in 595, the *Passio Sanctae Priscae*, and the appearance in the *Sacramentarium Gregorianum* and the dependent martyrologies of a *natale sanctae Priscae* on January 18<sup>3</sup>. Correspondingly, the gifts made to the titulus by Hadrian I and Leo III suggest a place of worship of small import and size<sup>4</sup>. Indeed, the titulus may well have remained installed in a Roman structure as late as the ninth century and beyond — either the building which survives in its substructures below the present church and in some parts above ground, or the nearby building with its “oratory” discovered in 1776, but subsequently apparently demolished. The repair of the roof of this original titulus by Hadrian I<sup>5</sup> does not militate against this hypothesis. On the other hand, it is supported by the statement in Eadmer’s *Vita Anselmi* reporting that at the time of his visit to Rome in 1104-5 Bishop Walo saw the oratory of S. Prisca demolished, consumed as it was by old age, and the relics of the Saint transferred to her new church; a report corroborated by sources, apparently lost, but known to Panciroli and Severano<sup>6</sup>. Thus it seems that only about 1100 was the original titulus, containing a small oratory, replaced by the large basilica which still forms the core of the present church of S. Prisca.

## 2. Archeological Evidence

This late date is corroborated by the archeological evidence. The technique of construction surviving in the major parts of the extant church – the apse, the stairwalls which descended to the crypt until 1600, the lower portions of the north aisle wall – employs brick masonry interspersed at regular intervals by bands of roughly hewn blocks of travertine or tufa. No Early Christian structure in Rome shows this or a similar type of construction. The use in the apse of S. Prisca of a high base of stone blocks superficially recalls the use of blocks pilfered from Roman structures, particularly the “Servian wall”, in the foundations of Carolingian churches in Rome, from S. Maria in Cosmedin to S. Martino ai Monti<sup>7</sup>. But the brickwork is entirely different from that employed at S. Prisca, and even the stonework differs considerably, both in the use of travertine instead of tufa and in the irregular shapes of the blocks: square, large and small rectangles, instead of the regular quadrilaterals prevalent in Carolingian buildings. On the other hand, the masonry employed at S. Prisca was customary in Rome from at least the end of the eleventh through the early thirteenth century. Indeed, brickwork interspersed with bands of irregularly hewn travertine and tufa blocks is found from the upper church of S. Clemente (1099-1128) to the cloister of S. Lorenzo f.l.m. (1189-1191) and to the parts of its west basilica, built around and after 1200<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 261, 262, digs. V century and 499.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 262, digs. 595, VI (?) century, VII/VIII century, and KIRSCH, *Titelkirchen*, 1918, p. 101 ff.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 262, digs. 772-795 and 795-816.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 262, dig. 772-795.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 262, dig. 1104-1105.

<sup>7</sup> See above, Vol. II, p. 301 and III, p. 108. Cf. also I, pp. 68, 73; II, pp. 77, 83.

<sup>8</sup> See above, Vol. II, p. 139.

Thus the large new church of S. Prisca was probably built shortly before or after 1100, as suggested by Eadmer and by the sources used by Panciroli and Severano.

This first large church was apparently remodeled later when the wall of the south aisle was moved inwards, probably to counteract weaknesses in the Roman substructures. It appears that parts of the north aisle wall were repaired simultaneously; the eastern columns of the south aisle were supplied with more solid, new foundations; and perhaps the westernmost arcades of the south aisle were rebuilt. The masonry technique employed in these parts – brick with flush mortarbeds – finds parallels in constructions from the late eleventh through the thirteenth centuries. Both the first rebuilding by Paschal II of the church of the Quattro Coronati, in or shortly after 1099<sup>3</sup>, and the transept of the Lateran basilica, erected presumably about 1290, may serve as examples.

## H. — HISTORICAL POSITION

S. Prisca is not an Early Christian basilica. Nevertheless, it presents at the very beginning of the twelfth century an early example of the revival of the type as it was to develop on a large scale in the course of that century, e.g., the upper church of S. Crisogono and the basilica of S. Maria in Trastevere.

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<sup>3</sup> See below, Vol. IV.

## S. PUDENZIANA

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(R. Krautheimer, S. Corbett) \*

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## B. — ANCIENT DESCRIPTIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

## I. DESCRIPTIONS

- PANVINIO, *Schedario*, Vat. lat. 6780, f. 63 ff. (transcribed: DE ROSSI, *Musaici, loc. cit.*, and PESARINI, *Schedario*, Vat. lat. 13128, c. 211, 215; see also PETRIGNANI, *op. cit.*, p. 10 ff., and CECHELLI, *op. cit.*, 1923).
- PANVINIO, *De praecipuis Basilicis, loc. cit.*
- UGONIO, *Schedario*, Vatican Library, Barb. lat. 2160, f. 176 (124) ff.; 2161, f. 76<sup>v</sup>.
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- GIAMPAOLI, *loc. cit.*

II. ILLUSTRATIONS<sup>1</sup>

- 1551 BUFALINI, Ground plan, woodcut; Map of Rome (ed. Ehrle, Rome, 1911; FRUTAZ, *Piante di Roma*, II, pl. 214).
- prior to 1568 PANVINIO, sketch of door frame of façade, pen and ink; Vat. lat. 6780, f. 63.
- 1577 DUPÉRAC-LAFRÉRY, View of church from the east, engraving; Map of Rome (ed. EHRLE, 1908; FRUTAZ, *Piante di Roma*, II, pl. 254; our fig. 242).
- ca. 1580 UGONIO, Monogram of Pope Hadrian I on triumphal arch, pen and ink; Barb. lat. 2160, f. 125<sup>v</sup>.
- ca. 1580 CIACCONIUS (A. CHACON), Watercolors of mosaics at S. Pudenziana, including one in the oratory of S. Pastore inscribed MAXIMVS FECIT CVM SVIS; Vat. lat. 5407, f. 154, 156 ff. (Waetzoldt, *Kopien*, p. 73 f.; our fig. 249).
- 1588 FRA SANTI, Façade showing arched recesses on either side of door and inscribed "Temp. S. Potentianae", woodcut; *Cose maravigliose*, c. 55<sup>v</sup> (our fig. 244).
- 1593 TEMPESTA, View of church from southeast, woodcut; Map of Rome (1593, ed. Stockholm, 1915; 1606, ed. EHRLE, Vatican City, 1932, and FRUTAZ, *Piante di Roma*, II, pl. 265).
- 1618 MAGGI, Views of church with ruins on either side, two engravings; *Aedificiorum et ruinarum Romae liber...*, plates unnumbered (our fig. 241).
- 1625 MAGGI-MAUPIN-LOSI, View of church, Map of Rome (ed. EHRLE, Rome, 1915; FRUTAZ, *Piante di Roma*, II, pl. 310).
- 1634 ECLISSI, Mosaics in apse of church and medieval frescoes in oratory of S. Pastore, pen and wash; Windsor Castle, Royal Library, Coll. Dal Pozzo, I, 9023, 9024, 9027 (*Mosaici Antichi*, I, 84, 85, 88; MOREY, *op. cit.*, pl. IV, and figs. 9, 10) and II, 9058 (our fig. 248).
- 1676 FALDA, View of church from southeast, engraving; Map of Rome (ed. DANESI, Rome, n.d.).

<sup>1</sup> For a list of copies after the mosaics, see WAETZOLDT, *Kopien*, p. 73 f.

- [1960]; FRUTAZ, *Piante di Roma*, III, pl. 359).
- 1699 CIAMPINI, Main door of church, engraving; *Vetera Monumenta*, Rome, 1699, I, pl. XV.
- 1756 VASI, View of church and campanile from northeast, inscribed "*Convento dei Padri di S. Bernardo, e Chiesa di S. Pudenziana*", engraving; *Delle magnificenze di Roma*, VII, Rome, 1756, pl. 28 (our fig. 240).
- XVIII century ANONYMOUS, Façade of church, ink and wash; Vienna, Albertina IT. AZ. 821.
- 1863 HÜBSCH, Plans and section of church and details, lithograph; *Die altchristlichen Kirchen*, Carlsruhe, 1862-63, pl. VIII.
- prior to 1870 ANONYMOUS, Façade before remodeling of 1870, photograph; GIAMPAOLI, *op. cit.*, pl. 2 (our fig. 243).
- ca. 1870 PARKER, Masonry of the north flank, photograph; Parker photo no. 389 (British School in Rome).

### C. — DATES

- 123—129 Brick stamps [T]ORQ II ET LIBON COS (128 A.D.), IVVENT[io II et Marcel]LO II COS (129 A.D.), found in situ in east wall of the domus below first bays of church (PETRIGNANI, *op. cit.*, p. 25, pl. I; other stamps, dating from 123-129, but not in situ, are listed by BLOCH, *I bolli laterizi...*, III, Rome, 1939, p. 244, n. 182).
- 134—139 SERVI(ano) III COS EX PR (134 A.D.) found in situ in substructures of *thermae* below nave of church, together with other stamps of 134 and 139 A.D. (PETRIGNANI, *op. cit.*, p. 25, pl. I and BLOCH, *loc. cit.*).
- 138—154 (?) A legend, recorded in the *Acta Pudentis* (AA. SS., *Maii*, IV, p. 299 ff.) and by the compiler of the *Liber Pontificalis*, attributes to Pope Pius I the dedication of a church in the Baths of Novatianus to Saint Pudentiana ("*in honore ... sanctae Potentianae*") at the request of her sister, Praxedis ("*ex rogatu beate Praxedis*"), together with numerous donations including a baptismal font (*L.P.* I, p. 132).
- 384 An epitaph, now lost, but read in the late sixteenth century by Pasqualini and copied several times, refers to "*Leopardus lector de Pudentiana ... def. VIII Kal. Dec. Ricomede et Clearco Con.*" and thus documents the existence of an organized congregation and clergy (GIR. ALEANDER AND OTHERS, *Iscrizioni antichi...*, Vat. lat. 7113, f. 29<sup>v</sup>: "*Tabula marmorea eruta prope S. Agnetis extra Porta Pia 1592*"; ALEXANDER (?) DONI AND OTHERS, *Collectanea inscriptionum antiquarum...*, Vatican Library, Barb. lat. 2756, p. 508: "*Ex schedis Paschalini*"; IDEM, Florence, Bibl. Marucelliana, Cod. A 293, f. 148 ff.; see also DE ROSSI, *B.A.C.*, 1867, p. 50 f.).
- 387 or 390—401/417 The remodeling of the structure, its redecoration and possibly the reorganization of the congregation of S. Pudenziana by the presbyters Leopardus, Ilicius, and Maximus are suggested by a number of inscriptions (DE ROSSI, *op. cit.*, 1867, *passim*, and *Musaici, loc. cit.*).
1. Inscription in the apse mosaic on the book held by St. Paul suggesting a beginning date 387 or 390 and a terminating date 398, read by SUAREZ (Barb. lat. 3084, cc. 156, 172) and completed by DE ROSSI (*op. cit.*, 1867, p. 53 f. and *Musaici, loc. cit.*): FVNDATA A LEOPARDO ET ILICIO VALENT. AVG. ET (*Eutropio [or Neoterio] cons. perfecta Honorio Aug. IIII et) EVTYCIANO CONSVLIBVS.*
  2. Inscription in apse mosaic on the book held by Christ: DOMINVS CONSERVATOR ECCLESIAE PVDENTIANAE.
  3. An inscription from the pontificate of Siricius, 384-399, preserved in fragments in the collection of the Museo Cristiano (ex-Lateran Museum), formerly reused on the two medieval pulpits (see below, dig. 1210), and read in its entirety by PANVINIO, Vat. lat. 6780, f. 66, and UGONIO, Barb. lat. 2160, f. 125<sup>v</sup> (see also PANVINIO, *De praecipuis Basilicis*, p. 266, and UGONIO, *Stationi*, 1588, c. 162<sup>v</sup>): SALVO SIRICIO ECCLESIAE SANCTE ET ILICIO LEOPARDO ET MAXIMO (p)RESB" (DE ROSSI, *op. cit.*, 1867, p. 51, and PETRIGNANI, *op. cit.*, p. 6).
  4. Inscription in "*lettere grandi*" read by UGONIO (*Stationi*, 1588, c. 162<sup>v</sup>.) on a sarcophagus in the forecourt of the church "*in un cortiletto scoperto ... (in) una cassa di marmo in faccia: Leopardus et Maximo*".
  5. Inscription "*Maximus fecit cum suis*" read by CIACCONIUS (Vat. lat. 5407, f. 82; our fig. 249) and UGONIO (*Stationi*, 1588, c. 163) "*a musaico*" in the chapel of S. Pastore.



6. Fragmentary inscription noted by PANVINIO (Vat. lat. 6780, 63<sup>v</sup> ff.) beneath the apse mosaic stating that the church was decorated with marble revetment and paintings (mosaics) under Pope Innocent I; "*Sal(vo) Innoce(n)tio episcopo Ilici) Maximo et ... pre(s)byteris Le(opardus presb. sumptu proprio ... marm)oribus et pict(uris) decoravi(t)*". (DE ROSSI, *Musaici*, p. 27 ff.; PETRIGNANI, *op. cit.*, p. 6) <sup>1</sup>.
- 418—422 Inscription in pseudo-Philocalian script on narrow *tabula ansata* found in fragments in the substructures in 1963: + SALVO PAPA BONIF(atio) ... (confe)SSORVM ORNATV; now in last chapel, north aisle. The formula "*confessorum ornatu*" suggests that the inscription comes from the catacombs and was reused in the pavement of S. Pudenziana <sup>2</sup>.
- 489 (?) Epitaph of a PB TT PVDE... found in S. Maria in Trastevere (DE ROSSI, *op. cit.*, 1867, p. 60).
- 499 The presbyters Asterius and Justinus, "*tituli Pudentis*", attend the Roman synod of 499 (*M.G.H., Auctores Antiq.*, XII, p. 411).
- V-VI centuries Epitaph reading LOCVS ROMVLI PRESBYTERI TITVLI PVDENTIANAE found in the cemetery of S. Ippolito (MARUCCHI, *op. cit.*, p. 367).
- 528 Epitaph reading HIC REQVISCIT IN PACE HILARVS LICTOR (*lector*) TT PVDENTIS ... DEP II IDVS IVL PC MABORTI V. C. found re-used in the cemetery of S. Ippolito (*ibid.*, p. 365).
- 536—537 Fragments of small entablature (of chancel *pergula*?) inscribed: + SALVO BEAT. PAPA SILVERIO HILARVS PB. FECIT + found in 1960 alongside church; now in last chapel, north aisle.
- 595 Bassus, presbyter "*tituli sancti Pudentis*", attends the synod of this year (*M.G.H., Epistolae*, I, p. 366).
- 745 Sergius, "*presbyter sanctae Romanae ecclesiae tituli sanctae Potentianae*" attends the second Roman council (MANSI, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima Collectio...*, XII, Florence, 1766, col. 381).
- 772—795 Pope Hadrian I restores the church "*titulum Pudentis, id est ecclesia sanctae Pudentianae*" from decay ("*in ruinas praeventam*") (*L.P.* I, p. 508).  
Hadrian's monogram, now lost, was seen on the triumphal arch by UGONIO (*Stationi*, 1588, p. 164 and Barb. lat. 2160, f. 125<sup>v</sup>) and CIACCONIUS (Vat. lat. 5407, p. 154).
- ca. 795 The Einsiedeln itinerary lists "*Pudentiana in vico Patricii*" and "*Sanctae Pudentiane*" (LANCIANI, *Itin. Einsidlense*, cols. 440, 442; VALENTINI-ZUCCHETTI, *Cod. Topografico*, II, pp. 193, 223, 286).
- 795—816 Pope Leo III donates "*titulo sanctae Pudentianae*" a silver lamp weighing nine pounds ("*coronam ex argento. pens. lib. VIII*"), and textiles, including a cloth of white silk with purple borders "*ornatam in circuitu de tyreo*" (*L.P.* II, pp. 11, 21, 24).
- 827—844 Pope Gregory IV donates textiles "*in ecclesia beate Pudentiane virginis*" (*L.P.* II, p. 77).
- 885—889 Pope Stephen V gives "*Sermonum librum I*" in "*titulo sanctae Pudentianae*" (*L.P.* II, p. 195).
- 1073—1085 Panvinio (Vat. lat. 6780, f. 66), on a marble plaque in the chapel of S. Pastore, now in the Caetani chapel, read an inscription dating from the pontificate of Gregory VII, and recording the restoration from the foundations of "this church" (either S. Pastore or S. Pudenziana) and its consecration on June 23 of an unknown year by Benedict, Cardinal of S. Pudenziana (FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, XI, p. 137, no. 262).
- 1155 Pope Hadrian IV gives the church to the Regular Canons of S. Maria del Rheno of Bologna (KEHR, *It. Pont.*, I, p. 58 f.; both Panvinio and Ugonio were mistaken in attributing this act to Pope Innocent II in 1130).

<sup>1</sup> DE ROSSI, *op. cit.*, 1867, p. 55, attributed to S. Pudenziana the fragment of an architrave then in the Vatican Museum and inscribed "MAXIMVS HAS OLIM THERM(as ... ) DIVINAE MENTIS DVCTV CVM C...". The suggestion is tempting, but unproven. An inscription on a tablet, found a century ago on the Esquiline in the grounds of the Villa Caetani between Via Merulana and S. Vito, and published by DE ROSSI (*op. cit.* [1867], p. 57 ff.) refers to buildings of an unspecified nature extending A MEMORIA SANCTI MARTYRIS YPPOLITI VSQVE HVC... — to this point — and erected at his own expense by the presbyter Illicius. Even assuming the identity of this Illicius with the presbyter who was active in the remodeling of S. Pudenziana — and this is likely — the inscription cannot well refer to constructions near that church. It was found, not in situ, quite some distance from there, and the only *memoria Hippolyti* known in Rome is his sanctuary in the catacomb on the Via Tiburtina. It seems much more likely (see also above, vol. II, p. 162 f.) that the inscription at some time during the Middle Ages together with others (see e. g. below, p. 280, dig. 418-422) was brought from its original site near the Via Tiburtina to S. Pudenziana whose clergy (see below, p. 280, dig. 528) were in charge of the catacomb of S. Ippolito. During the remodeling of the church in the late sixteenth century by Cardinal Caetani the tablet may well have been transferred again, this time to his villa.

<sup>2</sup> The suggestion regarding the funeral character of the inscription and its provenance is due to Enrico Josi.

- 1210 The titular cardinal, Petrus Sassonis, in the twelfth year of Innocent III, erects in the church two pulpits and a jubé, incorporating the inscriptions of Siricius<sup>1</sup>; inscription noted by PANVINIO (Vat. lat. 6780, f. 66<sup>v</sup>) "*ante aram maximam*":  
*Ann. XII Innoce PP. III ... Petrus Sassonis sce Pudentianae Card fieri fecit anno eius III*", and specified as being written "*con minute lettere*" by UGONIO (Barb. lat., 2160, f. 125<sup>v</sup>; IDEM, *Stationi*, 1588, c. 162<sup>v</sup>).
- 1588 Cardinal Enrico Caetani restores the church of S. Pudenziana to prevent its collapse. Two inscriptions of this date are preserved:  
1. HENRICVS CAETANVS TT. S. PVDENTIANAE PRESBITER ... ECCLESIAM VETVSTATE COLLABENTEM RESTITVIT EXORNAVIT M.D.L. XXXVIII" (FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, XI, p. 138, no. 264).  
2. HENRICVS CAETANVS ... MDLXXXVIII (preserved above the door inside the church; FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, XI, p. 138, no. 263).  
The rebuilding was designed and executed by Francesco da Volterra, the painted decoration by Niccolo Roncalli, il Pomarancio (BAGLIONE, *Vite*, p. 45: [Francesco da Volterra] "*... l'aggiustamento della Chiesa di Santa Pudenziana ... fatto dal Cardinal Arrigo Gaetano...*"; *ibid.*, p. 39 [Niccolao dalle Pomarance] ... "*In S. Pudenziana è di suo la faccia di fuori; e di dentro le pitture della cupola in fresco*"<sup>2</sup>; CELIO, *op. cit.*, p. 81 ff.: "*Le pitture della cupola e degli peducci ... di Nicolao delle Pomarance sono a fresco. La cuppola di Musaico di Paolo da Cento. La restauratione di essa chiesa, e cupola, la ordinò Francesco Volterrano, dove ... i muratori trovarono la statua del Laocoonte ... maggiore di quello che sta in Belvedere...*" [the statue was destroyed]).
- 1595 An inscription in the pavement of the Chapel of S. Pietro records the redecoration of this chapel "*Anno Domini MDXCV*" by Desiderius Collinus, "*presbyter viridunen*" (FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, XI, p. 142, no. 276, gives only fragments of the inscription and does not date it. MONTINI *op. cit.*, p. 26, is unique in recording the entire inscription; but see also CAIRO, *op. cit.*, c. 109<sup>v</sup>).
- 1599 The inscription on the tomb monument of Card. Enrico Caetani on the left wall of the Caetani Chapel records him as SANCTAE HVIVS ECCLESIAE ET SACELLI A FVNDAMENTIS INSTAVR... (FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, XI, p. 138, no. 265).
- 1668 Prince Francesco Caetani restores the pavement of the chapel built by Enrico Caetani and decorates the chapel with pictures and mosaics; inscription in pavement, dated A.D. M.DCLXVIII (FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, XI, p. 141, no. 272).
- 1690—1696 Two inscriptions in the walls of the Chapel of the Madonna della Misericordia state that this chapel was decorated by Bartholomaeus Ansideus in MDCXC before his death, IV. NON. OCT. MDCXCVI (FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, XI, p. 141, 142, no. 273, 274).
- 1803, May 13 A long inscription painted on the left wall of the nave records the excavation of the old chapel of S. Prassede on the left hand side of the nave, the translation of the remains QVINQVE SS. MARTYRVM, found on that occasion, the construction of a new high altar (ARA MAXIMA ... IN NOVAM ET ELEGANTIOREM FORMAM REDACTA), and the walling up of the chapel, all under Card. Lorenzo Litta (FORCELLA, *Iscrizioni*, XI, p. 144, no. 281). See also the report given by CAIRO, *op. cit.*, c. 110<sup>v</sup> ff.
- 1830—1831 Extensive restorations of the apse mosaic (DE ROSSI, *Musaici*, text to pl. X).
- 1870 Remodeling of façade and construction of the stairs descending from street by the architect Antonio Manni under Card. Lucien Bonaparte (GIAMPAOLI, *loc. cit.*; PELLEGRINI, *Bull. Ist. Corr. Archeol.*, 1870, p. 161 ff.).
- 1894 Excavation of galleries below nave (GATTI, *Not. Sc.* 1834, p. 403 ff.; *C.I.L.*, XV, nos. 1, 626, 661, 1145, 1439: brick stamps between Vespasian and Septimius Severus (?), MONTINI, *op. cit.*, p. 15).
- 1928—1931 Exploration and reconsolidation of substructures and of walls of church; opening and remodeling of portico in rear of church facing Via Balbo and opening up of small chapel between apse and portico (PETRIGNANI, *op. cit.*, *passim*; TERENCEIO, *op. cit.*, *passim*).
- 1960 ff. Restoration of church and excavation in substructures and below courtyard adjoining right flank of church, still in progress.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 279 f., dig. 387 or 390-401/417, item 3.

<sup>2</sup> The painting on the façade depicted Christ in the center, flanked by Saints Peter, Paul, Pudenziana and Praxedis, but it had disappeared by the early nineteenth century; see CAIRO, *op. cit.*, c. 118, who also mentions the destruction in 1795 of the arms of Sixtus V atop the façade but leaves it unclear as to where the saints' figures were placed.

#### D. — GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The church of S. Pudenziana stands near the head of the valley which separates the Viminal from the Esquiline Hill, on the left hand as one ascends the steep slope of Via Urbana, the ancient Vicus Patricius (fig. 240). The axis of the basilica runs southeast to northwest and lies at right angles to the street, but for brevity we shall assume the façade to be at the east end and the altar at the west end of the nave. The rear of the building, masked by an open portico, faces Via Balbo, but it burrows so deeply into the eastern slope of the Viminal that a doorway giving access from that street to the church lies roughly level with the clerestory windows. Deep courtyards separate the walls of the church from the adjacent ground on either side. The façade, preceded by a forecourt, lies about 3 m. below the level of Via Urbana; a double ramp of twenty-two steps descends from the street level to the forecourt. Nevertheless, the impression thus created – that the church was built half-submerged into the declivity of the hill – is false; the pit in which it stands is largely artificial and of comparatively late date. Only at the rear is the lower part of the structure embedded in the natural hillside. The side courts are presumably enlargements of air passages, cut about 1588 to relieve the church from the damp earth which smothered it<sup>1</sup>. But rather than being the live ground, this earth was accumulated rubble, filling the chambers of adjacent Roman buildings. The remains of these buildings are still visible on Maggi's engravings (fig. 241); choked



Fig. 240. S. Pudenziana, View of the church from Via Urbana, 1756

(Vasi, *loc. cit.*)

<sup>1</sup> UGONIO, *Stazioni*, 1588, c. 164 f.: « ... Il sopradetto Card. Henrico ha ristaurato anco le navi minori, le quali per l'humidità erano talmente infracitate, che poco più durar potevano, il che per l'avvenire non è da temere, poi che gli ha allargato il spatio intorno alle muraglie talmente, che l'humidità della terra non se gli accosta più a fargli danno ».

with rubble, they created an artificial eastward extension of the Viminal. Indeed, the façade, instead of being sunk into a pit, was raised above the street level until the late sixteenth century. Dupérac-Lafréry's map of 1577 shows a flight of steps ascending to the church from the road (fig. 242); Ugonio gives the number of steps as ten, thus suggesting a difference in level of roughly 1.50 m., but adds that by 1588 the street level had been raised to that of the church floor<sup>1</sup>. It is not until 1676 that Falda's map indicates a flight of six steps descending to the façade from the street<sup>2</sup> – a result, possibly, of a new correction of the street level under Urban VIII from whom Via Urbana took its name. The final elevation of the street and the resulting pit-like forecourt date from 1870 when the present ramp of stairs was built. In short, the street levels along the Vallis Patricius are now much higher than they were in the sixteenth century, and even then they were about 7 m. higher than the Roman pavement of the Vicus Patricius. This original Roman pavement has been located 11.50 m. below the modern road and thus 8.50 m. below the present church floor. It corresponds to the ground floor level of a Roman *domus* which originally occupied the site of the church and of which large parts are still preserved. The level of the church, on the other hand, is identical with that of a *thermae* basilica, erected sometime during the second century above the ground floor of the *domus* which it used as a substructure<sup>3</sup>. It is not clear whether the street level had already been raised when the *domus* was replaced by the *thermae* basilica on that high level or whether a flight of stairs formed the approach from the street level. A flight of stairs would have to have had at least fifty steps, and it is perhaps more likely that the street was elevated to the new level. On either side of the street extended the ruins of the Roman buildings which survived until the seventeenth century<sup>4</sup>. Only at the rear and along part of the right hand flank was the basilica, when built, partly embedded in the natural hillside.

The present west façade elaborately decorated in stucco with black and white "Tuscan" striping<sup>5</sup>, Renaissance windows, a Romanesque cornice and a classical pediment, was built by Antonio Manno in 1870. Prior to that the lower part of the west wall was faced with white plaster and unadorned except for three doors, the doorway in the center leading to the nave, the others to

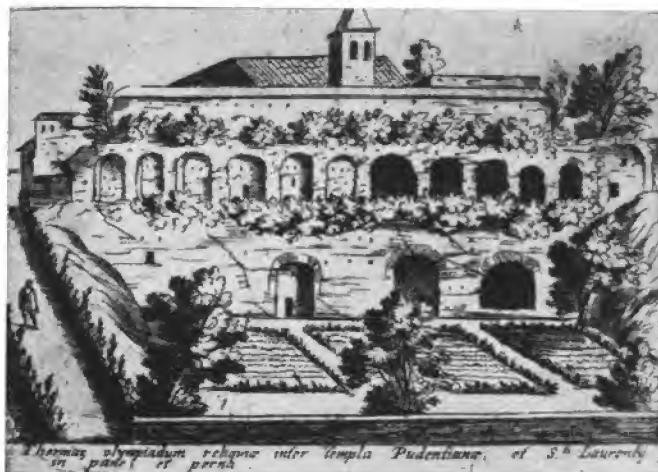


Fig. 241. S. Pudenziana, Maggi, Roman ruins along south (left hand) flank of church, 1618

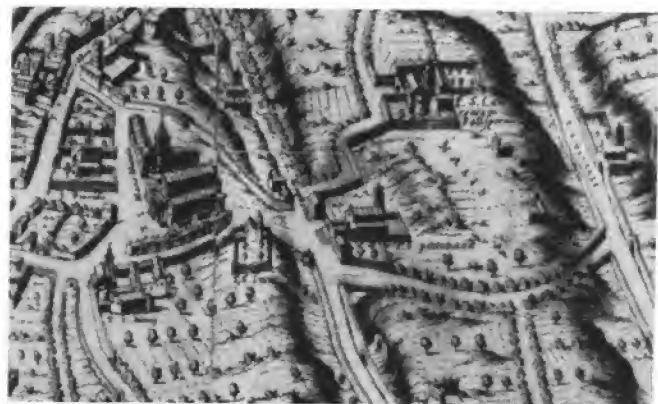


Fig. 242. S. Pudenziana, Dupérac-Lafréry, Church and surroundings, 1577

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, c. 162: « ... la chiesa ... era prima rilevata in alto della strada circa 10 gradi. Ma hor' appunto essendosi la strada alzata da questa parte per il spianar che ha fatto Sisto V dal Monte di S. Maria Maggiore, è venuta questa chiesa ancora a essere al medesimo piano ». Strangely enough still the city map of TEMPESTA of 1593 shows steps ascending to the church; but this could be a feature inherited from an earlier map.

<sup>2</sup> See also CAIRO, *op. cit.*, c. 117<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> See PETRIGNANI, *op. cit.*, for the levels of the Roman street, the *domus* and the *thermae* basilica. Excavations still in progress below the forecourt of the church are likely to clarify further this situation.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 282 f.; also BUFALINI, map of 1551; CANINA, *Indicazione topografica di Roma antica* (3rd ed.), Rome, 1844, p. 146.

<sup>5</sup> The striping, except for the plinth, was removed in 1960-62.



lateral rooms flanking its front part (fig. 243). The upper part of the façade, surmounted by a simple pediment with a face cloth of Veronica painted on it, was articulated by pilasters and an archivolt and frame setting off a round-headed center window<sup>1</sup>. It was designed about 1588 and included the marble porch of the center door which still exists, supported by a pair of spirally fluted columns<sup>2</sup>. The design, despite an ambiguous remark of Baglione, appears to be Francesco da Volterra's<sup>3</sup>. The entablature and frieze of the porch are obviously of the twelfth or thirteenth century, but when Panvinio sketched them prior to 1568, they formed part of an architrave



(Giampaoli, *op. cit.*, pl. 2)

Fig. 243. S. Pudenziana, Façade, prior to 1870



Fig. 244. S. Pudenziana, Fra Santi, Façade, 1588

framing the main door<sup>4</sup>. On either side of the door, both Panvinio and Fra Santi (fig. 244) noted arched recesses, both blocked and sheltering sarcophagi, one of them bearing, as Ugonio records, the inscription *Leopardo et Maximo*. Panvinio interpreted these recesses as the lateral units of a triple arcade, originally open, the central intercolumniation of which was later used for the doorway<sup>5</sup>. In the upper half of the façade prior to 1588 (fig. 244), a third recess in the center half concealed a small round-headed window; two more windows flanked it, and an oculus pierced the pediment<sup>6</sup>.

On each side of the sunken forecourt, a low two storied domestic building projects forward at right angles to the façade. The cornices of saw-tooth brickwork and marble modillions and the type of masonry, in which courses of squared tufa alternate with double courses of bricks, show that these wings date from the twelfth or thirteenth century. On the south flank of the south wing, a

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 281, dig. 1588 and note.

<sup>2</sup> GIAMPAOLI, *op. cit.*, pl. 2.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 281, dig. 1588 and note.

<sup>4</sup> Vat. lat. 6780, f. 63; see also CECHELLI, *loc. cit.*, 1923.

<sup>5</sup> See below, p. 292.

<sup>6</sup> The statue seen in the upper recess in the woodcut is apparently an arbitrary addition on the part of Fra Santi.



pair of arches is supported by a column of the same type as is found in the interior of the church. In 1963 the courtyard of the right hand wing was restored and set out as a lapidarium for sculpture and inscriptions illustrating the history of the church.

The rear façade of the church, facing Via Balbo, corresponds in level with the upper half of the west front. An arcaded portico which separates the church from the street was replaced in 1931 (fig. 245). It has a Roman core (fig. 246) but it was thoroughly remodeled in 1931 when medieval frescoes were uncovered in a chamber between the portico and the apse of the church.



(Photo: Fototeca)

Fig. 245. S. Pudenziana, Rear façade with remodeled porticoes



(Photo: Pont. Comm. di Arch. Sacra)

Fig. 246. S. Pudenziana, Rear façade, prior to 1931

At that time, the chamber was turned into a wayside shrine, and the wall between the chamber and the portico was pierced<sup>1</sup>.

The church owes its present interior appearance substantially to the rebuilding directed after 1588 by Francesco da Volterra and financed by Cardinal Caetani<sup>2</sup>. It consists of a nave covered by a barrel vault with lunettes and flanked by side chapels (fig. 247). A triumphal arch leads into the choir which is oblong in plan and defined by four equally high arches – the lateral ones elliptical because of their lesser span – and surmounted by an oval dome. In plan, the rear wall of the choir is a segment of a circle and much shallower than an ordinary apse. The upper part bears the well-known mosaic, executed under Siricius and Innocent I. It depicts Christ enthroned, robed in purple and flanked by the apostles, dressed as senators, and by two female figures, presumably the *ecclesia ex circumcissione* and the *ecclesia ex gentibus*. All these figures are set against a background representing a curved portico with a jeweled cross at the center, and overshadowed by other buildings, including a rotunda and an octagon; the portico may be intended to represent that of the Anastasis, the background buildings the basilica on Golgotha and either the Imbomon on the Mount of Olives or the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem. Symbols of the Evangelists in the sky complete the composition<sup>3</sup>. The inscription on the book held by Christ DOMINVS CONSERVATOR ECCLESIAE

<sup>1</sup> TRENZIO, *op. cit.*, p. 188 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 281, dig. 1588.

<sup>3</sup> Regarding description and interpretation of the mosaic, see WILPERT, *Mosaiken*, 1917, II, p. 1066 ff. The original parts and the restorations have been identified by KÖHLER, *loc. cit.*

PUDENTIANAE has given rise to the legend of Saint Pudentiana<sup>1</sup>. At the bottom and on either side the mosaic was trimmed, first in the sixteenth and again in the nineteenth century (fig. 248)<sup>2</sup>.

Seven arches flank each side of the nave and carry what were formerly clerestorey walls, the windows of which are sealed up and partly obscured by the springing of sixteenth century vaults (fig. 247). The first three arches on each side are blind. Behind the blocking walls lie side chambers and the third bay of the left aisle is filled by the base of the Romanesque campanile. The fourth, fifth and sixth arches on the right side open into three side chapels while the seventh leads to the sacristy. The four open arches on the left side of the nave lead into an aisle which extends westward for some distance beside and beyond the domed chancel; it terminates, underneath the Roman portico of Via Balbo, in a small rectangular chapel which is dedicated to St. Peter and was decorated by Desiderius Collinus in 1595<sup>3</sup>. Previously it sheltered a mosaic donated by Maximus, presumably the presbyter named in other inscriptions pertaining to the foundation and decoration of S. Pudenziana<sup>4</sup>. The mosaic in an upper tier depicted either St. Peter or, more likely, Christ enthroned and flanked by two lambs, while a lower tier showed Christ flanked by Saints Peter and Paul (fig. 249)<sup>5</sup>. Another side chapel, far larger in size, juts out from the aisle, opposite the fifth arch of the left hand nave arcade. It was dedicated in the Middle Ages to S. Pastore and presumably founded by Cardinal Benedict<sup>6</sup>. Panvinio describes it as being decorated with "barbarous" paintings and covered by a timber roof<sup>7</sup>. In 1588 it was remodeled and redecorated by Cardinal Enrico Caetani and adapted as a mausoleum for the Caetani family<sup>8</sup>.



(Photo: Soprint. ai Mon. del Lazio)

Fig. 247. S. Pudenziana, Interior view of nave

<sup>1</sup> KIRSCH, *Titelkirchen*, p. 66 f.

<sup>2</sup> KÖHLER, *op. cit.*; Eclissi's watercolor in Windsor Castle (Royal Library, Coll. Dal Pozzo, *Mosaici Antichi*, II, no. 9058; our fig. 248) still shows the figures of Peter and Paul full length and, below the throne of Christ, the Dove of the Holy Spirit and the Lamb.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 281, dig. 1595.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 279 f., dig. 387 or 390-401/17, item 5.

<sup>5</sup> CIACCONIUS, Vat. lat. 5407, f. 82 (p. 156); see also DE ROSSI, *op. cit.*, 1867, p. 43 f.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 280, dig. 1073-1085.

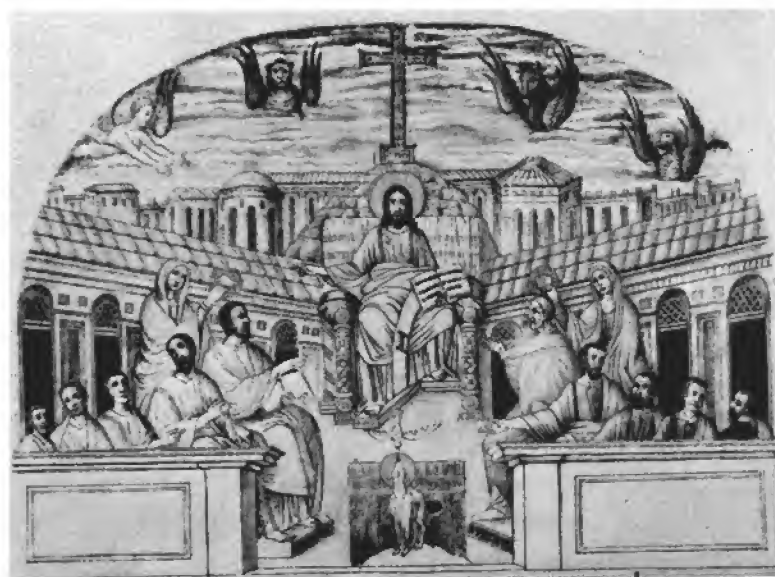
<sup>7</sup> PANVINIO, Vat. lat. 6780, f. 66: « ... tecto ligneo et tegulis cooperta ut S. Pudenziana ... Picta est a latere arae maximae antiquis et barbaris picturis ... ».

<sup>8</sup> See above, p. 281, digs. 1588 and 1599.

## E. — ANALYSIS

## Antecedent Buildings

Excavations underneath the church, started by Petrignani before 1930 and recently extended by the Soprintendenza ai Monumenti, prove that the level of the Vicus Patricius in the second century A.D. was about 7 m. below the street level seen by Ugonio and no less than 11.50 m. below the modern road bed. The present façade of the church uses for its foundations the summit of a second century wall that is 8.50 m. high and 0.80 m. thick. This wall was originally the façade of a two storied Roman house which stood beside the vicus. A slightly thinner wall of the same house stands parallel to the first and 4.90 m. to the west; it crosses the nave of the church, below floor level, about 1 m. east of the second column of the nave colonnades. Within the span of the nave, each story of the Roman house had three rooms, and other chambers extended to north and south outside the area of the nave. The lower floor was 8.40 m. below nave floor level and the upper story lay 3.50 m. below; the rooms of each story were roofed with concrete groin vaults.



(Windsor, Royal Library)

Fig. 248. S. Pudenziana, Eclissi, Copy of mosaic in apse, ca. 1630



(Vat. lat. 5407, f. 156)

Fig. 249. S. Pudenziana, Ciacconio, Copy of mosaic in chapel of S. Peter

Numerous doors and windows opened in the two parallel walls, and doorways in the dividing walls allowed communication between the chambers. Brick stamps prove that the Roman house was built in or soon after 129 A.D.<sup>1</sup>

To the west of the house, the Viminal rose steeply, but there was enough space for a level area nearly 16 m. wide between the house and the hill. In this area two strata of mosaic pavement have been uncovered, the lower nearly 9 m. below nave level, the upper one a few centimeters higher. These floors supposedly belong to a building of which a wall in *opus incertum* survives just west of the upper mosaic. The character of the *opus incertum* and of the lower mosaic, which is pink with white, green and red specks, suggest a period roughly a hundred years earlier than the second century house<sup>2</sup>. The upper mosaic, on the other hand, may be contemporary with the house.

<sup>1</sup> PETRIGNANI, *op. cit.*, p. 25 and pl. I, and our dig. 123-129, above, n. 279.<sup>2</sup> PETRIGNANI, *op. cit.*, p. 23 ff., fig. 7 and pl. I, and our dig. 123-129, above, p. 279.

Nevertheless, it is not certain that either pavement belonged to a covered building; each may just as well have been the pavement of a courtyard, protected by the *opus incertum* retaining wall from the slope of the Viminal, antedating the house but later incorporated in it.

When the two-storied house had been in existence for only a short time, the courtyard (if such it was) was filled in with vaulted substructures to elevate the effective floor level to that of the house roof. The two-storied house thus became the retaining wall of a terrace which to the east lay 8 m. above the *vicus*, while on the west side it disappeared into the slope of the Viminal. Within the area now covered by the church, this terrace is supported by four galleries parallel to the church axis and reaching back from the rear wall of the house to the rock of the Viminal. Two galleries span the width of the nave and communicate with each other through arches; a third gallery lies beneath the south aisles, while a fourth extends below the northern side-chapel. The same terrace, still supported by galleries, also extended far to the north and south of the church, as the *vedute* of the early seventeenth century show (fig. 241). Petrignani explored galleries reaching north-wards for at least 15 m., and recent excavations have opened up other vaulted galleries to the south. Important traces of antecedent buildings have come to light also in the southern vaults. Brick stamps found in situ provide for these galleries a date in or shortly after 139 A.D.<sup>1</sup>

## 2. The Baths of Novatianus

The terrace was built to support a Roman bath. This included a spacious basilica which forms the core of the present church. The basilica consisted of a central nave with ornamental tanks in the floor (fig. 247). The short east and west walls of the nave were curved in plan, while the long walls were straight. Seven arches on each long side and three arches in each curved end opened into vaulted ambulatories, while clerestoreys with large windows, one over each arch, illuminated the nave. The pattern of the tanks – an oval one at each end flanking a shallow pool with apsidal protrusions (fig. 250) – enables us to complete the original plan of the bath basilica even in those parts which no longer exist<sup>2</sup>.

The principal axis of the basilica lay at right angles to the present church axis and corresponded with the axis of the center tank and with what is now the sixth arch of the nave arcading. Because the crowns of the two substructure vaults which lie below the central part of the basilica are lower than those on each side, we know that the terrace was designed from the outset to support the tanks. The arrangement also shows that no tanks extended into the lateral aisles or ambulatories.

The central part of the Bath basilica was thus an oblong nave, approximately 9 m. wide and 27.5 m. long, terminating at either end in shallow segmental curves (pl. XIV). The four corners of the hall probably rested on brick piers. Between them six columns carried each long side, while two columns carried each curved end<sup>3</sup>. All the columns are of grey marble, 3.50 m. tall and 0.46 m. in diameter at the base (fig. 251). The capitals, of lighter grey marble, are carved with lotus leaves supporting a torus moulding surmounted by a square abacus. The bases of the columns, a simple apophyge and torus molding, are carved in one piece with the shaft. Two parallel vertical incisions in the lower part of some of the shafts indicate that some feature was formerly attached

<sup>1</sup> PETRIGNANI, *op. cit.*, p. 25 and pl. I, and our dig. 134-139, above, p. 279.

<sup>2</sup> The central tank has a curved bay on the north side and a straight-sided bay on the south side. If the straight side indicates a flight of steps descending into the water, the entrance of the hall was from the south, but if we imagine a piece of sculpture set on the rim of the tank above the straight edge (see below, text), then the entrance seems to be from the north. In this case, the reflection of the statue in the water would have been outlined by the curved margin of the north bay.

<sup>3</sup> We do not follow Petrignani's opinion that the present columns in the long arcades are secondary insertions, taking the place of piers. The substitution would have been difficult, and there seems no reason why it should be supposed to have taken place.





(Photo: Soprint. ai Mon. del Lazio)

Fig. 250. S. Pudenziana, Nave during excavations showing water tanks and (to the left) later mosaic pavement, 1933



Fig. 251. S. Pudenziana, Column and capital, left hand arcade, fifth arch, prior to 1934

to the front of the column, perhaps a pilaster-like console for the support of a statuette or a lamp. Arcades span the intercolumniations and support the clerestory walls. Their arches are formed by Roman bricks, 0.44 m. long, set perfectly in radius with extremely fine mortar joints (fig. 252, 253, 254). In a Romanesque remodeling, the arches were reinforced by inner archivolts which, in turn are obscured by sixteenth century moldings, but the original Roman arcading is easily distinguishable by the accuracy of the brickwork which springs directly from the abaci of the capitals. In





(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 252. S. Pudenziana, Nave arcade, north, second and third arches



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 253. S. Pudenziana, Nave arcade, north, sixth and seventh arch



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 254. S. Pudenziana, South clerestorey, windows

the part of the nave which survives, a large clerestorey window (now blocked) corresponds with each of the arches (fig. 254). Of seven original windows in each long wall, five survive on the north side and four on the south side; four were removed in the construction of the sixteenth century choir, and one is engulfed in the structure of the campanile. Buttresses rise on the exterior between the windows and curve over above them to form blind arcades; on the north side, the apex of the

arcade still protrudes above the tiled roof of the aisle (fig. 255). The buttresses greatly increase the thickness of the clerestory wall and offset the axis of the wall from the axis of the colonnade which supports it<sup>1</sup>.

The masonry of the Roman structure, from the tanks in the floor to the walls of the ambulatory and to those of the clerestory, is uniform and it is distinctive. The ordinary Roman concrete core is faced with brick quoins at the angles of the structure. Elsewhere it is faced with a unique *opus listatum* of small units set in herringbone fashion, alternate courses being of brick and tufa (figs.



(Photo: Soprint. ai Mon. del Lazio)

Fig. 255. S. Pudenziana, North flank of nave, from northwest

252, 253, 254, 256). It seems to be a development of the *opus reticulatum* technique, specially designed to make good use of broken bricks. The technique is used throughout the present building, but it is almost unknown elsewhere in Rome.

The columns and curved clerestory wall which originally closed the east end of the *thermae* hall have been removed in the prolongation of the nave, but the west end of the hall is well preserved. The curved clerestory wall, preserved behind the apse mosaic, is visible on the exterior in the rooms which adjoin Via Balbo. Between two intermediate buttresses, which formerly curved over to form outer arcading like the buttresses of the side walls, the end wall was pierced originally by three large windows 1.80 m. wide and 3.55 m. high from sill to apex (fig. 256). As an afterthought, the windows were reduced in size, still using the herringbone type of masonry. The Roman arcades beside Via Balbo are evidently slightly later than the original bath basilica and are probably contemporary with the diminution of the windows. The arcades of the nave opened onto ambulatories which apparently enveloped the nave on all four sides. The north perimeter wall of the ambulatory is represented by the north wall of the church (fig. 255), in which traces of at least four arched openings survive. Although these arches and the external face of the wall look Romanesque because they have been given the characteristic Romanesque *falsa cortina* pointing, the interior wall face

<sup>1</sup> PETRIGNANI, *op. cit.*, fig. 19.

is typically Roman. It was visible in 1960 in the chamber at the northeast corner of the church which was then denuded of plaster; the bricks were found in mint condition, the coursing perfectly regular and horizontal, and the modulus 6 courses per R. ft. The perimeter wall of the south ambulatory probably still exists behind the decorations of the south aisle; its eastern extremity can be verified in the chamber at the base of the Romanesque campanile, where a Roman archway corresponds with the easternmost of the four arches in the north wall.

At the eastern end of the nave the alignment of the columns is shown by the curved side of the adjacent tank. Behind the eastern colonnade, the ambulatory seems to have extended to the line of the present façade of the church and to have terminated in a rectilinear rather than a curved wall. The transverse center axis of the *thermae* hall would thus have marked not only the entrance to that hall but also the center line of the entire complex, from the loggia on the Via Balbo to the façade on the Vicus Patricius. This façade would have rested on the façade wall of the older



(Photo: Vittoriana)

Fig. 256. S. Pudenziana, Window in apse, walled up

house, and it may well have had three arches; Panvinio stated that he saw a triple arcade in the façade of the church, with two of its arches blocked and the third occupied by the Romanesque center door: "*Olim habuit loco porte triplices arcus nunc duobus clusis medius patet additus marmoreis postis signis et imaginibus incisus...*"<sup>1</sup>. Fra Santi's woodcut confirms Panvinio's observations; it shows the main doorway flanked by two niches, each deep enough to shelter a sarcophagus and therefore possibly blocked arches (fig. 244). Likewise, the woodcut suggests that the triple arcade (if that is what it was) rested on broad piers and not, then, on columns (R.K.). But the evidence is questionable. No trace of an original open arcade is to be found in the present east wall of the church, which was built in 1870. True, the nineteenth century structure includes a blind arch on each side of the central doorway, concealed on the exterior by the plaster façade, but visible inside where the plaster revetment has been stripped away (fig. 258, left hand edge). Presumably these arches were included in the nineteenth

century fabric to perpetuate the memory of similar features of the wall which was demolished. We have, however, no account of what Manno demolished, and the evidence of the arcades is of doubtful value (S.C.). Thus both the design of the façade and its date, whether Roman or Early Christian — and, if the latter, whether fourth century or later — remain open questions.

The two long walks of the ambulatory now constitute the south aisle of the church and the northern chapels. The curved western walk exists practically intact behind the choir; it is partly cut into the rock of the Viminal and is ornamented with two niches (pl. XIV). The ambulatory must originally have been roofed with a concrete vault since otherwise the outer buttresses of the clerestorey wall, out of line as they are with the supporting columns, would have had nothing on which to stand. The vault of the western walk is well preserved and carries the rooms, perhaps originally *tabernae*, which extend behind the loggia on the Via Balbo. No trace survives of the vault which must once have covered the short eastern ambulatory, but obviously it would have been only one story high, like the north and south walks. The original vault of the nave, a shallow barrel

<sup>1</sup> Vat. lat. 6780, f. 63; see also PESARINI, Vat. lat. 13128, c. 211 (with the reading «*assitus*» for «*additus*» and «*portis*» for «*postis*») and PETRIGNANI, *op. cit.*, p. 10; FRA SANTI, *op. cit.*, c. 55<sup>v</sup>; cf. also PANVINIO, Vat. lat. 6780, f. 64<sup>v</sup> (PESARINI, Vat. lat. 13128, c. 211<sup>v</sup>; PETRIGNANI, *op. cit.*, p. 12): «*Ex(tra) basilicam iuxta fores leva est tumulus marmoreus cum hac inscript(ione) LEOPARDO ET MAXIMO*».

vault with interpenetrations on each side over the cross axis, has left traces inside the roof space above the present sixteenth century vault.

The original layout of the *thermae* basilica is thus clear, and we follow Petrigani's suggestions, apart from his proposal to substitute piers for the supporting columns. Two changes undertaken in the *thermae* hall before it was converted into a church may be noted — one concerning the western end of the structure, the other the pavement of the nave. At the west end, the loggia on Via Balbo and the three rooms between it and the curved end wall of the *thermae* basilica have masonry that is very similar to that of the *thermae*. These structures thus may be contemporary, or else an afterthought of slightly later date. This latter is more likely, for the three large windows which opened into these three rooms in the curved western clerestorey wall of the Bath basilica were replaced by smaller rectangular windows surmounted by segmental relieving arches, and the masonry used in this change closely resembles the original herringbone brickwork (fig. 256). The construction of the *tabernae* and the loggia therefore seems to be best explained as an afterthought immediately following completion of the bath building. In another and obviously later operation, the bath tanks in the nave were filled in and the hall was paved with polychrome mosaics depicting pairs of dolphins and other marine creatures within a double border of black and white tesserae (fig. 250, left hand)<sup>1</sup>. The outer margin of the border corresponds with the center line of the nave colonnades, and the border is set inwards at each column to allow the border to pass in front of the column base. But having moved sideways to clear the column, the border then sweeps forward even farther, in a circle which is axial with the column shaft but not concentric. Presumably the additional sweep is associated with that unknown feature which was placed in front of each shaft<sup>2</sup>.

### 3. The Church

The conversion of the Bath basilica into a church in Early Christian times appears to have proceeded in two phases.

a) *The apse*. The first change in the structure was apparently the walling up of the rectangular clerestorey windows of the curved western wall of the *thermae* nave and the installation in their place of the large mosaic which still survives. The present approximately apsidal shape may date from the first construction. But the bend occurs in a horizontal line about 1.50 m. below the apex of the apse and seems to be too maladroit for original work. Thus the original curved end wall may have been vertical inside and not bent over at the top to give it the present apsidal shape. The masonry used in blocking the windows is no longer visible, but Petrigani saw it and found it to be of poor quality — bands of unhewn chunks of stone alternating with single and double courses of brick fragments (fig. 256)<sup>3</sup>.

b) *The substructures*. The walls supporting the *thermae* hall were apparently in need of repair. Thus, the outer face of the Roman wall which carries the wall of the right hand aisle was given a new facing to a height of between 3.50 and 5.50 m. above the level of the old house. The brickwork used in this lining is characterized by a modulus of five courses of brick and mortar per R. ft., with mortar beds of up to 4 cm. thickness. The same type of masonry was used to enlarge and strengthen the piers of the arcade which separates the two parallel galleries below the nave and to support narrower arches inserted under the original Roman ones. The narrower arches have been replaced by modern substitutes, but their original existence is demonstrated by the length of the surviving piers.

<sup>1</sup> PETRIGNANI, *op. cit.*, p. 43, figs. 26, 27 and plate opp. p. 46.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 288 f.

<sup>3</sup> PETRIGNANI, *op. cit.*, fig. 21.



c) *The entrance.* The changes which occurred at the east end of the *thermae* hall, both below and above ground, present a more complex picture. As seen today, they show that the curved end of the *thermae* hall has been removed and the arcaded side colonnades prolonged eastward by two bays, thus extending to the façade. The brick piers which must originally have constituted the northeast and southeast corners of the Bath basilica have been replaced by columns. An additional column carries the middle impost of the new arches while, at the eastern extremity, the last archivolt was made to spring from brick piers at right angles to the façade. The four added columns are identical with those of the original hall and may have been taken from the original curved end colonnades or from some other part of the *thermae*. The columns which replaced the former corner piers needed no supplementary foundations, but the eastern pair of supports, within the area of the two storied house, were supplied with separate foundations. For this reason, two piers were built, reaching down to the original floor of the house, more than 8.50 m. below. They are faced with carefully pointed brickwork and are more than a meter square in plan. As the masons must have had free access all around them when working, the house was clearly not filled with earth at the time. The brickwork of the piers is laid in horizontal courses to a modulus of 5 courses per R. ft., with mortar beds averaging 30 mm. in thickness; the horizontal beds are pointed flush or with a slight concavity. In short, it is the same style of masonry as was used for the new underpinning and relining of walls in the westward portions of the substructures<sup>1</sup>.

The same kind of masonry is seen in the two piers which project inward from and terminate outside flush with the façade of the Roman house. Apparently they were designed to support the corners of the façade (perhaps the façade seen in Fra Santi's woodcut, fig. 244) and the end piers of the eastward extension of the nave.

The eastward extension of the nave thus appears to be contemporary with the other changes which occurred when the *thermae* hall became a church. Doubts arise, however, with regard to the superstructure, since the technique of construction seen in the spandrels of the added pair of arches and the walls above seems to be different from that employed in the foundation piers on which they rest. The archivolt is built with bricks 0.50 m. to 0.55 m. in length, set so as to be slightly more vertical than radial and alternating with thick beds of mortar which are struck off in inclined planes. The intrados are lost behind Baroque plaster moldings but the extrados are visible and display a neatly finished semicircular outline. The brickwork of the spandrels and added clerestory walls is executed with fairly regular and horizontal coursing (figs. 257, 258)<sup>2</sup>, and again the horizontal mortar beds are pointed with an overhanging inclination. We have noted this same style of pointing in other Roman sixth century churches<sup>3</sup>. The proportion of mortar to brick results in eight courses in a height of 0.51 m., or a modulus of a little over 4½ courses per R. ft. or 5 courses per Byz. ft., 0.315 m. The two pairs of arches added to the north and south sides of the nave have exactly the same characteristics. A similar type of masonry was used in four reinforcements built against the north face of the end pier and the three easternmost columns of the north colonnade – that is, the first columns of the *thermae* nave and the two columns of its eastward extension. (The brickwork was seen in 1957-1958, before the chamber which now occupies this area was decorated). We do not know whether or not the reinforcements against the south face of the corresponding supports in the south colonnade are similar.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 293.

<sup>2</sup> In fig. 257, it is necessary to distinguish the original brickwork from repair patches in which the original pointing is imitated, the latter are darker.

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. 300.



In a higher zone of the clerestory walls, and corresponding with the additional pair of arches below, traces of two arched windows survive on either side of the nave, in the roof space over the sixteenth century vault. Other traces are visible on the exterior through imperfections in the plaster work: for instance, part of one of the window arches in the north wall is just discernable to the left in fig. 255. The four additional window openings do not exactly correspond with the clere-



(Photo: Corbett)

Fig. 257. S. Pudenziana, South side of nave, arches near façade



(Photo: Vittoriana)

Fig. 258. S. Pudenziana, North side of nave, arches near façade

storey windows of the original bath basilica. Whereas the latter are regularly spaced between identical window piers 1.90 m. wide, the added windows are coupled together in pairs, with a common pier only about 0.60 m. wide, or possibly with a column in place of a pier. The jamb of the nearest added window is 2.20 m. away from the adjacent Roman opening. Furthermore, while the apex of the Roman clerestorey window is 10.50 m. above the nave floor, the added openings rise to a height of 11.20 m. (pl. XIV).

We have already mentioned the possibility that the façade of the church opened in a triple arcade. Whether this was so or not is uncertain, nor is it now possible to determine the relations

of the façade to the added bays in their original form; however, it is clear that the foundation piers below the corners of the façade provided for such piers projected westward. On the other hand, the existing end piers, like the upper walls which they carry, appear to have been built against the pre-existing façade and thus seem to date from a second building campaign.

#### 4. Romanesque Alterations

A major campaign of rebuilding took place in the Romanesque period; it comprised the construction of the campanile in the third bay of the left hand aisle, thorough repairs on the outer walls of the right hand aisle, and a complete remodeling of the nave.

The campanile is of the type customary in Rome from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries: blind arcades (double and triple) on the third and fourth levels, triple arcades on the fifth, sixth and seventh levels, saw-tooth brick cornices (fig. 255)<sup>1</sup>. Similarly, the masonry technique visible on the outside of the north aisle is characteristic of Roman masonry of the period. The wall was heightened – judging by the *falsa cortina* pointing of the brickwork and the saw-tooth brick cornice – and a low chamber with a lean-to roof was constructed, blocking up the Roman clerestorey windows on the north side of the nave (pl. XIV, fig. 255). Simultaneously the lower part of the Roman wall was so thoroughly repointed with *falsa cortina* tooling that at first glance the entire wall seems to have been rebuilt in the Romanesque period<sup>2</sup>.

The remodeling of the nave was based on the need to strengthen its supports and underpin its upper walls. The marble columns of the original Roman hall are singularly small compared with the weight of the ambulatory vaulting and clerestorey walls which they support. Thus it is no surprise to find that the arches were later reinforced by supplementary archivolt inserted inside the intrados. The inner archivolt rested on brick piers which enclosed the columns and were described by Panvinio<sup>3</sup>. Evidently the columns were then completely hidden. While much of the secondary brickwork is concealed today by the Baroque moldings which outline the arches, portions of the added archivolt are discernible between the plaster and the original intrados (figs. 252, 253, 254). The brick voussoirs of the secondary archivolt are set less radially and have much thicker mortar joints than the original arches. Apart from this, too little masonry is exposed for an assessment of its date. In the south colonnade, supplementary archivolt are seen in the fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh arches, and the first and second arches (those which were added to the Roman building) may or may not have been treated in this way. On the other hand, the third arch (where the campanile stands) is reinforced not with inner voussoirs but with horizontally coursed brickwork. Thus it must once have been completely blocked. The coursing is partly concealed by plaster revetment, and the blocking wall has been made to look like an arch by the addition of Cardinal Caetani's plaster archivolt, but the horizontal coursing can be distinctly seen beside these deceptive features. Since the wall coincides with the campanile, it may be correct to assume that all the reinforcements of the arcading date from the Romanesque period. On the north side of the nave, the third arch (opposite the campanile) was reinforced by an archivolt, while the treatment of the first and second arches remains in doubt, but the fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh arches again show unmistakable signs of having been blocked with horizontal coursing. In the two bays on each side of the church which lie nearest to the apse, the lower story is hidden by the decorations of Cardinal Caetani's choir, while the upper parts have been removed to make way for the

<sup>1</sup> SERAFINI, *Torri campanarie*, Rome, 1927, p. 185 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 291 f.

<sup>3</sup> PANVINIO, Vat. lat. 6780, f. 67: «... *parietes navatarum partim pilastris partim columnis striatis cum capitulis corinthiis sustentantur. Columnae sunt sex pilastris 14, ex utroque latere videlicet 3 et 7 ... sed pilastris existimo esse ob defectum columnarum facta ut inclusas teneant columnis sicut in laterano. Navata media habet tres arcus equali spacio distinctos ... sex illis columnis sustentatos...*».

transept galleries. Presumably the Roman arcading and clerestorey windows originally continued as in the eastern parts of the *thermae*, but we do not know what changes were made in the Romanesque period.

Hand in hand with this reinforcement of the supporting arcades went the strengthening of the upper walls by diaphragm arches built across the nave, like those at S. Prassede<sup>1</sup>. As described by Panvinio, the three transverse arches at S. Pudenziana rested on six columns and supported the roof. The columns projected into the area of the nave, but their exact location remains unknown<sup>2</sup>. Scars in the brickwork of the spandrels above the second and fourth columns on either side seem to show where two of the transverse arches or their supporting columns were attached, and we assume that the third transverse arch stood where Cardinal Caetani's triumphal arch stands today.

## F. — RECONSTRUCTION

### 1. The *Thermae* Basilica

The Roman bath basilica has already been described at length. It was an oblong hall approximately 9 m. wide and about 27 m. long with curved ends, surrounded by a vaulted ambulatory approximately 4 m. in breadth. The principal entrance was in the middle of the long ambulatory; other entrances opened in several bays of the south wall and probably in all the bays of the north wall and presumably communicated with other chambers of the bath lying to the north and south. Colonnades of six columns in each long side of the basilica and two in each curved end, with brick piers at the four corners, divided the hall from the ambulatory and supported arcades, above which rose clerestorey walls. The hall was illuminated by round-headed windows in the clerestorey, a window corresponding with each opening of the colonnade below. At first, bath tanks were laid out in the floor of the central hall, but in a subsequent remodeling the tanks were filled in and the nave was paved with mosaics depicting marine animals. The ambulatories were always paved with coarse white mosaic. The central hall as well as the ambulatories were roofed with concrete vaults.

### 2. The Early Christian Church

Except for the strengthening of its substructures, the structural core of the *thermae* hall – its supports and clerestorey walls – were retained with little change when the building was converted into a church. Nevertheless, the remodeling considerably altered the layout of the structure.

a) *The first building phase.* At the western end of the hall an apse was created by sealing the windows of the curved clerestorey wall and perhaps by building up in plaster the curved overhang at the top which carries the mosaic (fig. 247); the concave shape may, however, have already been present in the *thermae*. The triple arcade which supported this end wall and communicated with the curved ambulatory remained open and was still seen by Panvinio<sup>3</sup>. Presumably the insertion

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 249.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 296 and n. 3 and UGONIO (*Stazioni*, 1588, c. 163), who praises Cardinal Caetani for the generosity whereby « the walls are being strengthened with new piers and certain columns which encumbered the nave are being removed ». Panvinio's statement that the diaphragm arches were equally spaced cannot be correct since the nave had nine intercolumniations. Our proposal of reconstruction is based on the scars noted on either side above the second and fourth columns.

<sup>3</sup> Vat. lat. 6780, f. 67: « *Tribuna ipsa porticibus est circumdata pilastris sustentatis ...* ».

of apse and mosaic also implied a change from the transverse to a longitudinal axis, with the main entrance set opposite the apse, and coincident with the Vicus Patricius.

Indeed, simultaneously with the creation of the apse, the entrance of the building was remodeled. The curved eastern end of the nave and its enveloping ambulatory walk were replaced by lateral arches which prolonged the nave arcades. The new arches were carried by the columns which still survive. They may have been taken from the curved ends of the *thermae* hall; or they may have come from some other part of the *thermae*. Certainly, however, they were placed in their present position in the first building campaign; only in a later campaign were they strengthened by the reinforcements in the north aisle. The intermediate column of the extension was carried on a new foundation pier set up in the area of the house which preceded the *thermae* hall. At the same time the façade was built, at least in its lower parts; this can be determined from the foundation piers which pierce the façade of the house below the northeast and southeast corners of the nave façade. Moreover, the inward projections of these foundation piers suggest that they carried end piers in line with the columns of the new nave extension. The façade may have opened in three arches, as Panvinio suggested, but this is not certain. Nor are we able to suggest the interior elevation of the nave extension in the first phase. In all likelihood, however, it had the same height as at present, corresponding to the height of the old *thermae* hall.

b) *The second building phase.* The technique of masonry employed in the foundation piers of the eastward extension differs so markedly from that of the upper wall in the same part of the structure that we cannot assign both to the same period of construction. Moreover, the reinforcements built against the original end pier of the first nave extension and, likewise, against its three last columns prove conclusively that the columns date from an earlier building period<sup>1</sup>. Since the masonry of these reinforcements tallies with that of the arch spandrels and the upper walls of the extension, these, too, must be assigned to a later building campaign. During this latter campaign, then, the present clerestorey walls and paired windows were built. No trace of vaulting appears above the windows in the added bays and it is likely that the entire nave at that time was covered by a timber roof.

### 3. The Romanesque Church

In a succeeding stage of development, several arches of the colonnades were reinforced by the addition of inner archivolts resting on brick piers which concealed the original columns. Other intercolumniations were suppressed altogether and sealed up with brick walls: the third intercolumniation on the south side and the fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh on the north side of the nave. Presumably at the same time three diaphragm arches were built across the width of the nave to buttress the clerestorey walls, and the outer wall of the north aisle was thoroughly repaired. In this state the church was described by Panvinio shortly before Cardinal Caetani brought it to its present form. Even though some of the arches of the nave were entirely blocked, Panvinio could still distinguish seven piers on each side of the nave, and of course he was right in guessing that they contained columns<sup>2</sup>. We know, however, that there were really eight columns (since the western pair were not suppressed until Caetani built the choir) and one wonders which columns Panvinio failed to perceive. Probably it was the pair nearest the entrance, that is, those which supported the additional arches; they stand slightly outside the alignment of the original colonnades and could easily have been hidden by blocking walls. A narthex preceded the façade and Pan-

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 294.

<sup>2</sup> PANVINIO, Vat. lat. 6780, f. 63 ff.: see above, p. 296, n. 3.

vinio still saw its remains. Panvinio also noted the timber roof of the nave<sup>1</sup> and the furnishings of the sanctuary, and Ugonio's description confirms his observations. A ciborium rose over the main altar, and two lateral altars occupied the end bays of the aisles. A screen wall, decorated with mosaic and pierced by a door, separated the nave from the chancel which rose four steps above nave level. Behind the wall stood two pulpits, obviously high enough to be visible from the nave, and two benches were placed in front of it. Within the screen wall, fragments of the dedicatory inscription of Pope Siricius were reused, supplemented by the inscription of Petrus Sassonis, who in 1210 financed the new furnishings. The nave pavement was of mosaic with repairs in brick and stone<sup>2</sup>.

## G. — CHRONOLOGY

### 1. The Roman Structure

The Roman buildings which survive both underneath and within the church of S. Pudenziana are easily dated: the house in the years 128-129 A.D. or shortly after, by the technique of its masonry and by brick stamps found in situ; the substructures of the *thermae* after 139 A.D.<sup>3</sup>; the *thermae* hall, possibly as late as the middle of the second century.

### 2. The Early Christian Church

There is no evidence to tell us when the *thermae* building became Christian property, but in all likelihood it served the needs of a Christian congregation by 384; this is suggested by the epitaph of Leopardus, "*lector de Pudentiana*"<sup>4</sup>. The congregation, the *ecclesia Pudentiana*<sup>5</sup>, presumably used the large *thermae* hall for liturgical assemblies while other rooms in the building would have served for administrative and caritative purposes. Only towards the very end of the century was the remodeling of the *thermae* hall into a church started, and, contrary to accepted opinion, this remodeling seems to have proceeded, not in one single campaign, but in two distinct building phases separated by more than a century.

a) *The first phase.* The first phase of the rebuilding has left numerous traces. The top of the west end wall of the *thermae* nave was built into an apsidal curve and provided with a huge mosaic. The substructures along the middle of the nave and below the north aisle wall were straightened or refaced. The east end wall of the *thermae* nave was removed and the ambulatory behind it was replaced by an eastward extension of the nave. New substructures were built to support this extension and a new façade was provided facing the Vicus Patricius. Columns, presumably taken

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 286, n. 7.

<sup>2</sup> PANVINIO, Vat. lat. 6780, f. 63, 64<sup>v</sup>, 66, 67: «... laeva est capella S. Petri ... dextra ara parva antiqua in minoribus navatis (PESARINI, Vat. lat. 13128, p. 212: «et marmoribus inauratis»). Ara maxima cum ciborio quatuor striatis columnis sustentato ... Habet lapideum chorum in medio cum ambonibus duobus marmoreis ... pavementum partim lapideum partim vermiculatum partim lateritium ... » (f. 67); «... habet duos ambones marmoreos et chorum more aliorum lapideum; habet musivum Christum cum Apostolis in abside ... habet aram maximam cum ciborio marmoreo pulchro » (f. 63); «... habuit sed non habet porticum ante fores remanent adhuc duae columnae integre altera iacet striata, altera mollis ... » (f. 64<sup>v</sup>); «... sedilia lapidea ante chorum ut in transtiberi sed desunt sedilia intrinsecus. Ad aram maximam per 4 gradus ascenditur a cuius destere laevaue parietes duae lapideae, ostium ante aram maximam facientes iacentes. Leva in margine sic scriptum ANN. XII INNOCEN PP. III, dextera ut sic PETRUS SASSONIS SCE PUDENTIANAE CARD. FIERI FECIT ANNO EIUS III eadem ... in lapidea pariete sic SALVO SIRICIO EPISCOPO ... » (f. 66<sup>v</sup>). See also PESARINI, Vat. lat. 13128, loc. cit., PETRIGNANI, *op. cit.*, p. 10 ff., and UGONIO, *Stazioni*, 1588, c. 163<sup>v</sup> «(Caetani) ... ha fatto anco allargare quella parte onde in capo si ascende all'altar maggiore la quale era con tavole di marmo serrata ed impedita secondo l'usanza ... La qual divisione era fatta da Pietro Sassone Cardinale ... ».

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 279, digs. 128-129, 134-139.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 279, dig. 384.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 279 f., dig. 387 or 390-401/417, item 2.



from the end walls of the *thermae* nave, carried the upper walls of the extension. The façade to the Vicus Patricius may have opened in a triple arcade resting on piers; it was presumably accessible from the street level by a flight of stairs.

The brickwork of these elements, as far as they survive, coincides in every respect and its features leave little doubt as to the time of construction. The modulus of five bricks and five mortar courses per R. ft., the broad mortar beds, averaging 30-35 mm., and the pointing of the mortar which is smooth and flush with the bricks or slightly concave, all indicate a date towards 400. Church A at S. Pietro in Vincoli, S. Clemente, and S. Balbina are among the parallels<sup>1</sup>. A date about 400 would also be suggested by the design of the façade, if indeed, as Panvinio believed, it opened in three arches. Open façades in Rome were customary, it seems, from the early fourth to the early fifth centuries; examples are the *basilica maior* at S. Lorenzo f.l.m. (ca. 330), S. Clemente (prior to 385), S. Pietro in Vincoli (church A, ca. 400), S. Vitale (401-417), SS. Giovanni e Paolo (after 410?)<sup>2</sup>. After 420, however, this façade type seems to have given way to the ordinary façade with doors<sup>3</sup>.

The archeological and historical evidence coincides. The inscription of the apse mosaic, which Suarez read<sup>4</sup>, stated clearly that the rebuilding was started in 387 or 390 and was completed in 398, while another inscription below the mosaic, which Panvinio noted, gave the names of the donors, Ilicius, Maximus and Leopardus, and dated the completion of the decoration after 401, in the pontificate of Innocent I (401-417)<sup>5</sup>. Supporting evidence is provided by the surviving fragments of the marble inscription which again refers to the activity of Ilicius, Leopardus and Maximus in the pontificate of Siricius (384-399), and by the lost inscription of Maximus in the S. Pastore Chapel and of Leopardus and Maximus on a sarcophagus in the forecourt<sup>6</sup>. The transformation of the *thermae* hall into a Christian church and its lavish decoration thus date from the very end of the fourth and the very first years of the fifth century.

b) *The second phase.* The upper walls of the eastward extension, as laid out about 400, apparently threatened to collapse by the early sixth century. The existing upper walls show a technique of construction quite different from that used on the parts assigned to the period about 400. This technique is marked by broad mortar beds and inward and downward inclination of the mortar troweling. These features appear as a rule to be characteristic of sixth century structures in Rome; examples include the apse of S. Giovanni at Porta Latina; the masonry enveloping the piers in the structure adjoining the Titulus Equitii; and the walls of the second church of S. Marco<sup>7</sup>. If masonry techniques are any guide to dating, the upper walls in the eastern bays of S. Pudenziana should date from the same period<sup>8</sup>. The same sixth century technique marks the buttressing piers which we saw on the north face of the three easternmost columns and the corresponding end pier in the north arcade of the church. They were apparently intended to reinforce columns which had been set up in the first building campaign. Thus, one must conclude that the columns in the eastward extension of the nave as well as the easternmost column in the old *thermae* hall were in need of

<sup>1</sup> See above, Vol. I, pp. 87 f., 129 f.; III, p. 194.

<sup>2</sup> See above, Vol. I, pp. 126 ff., 132, 298; II, pp. 102, 119; III, pp. 216 f., 224 and, for S. Vitale, Vol. IV.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 55 and KRAUTHEIMER, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, Harmondsworth, 1965, p. 129.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 279 f., dig. 387 or 390-401/417, item 1.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, item 6. The presbyter Leopardus referred to in these inscriptions must, of course, not be confused with the lector of that name who died in 384.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, items 3, 4, 5.

<sup>7</sup> See above, Vol. I, p. 311; II, p. 234; and above, p. 105.

<sup>8</sup> In a review of PETRIGNANI's book, *R. A. C.* 12 (1935), p. 184 ff., I had suggested a fourth century date both for the upper walls of these eastern bays and for the supporting bays underground — erroneously it seems to me now (R. K.). In any event, the date that Petrigani suggested for these parts — the pontificate of Hadrian I — cannot be accepted.

strengthening and that the upper walls of that extension were entirely rebuilt sometime in the early sixth century.

A recently found inscription shows that the presbyter Hilarus at the time of Pope Silverius dedicated a piece of ecclesiastical furniture during the seventeen months of that pope's pontificate. It may have been a *pergula* of a type which just then became fashionable, perhaps under Byzantine influence, and is known from a few examples in the Veneto<sup>1</sup>. If, then, the church was provided in 536-537 with new ecclesiastical furniture, it is possible that it was repaired at the same time, and in part rebuilt; we thus tentatively propose this date for the second building campaign at S. Pudenziana.

### 3. The later Remodelings

Both Ugonio and Ciacconius noted the monogram of Hadrian I on the triumphal arch of S. Pudenziana, and the *Liber Pontificalis* attributes to this pope a restoration of the church which had fallen into decay<sup>2</sup>. Nothing of his work appears to have survived, however. The medieval remodeling, to judge from its masonry technique, might date from any time between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. Thus it could be linked to the restoration undertaken by Cardinal Benedict at the time of Gregory VII (1073-1085), provided that "*ista ecclesia*" mentioned in his inscription refers to S. Pudenziana as well as to the chapel of S. Pastore where Panvinio saw it<sup>3</sup>. On the other hand, the furnishings of the church as they survived into the sixteenth century were donated in 1210 by Cardinal Petrus Sassonis<sup>4</sup>. Finally, the remodeling of the church when Enrico Caetani was cardinal is well dated between 1588 when it was begun and 1599 when it was completed shortly before his death "*... e non così tosto ci pose l'ultima mano che Dio lo volse remunerare d'un eterna mercede nel Cielo...*"<sup>5</sup>.

## H. — HISTORICAL POSITION

The principal significance of S. Pudenziana in the history of Early Christian architecture lies in the fact that it is the only instance surviving in Rome of the adoption by a Christian congregation of a Roman secular basilica — a *thermae* basilica in this case. At first the building was apparently used without structural changes for Divine Service: the epitaph of the lector Leopardus *de Pudentiana* proves the congregation existed before the thorough remodeling undertaken during the pontificates of Siricius and Innocent I<sup>6</sup>.

This remodeling, on the other hand, coincides well with what we know of the rise of a standard type of the Early Christian basilica in Rome during the latter part of the fourth and the early fifth centuries. Indeed, the work undertaken at S. Pudenziana stresses the longitudinal direction of the building by lengthening the nave, shifting its axis 90 degrees, placing the main entrance on the short side towards the street, possibly opening it in arcades, transforming the curved end wall of the *thermae* hall at the opposite end of the nave into the semblance of an apse, and finally, in deco-

<sup>1</sup> For example, the *pergula* in the chapel of S. Prodocimo at S. Giustina in Padua, donated by the *praefectus praetorio* Opilio, 500-507, and a related *pergula*, formerly in the oratory of S. Maria Mater Domini adjoining SS. Felice e Fortunato at Vicenza (ZOVATTO, «La pergula paleocristiana di S. Prodocimo...», *R. A. C.* 34 (1958), p. 137 ff.; A. BARZON, *Padova cristiana*, Padua, 1955, p. 155 f.).

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 280, dig. 772-795.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 280, dig. 1073-1085.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 280 f., dig. 1210 and p. 299, n. 2.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 281, digs. 1588 and 1599 and PANGIROLI, *Tesori nascosti*, 1600, p. 718.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 279 f., digs. 384 and 387 or 390-401/417.

rating the vault of this apse with the monumental mosaic which survives to this day. Also, the hall was apparently provided with church furnishings, remnants of which may survive in the marble beams and plaques bearing the inscriptions of the donors Maximus, Leopardus and Ilicius. Finally, these inscriptions appear to intimate that at least two of these donors were active in other building enterprises of the period. Ilicius financed constructions presumably near the catacomb of S. Ippolito, while Leopardus donated the apse decoration and presumably that of the walls as well in the *basilica maior* at S. Lorenzo<sup>1</sup>. However, one wonders whether at least Leopardus was not perhaps more than a wealthy and pious donor; for it was he, who jointly with two other clerics "*laborantibus presbiteris Ursicino et Leopardo et diacono Liviano*" supervised the construction of S. Vitale which was financed by the bequest of a pious lady Vestina<sup>2</sup>. Were he and Ursicinus and perhaps Ilicius as well, then by any chance, members of a papal building committee established under the popes Siricius and Innocent I?

The second phase of the remodeling of S. Pudenziana, which we dated around 536-537, would seem to represent another case of Byzantine influence in Roman church building of the sixth century. The masonry technique finds its counterpart at S. Giovanni a Porta Latina, in the apse which in its plan clearly is linked to prototypes in Constantinople<sup>3</sup>; again, the *pergula* of Pope Silverius finds its closest parallels in the cities of the *terra ferma* where, under the rule of Theodoric, communications with Byzantium were always close<sup>4</sup>; finally, even the modulus of the sixth century brickwork appears to have been based on the Byzantine foot of ca. 0.315 m.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 280, n. 1, and vol. II, p. 8, dig. ca. 400, p. 134 and 152.

<sup>2</sup> *L. P.* I, p. 220, and, for S. Vitale, Vol. IV.

<sup>3</sup> See above, Vol. I, p. 311.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 301 and n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 294.

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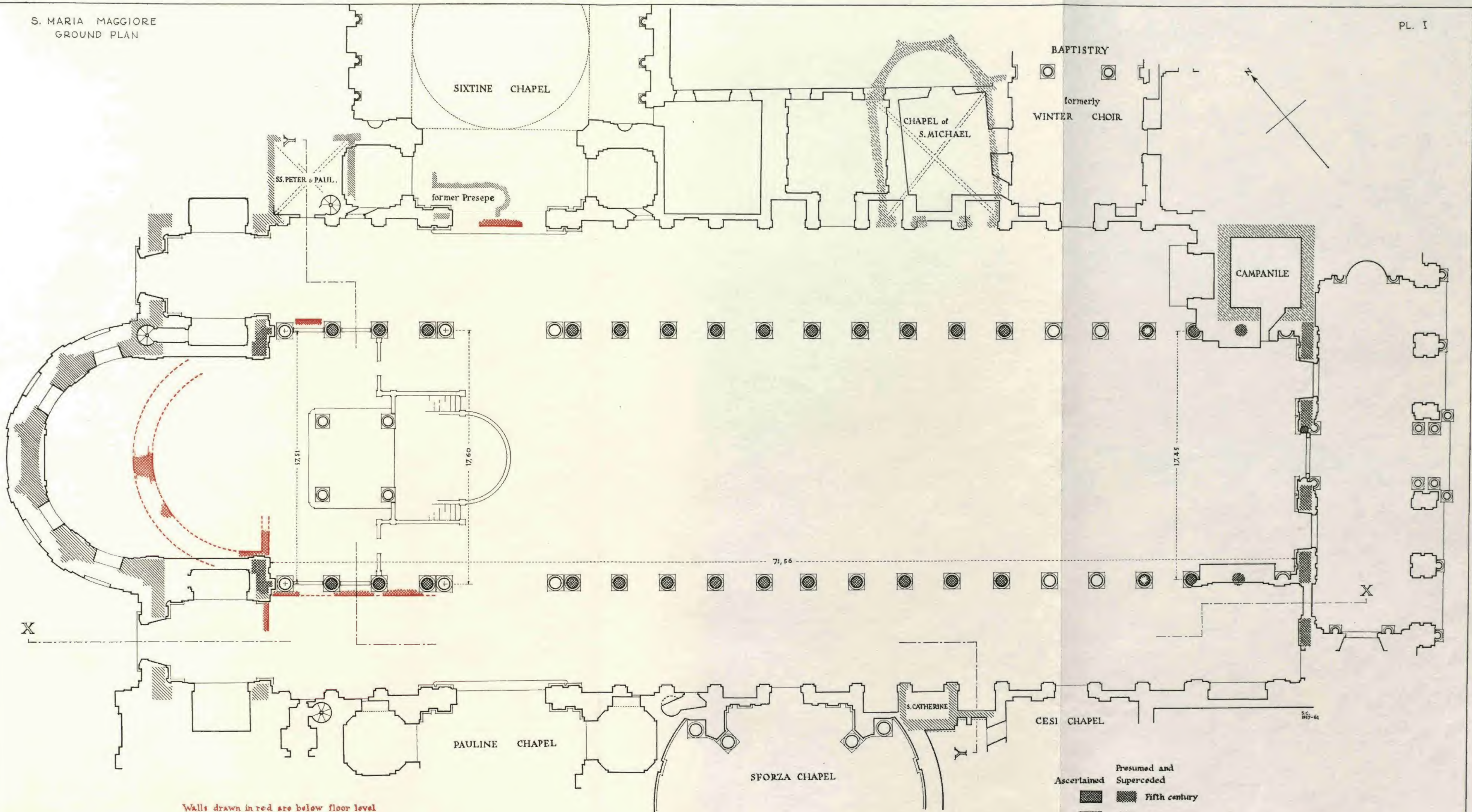
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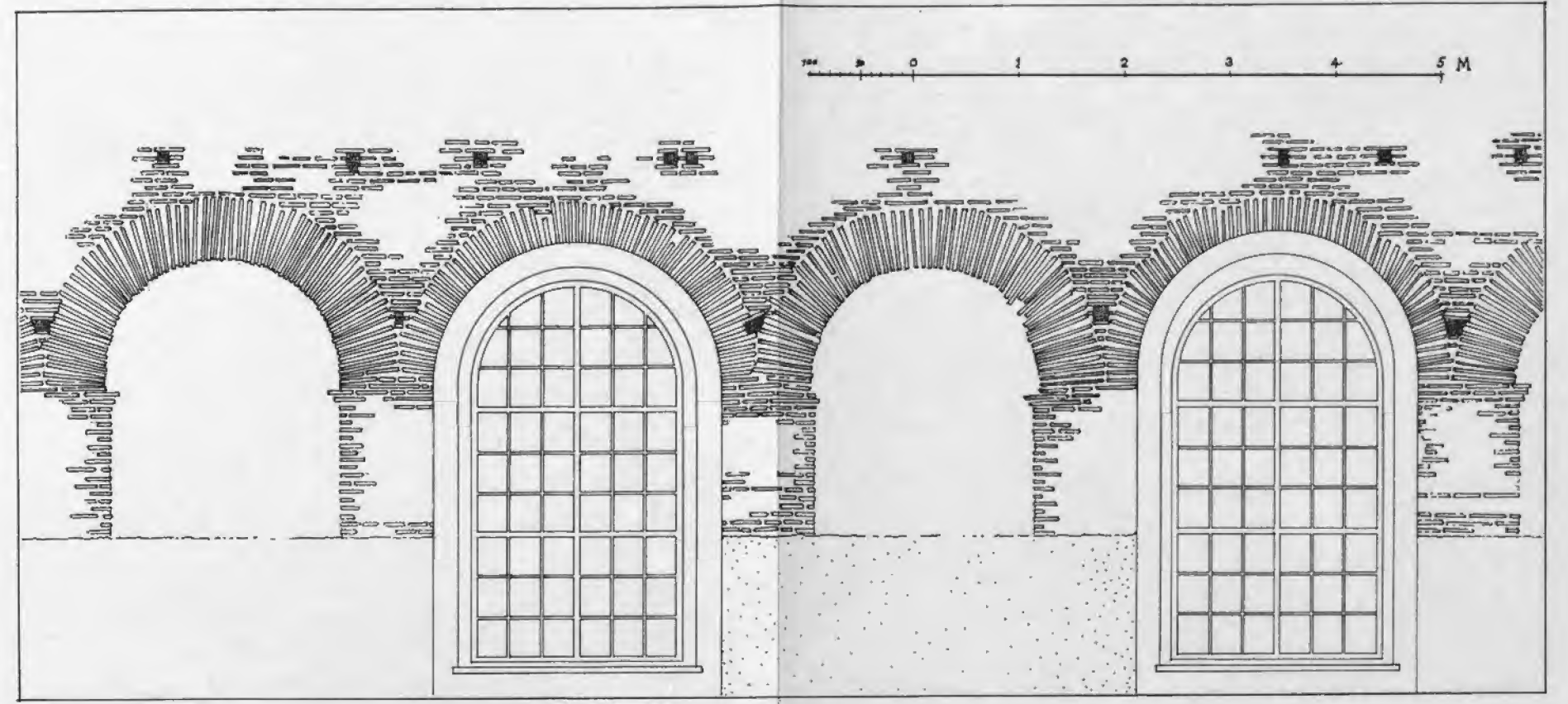
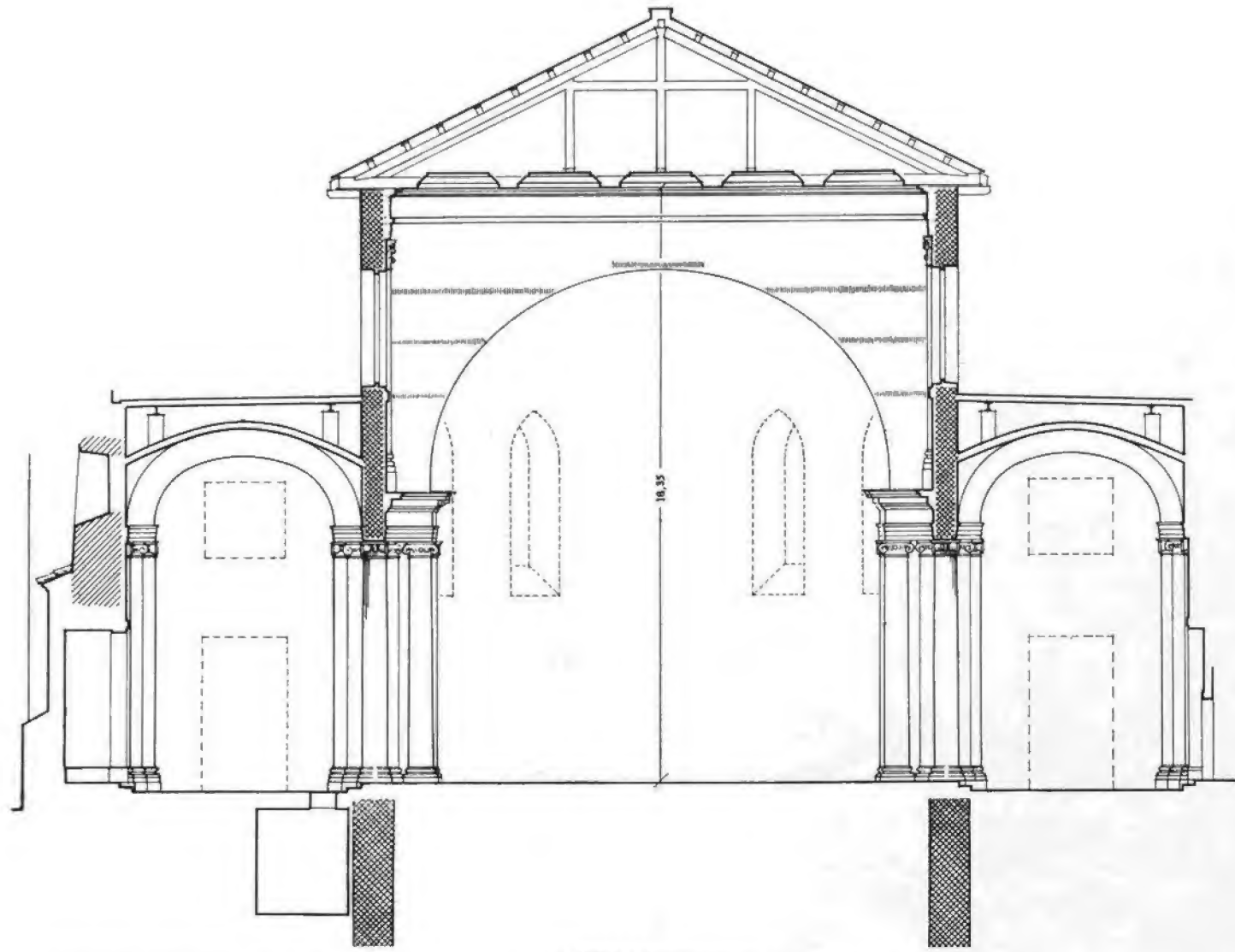
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0 10 20 30 40 METRES

Ascertained	Presumed and Superceded
	Fifth century
	Medieval
	Fifteenth century

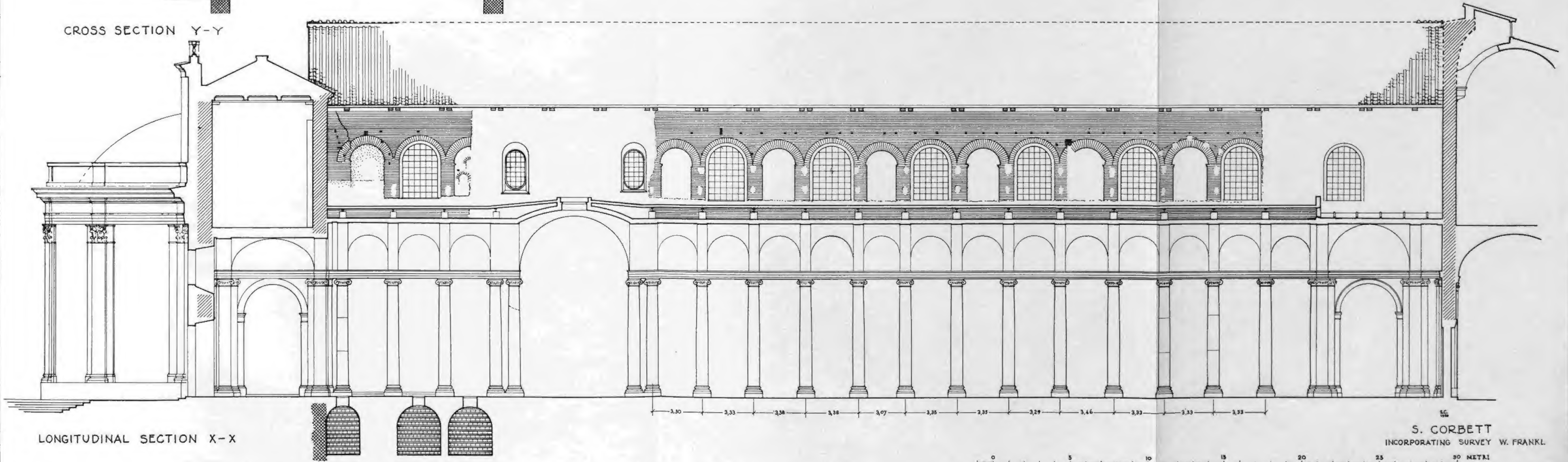
S. CORBETT  
INCORPORATING SURVEY W. FRANKL





NORTH CLERESTORY, DETAIL

CROSS SECTION Y-Y



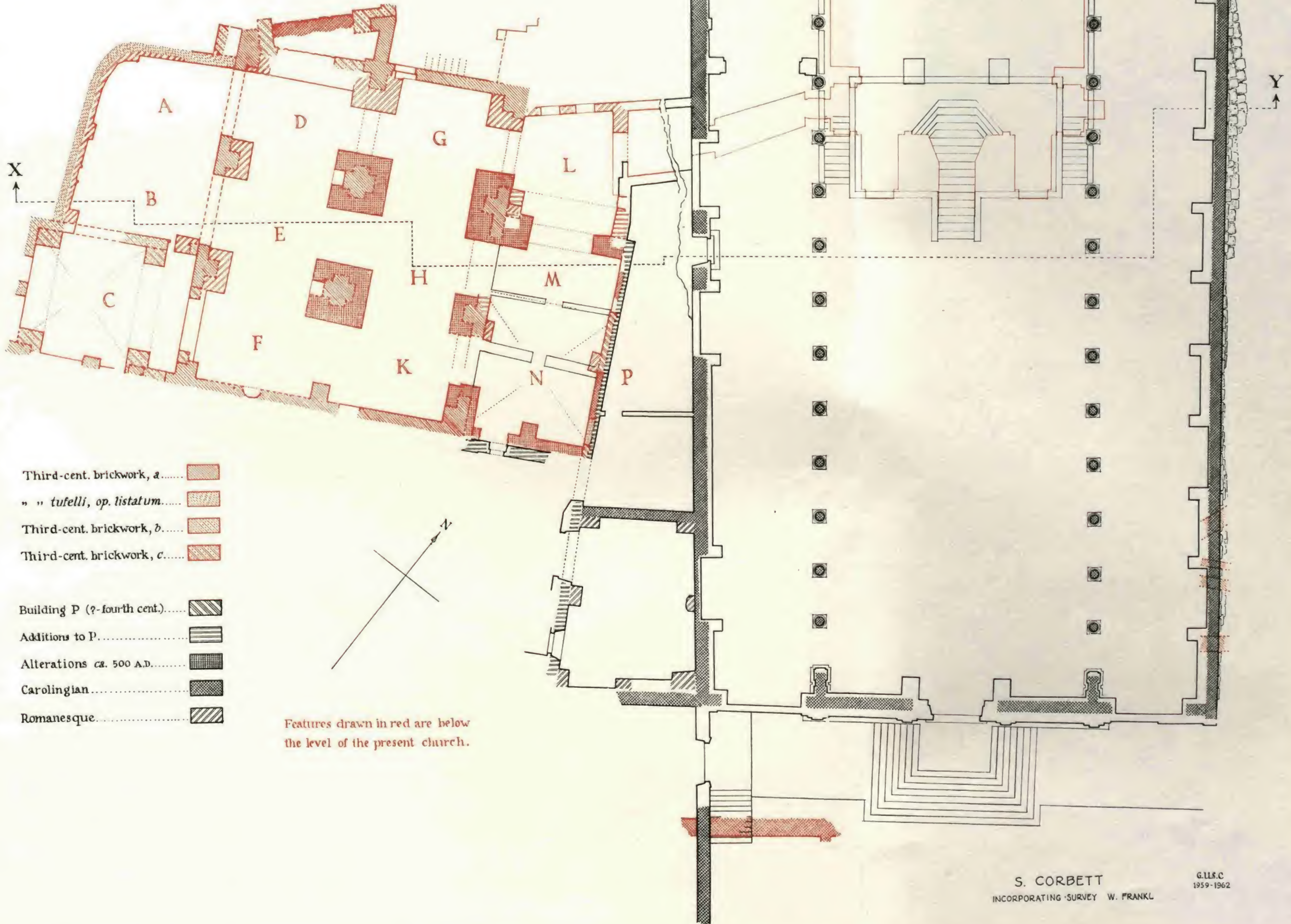
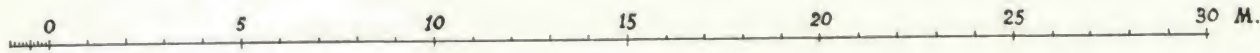
LONGITUDINAL SECTION X-X

S. CORBETT  
INCORPORATING SURVEY W. FRANKL

0 5 10 15 20 25 30 METERS

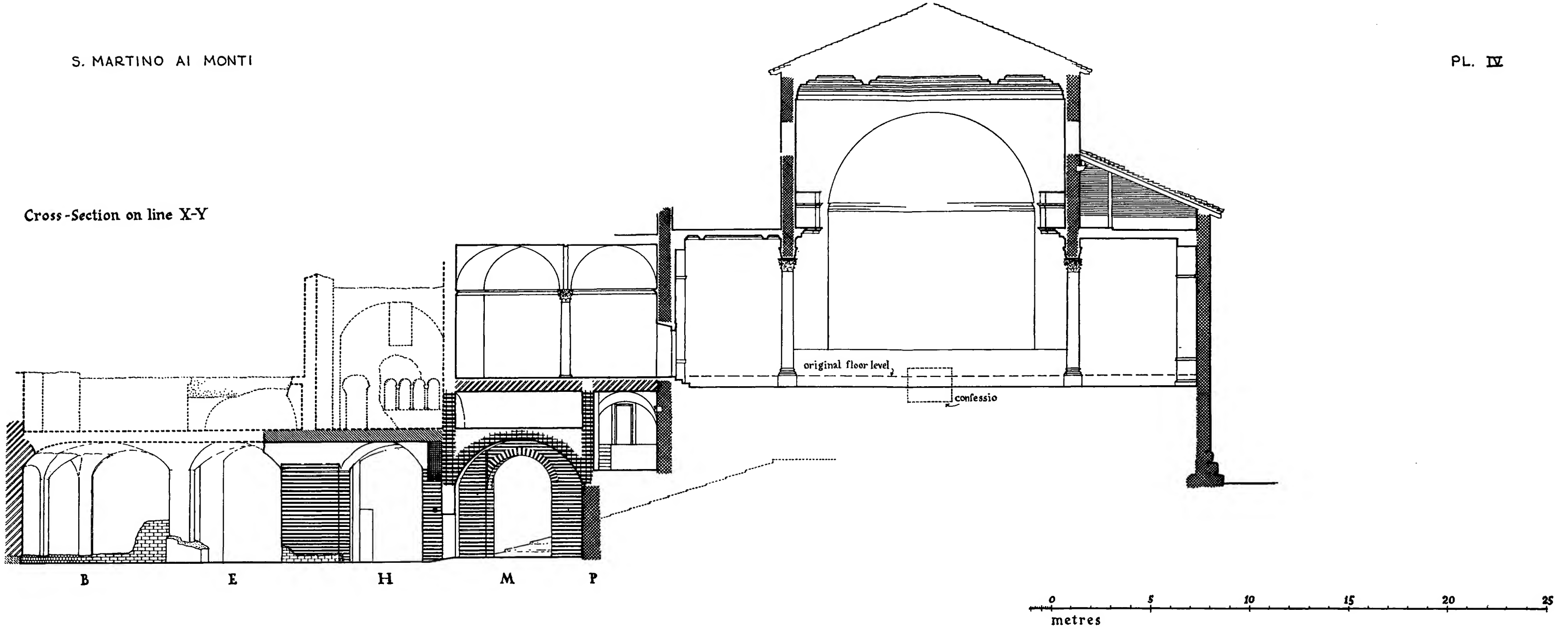


S. MARTINO AI MONTI  
GROUND PLAN

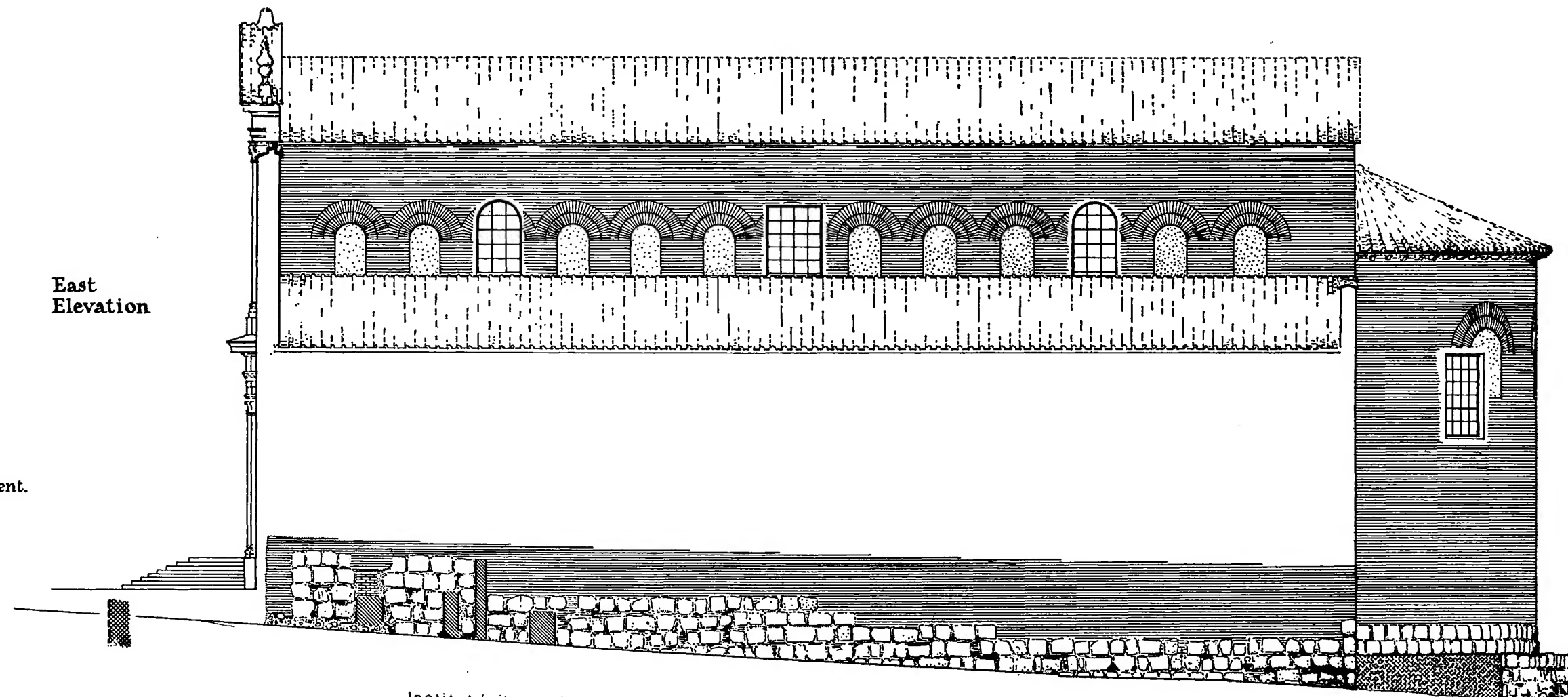




Cross-Section on line X-Y



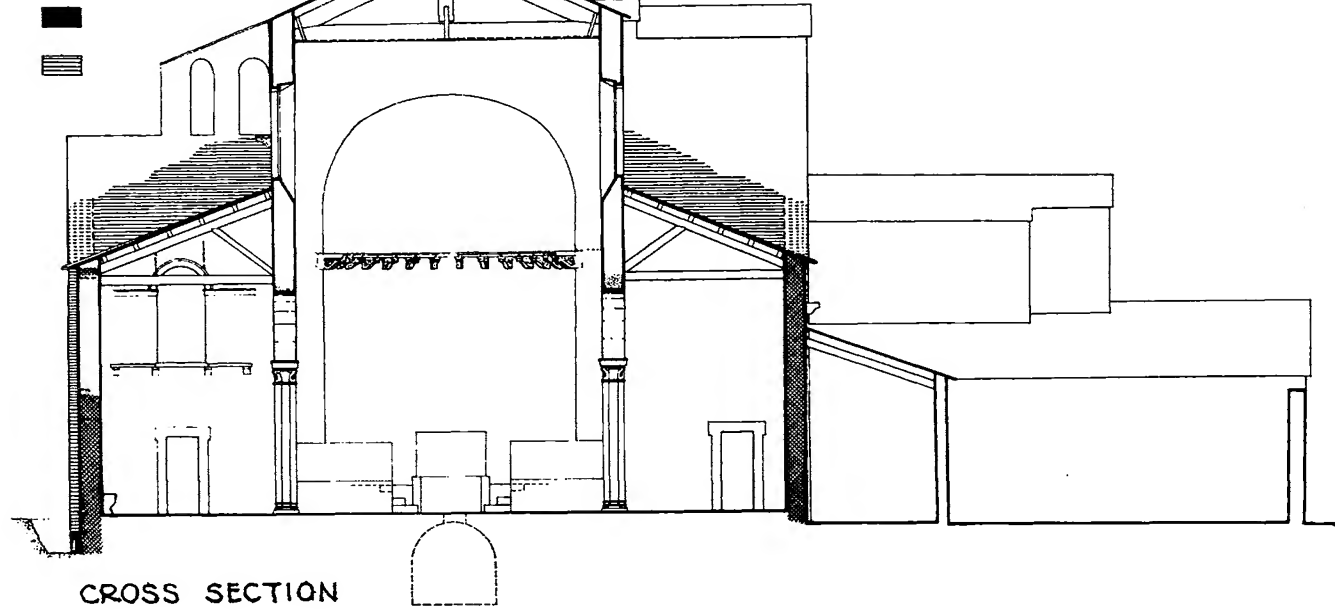
East Elevation



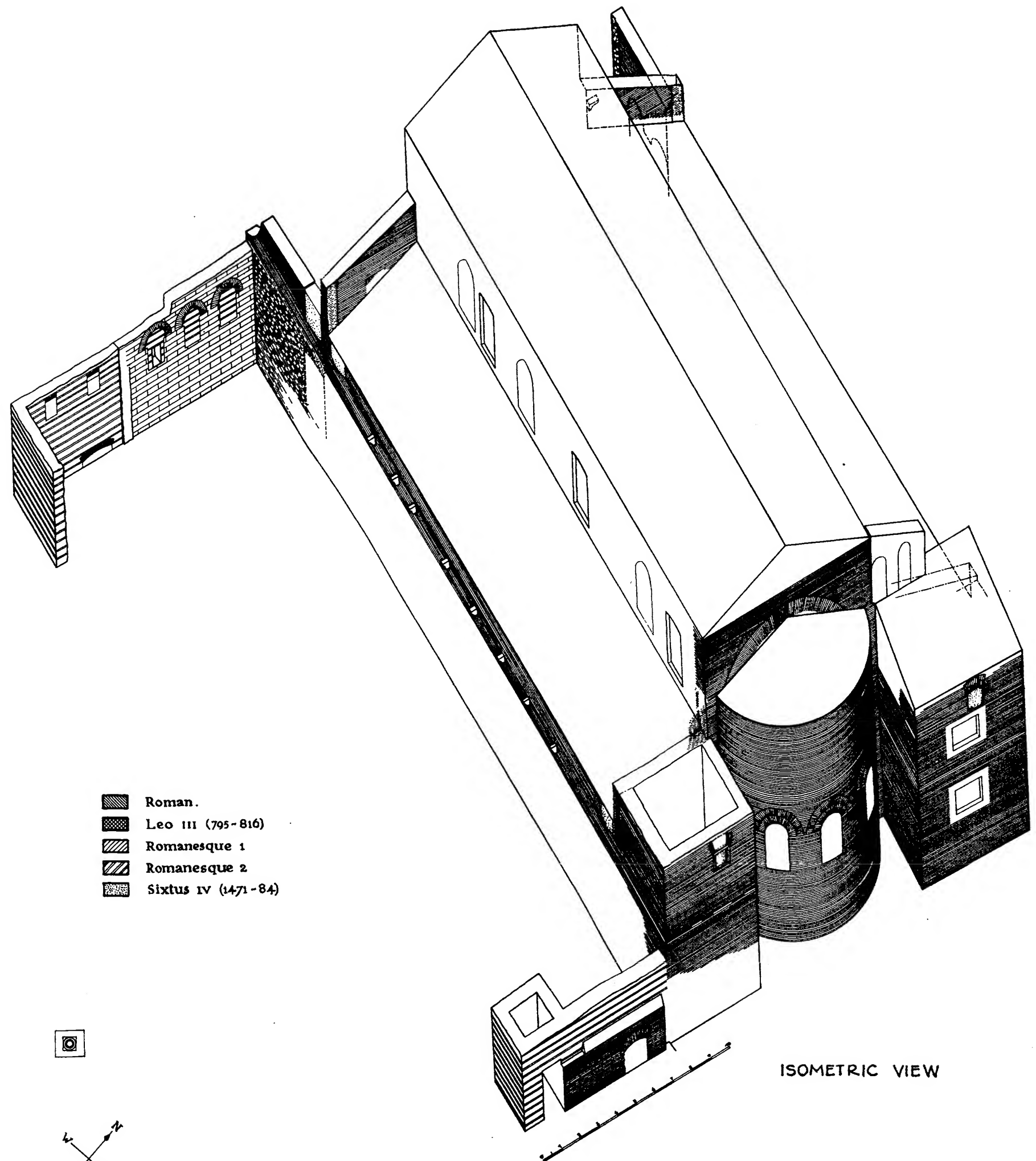
- Roman brickwork: third century
- Roman tuffelli: third century
- Vault & Superstructure, M-N: fourth cent.
- Alterations, ca. 500 A.D.
- Ninth century.
- Thirteenth century.
- Ruined walls, removed in 1930.



SS. Nereo ed Achilleo

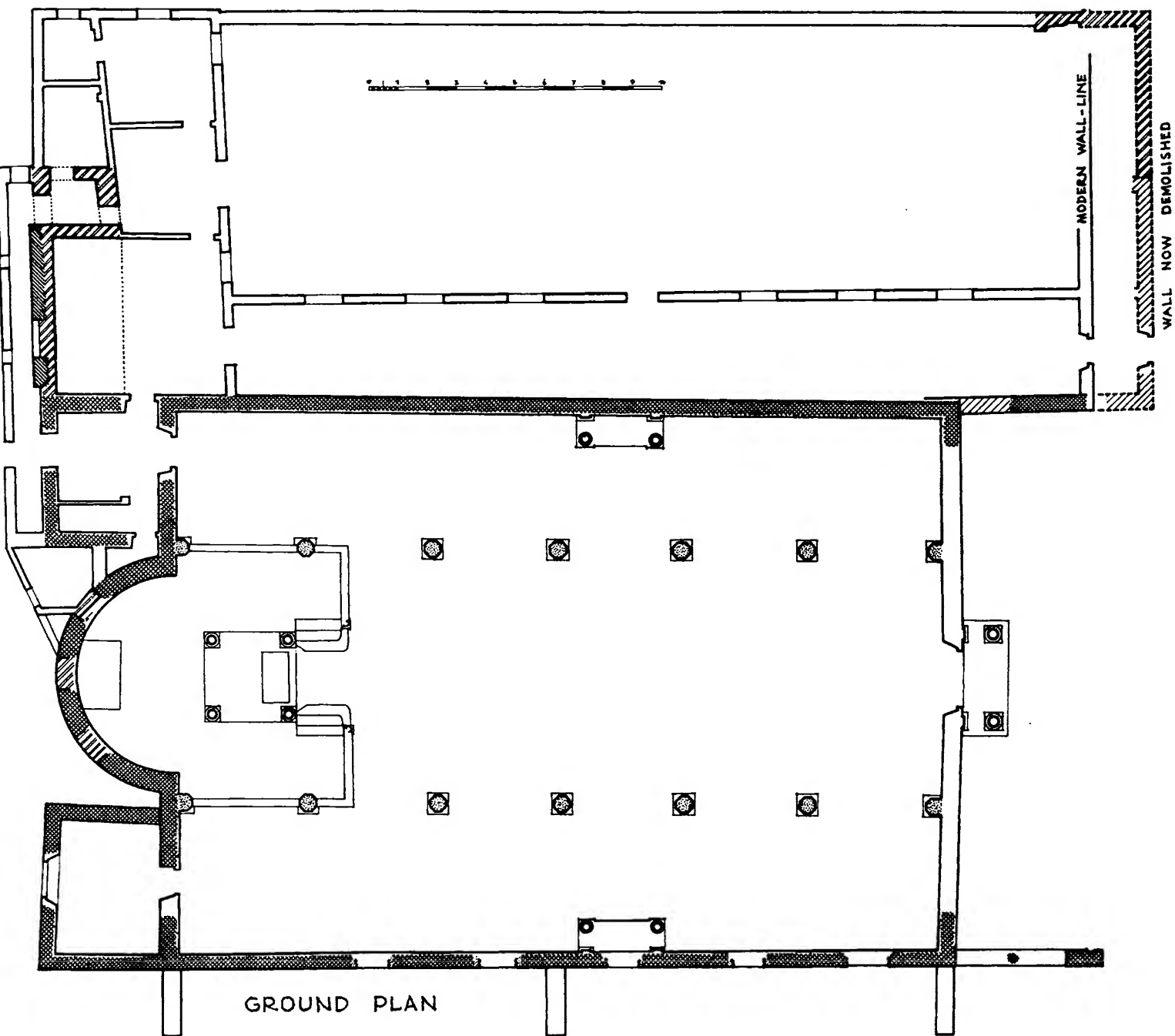
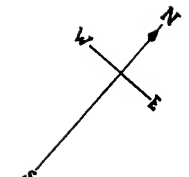


CROSS SECTION



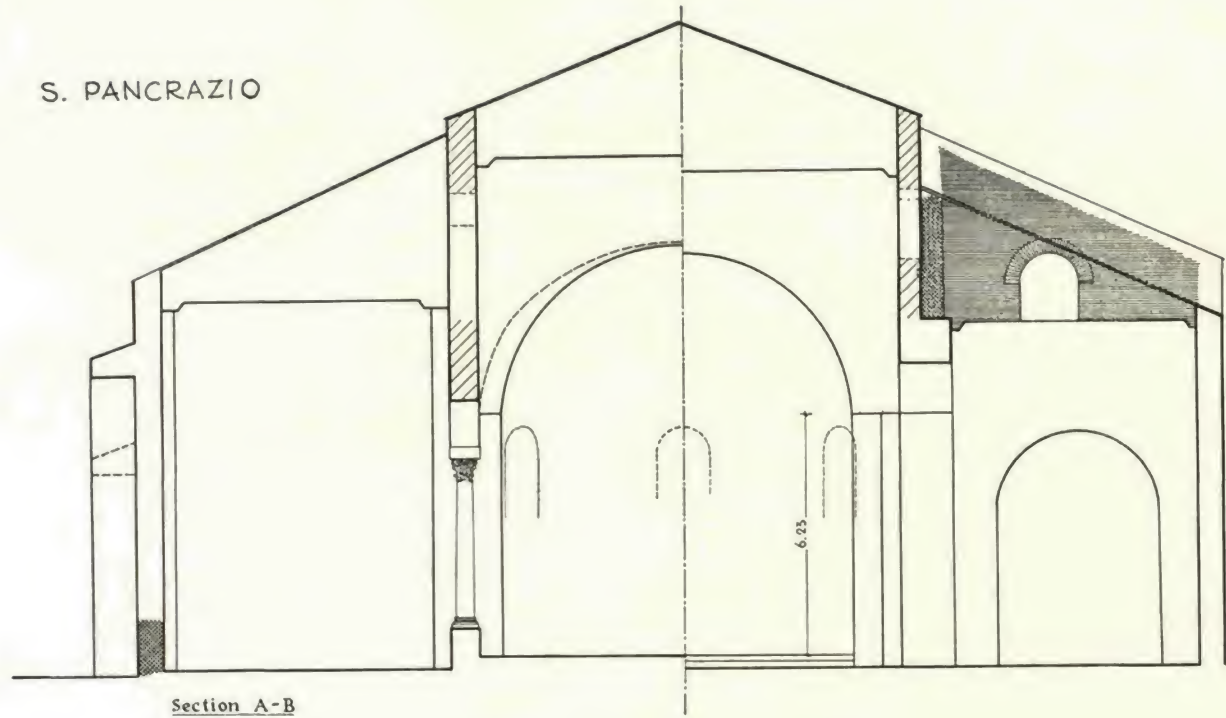
ISOMETRIC VIEW

- Roman.
- Leo III (795-816)
- Romanesque 1
- Romanesque 2
- Sixtus IV (1471-84)

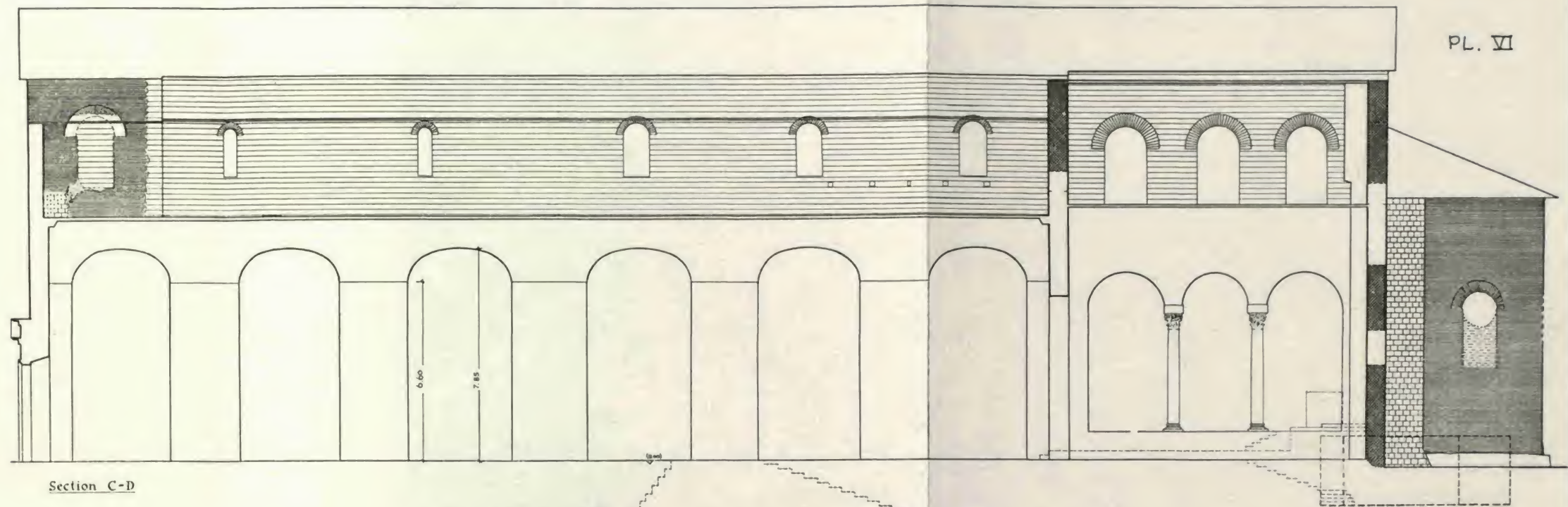


GROUND PLAN

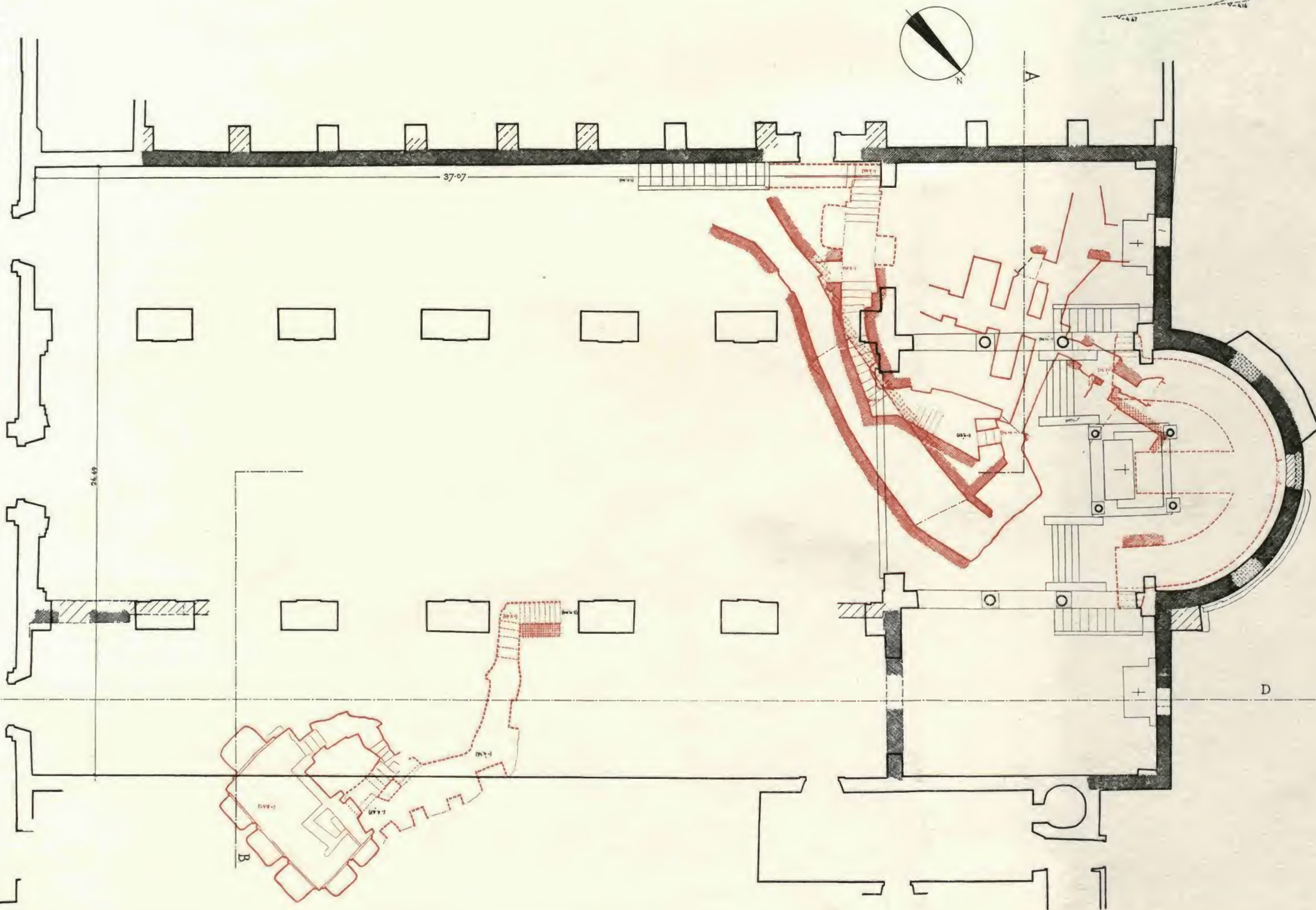




Section A-B



Section C-D

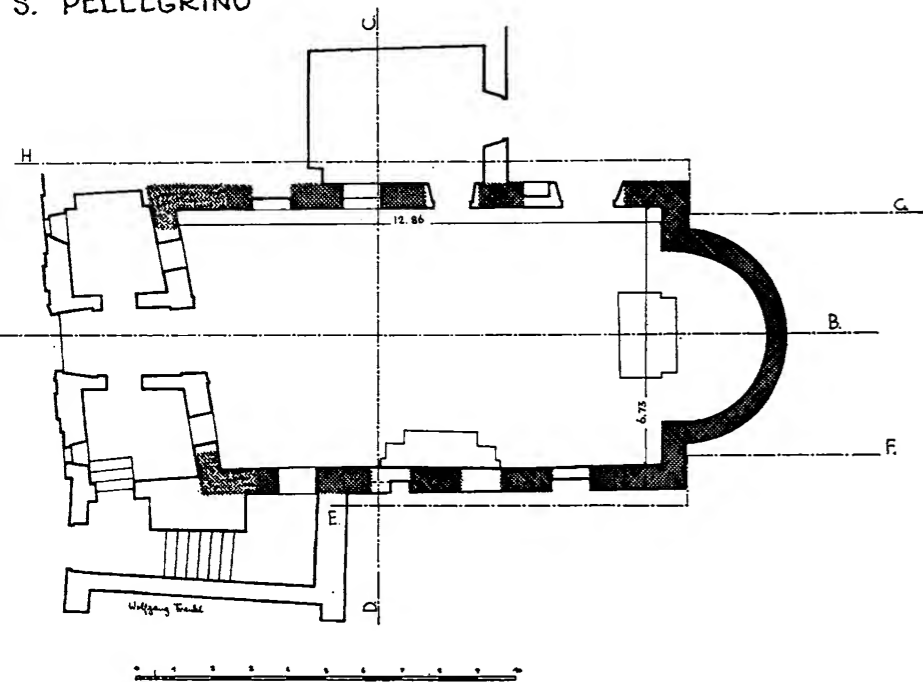


- Plan
- Antecedent walls
  - Opus listatum, mainly vii<sup>th</sup> cent.
  - Romanesque
  - Fifteenth century
  - Seventeenth century

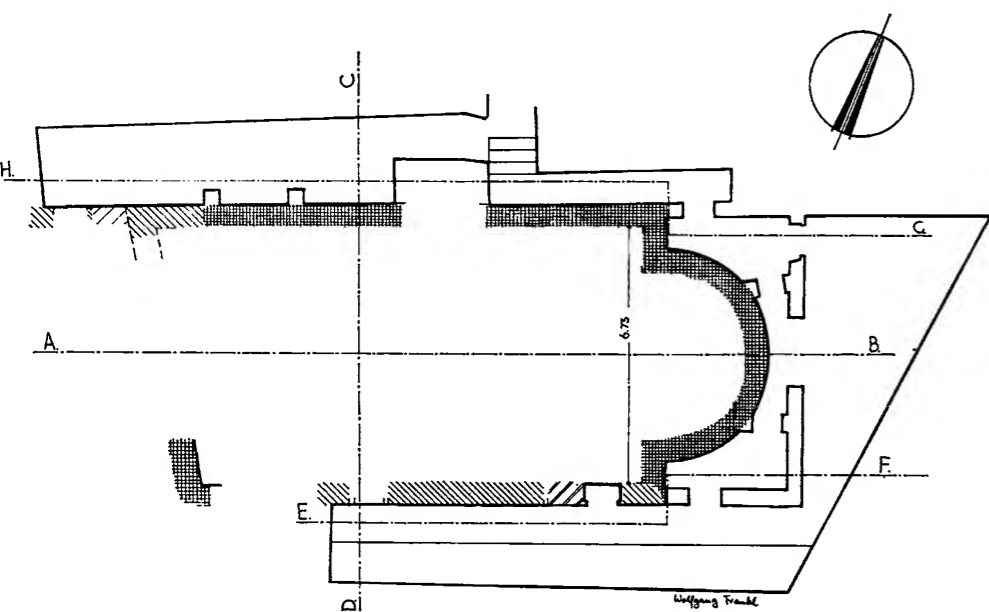
- Sections Elevation
- vii<sup>th</sup> cent. opus listatum.
  - Romanesque brickwork
  - Fifteenth century



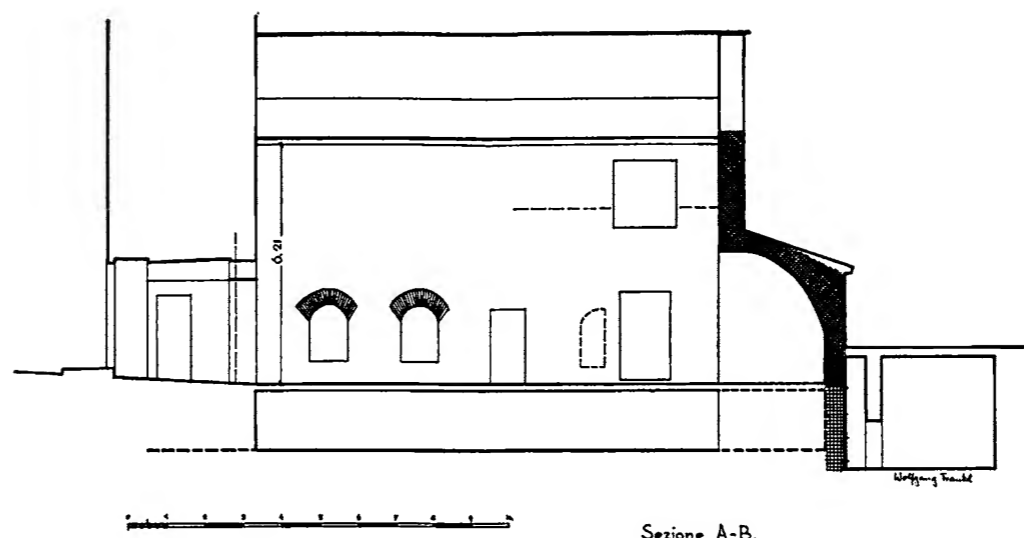
S. PELLEGRINO



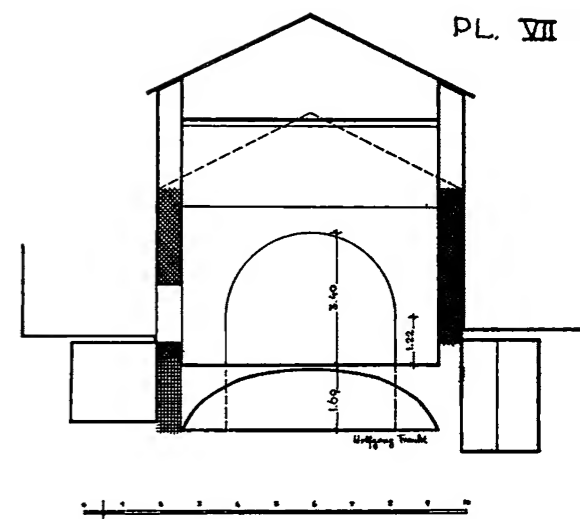
PLAN



PLAN OF SUBSTRUCTURES

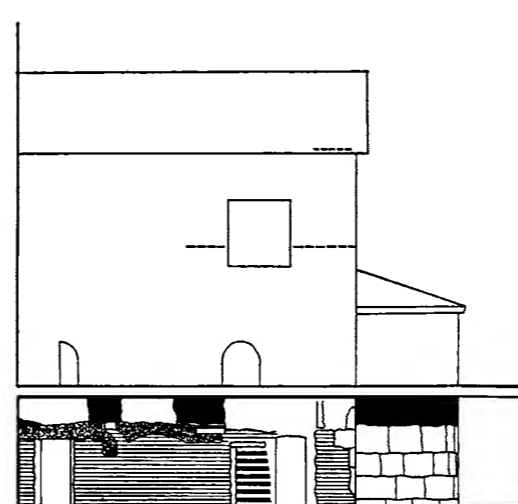


Sezione A-B.

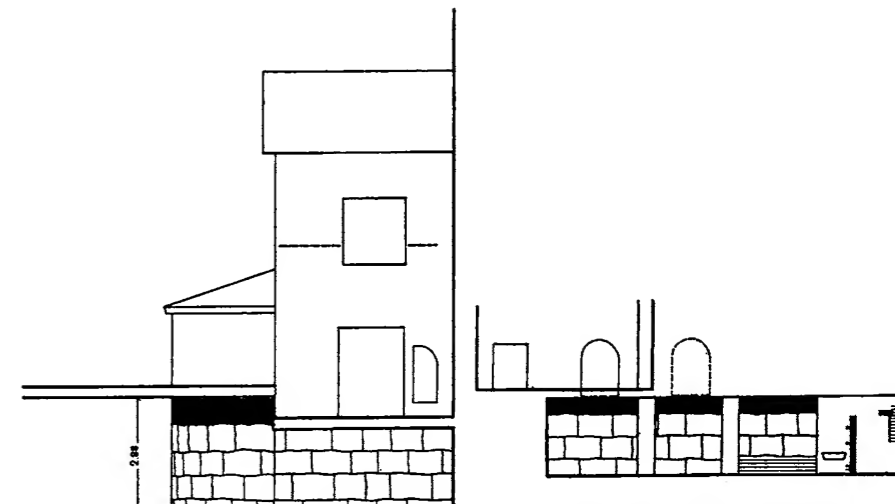


Sezione C-D.

Elevation	Section
	Roman walls.
	Carolingian large blocks.
	Carolingian brickwork
	Mediaeval.



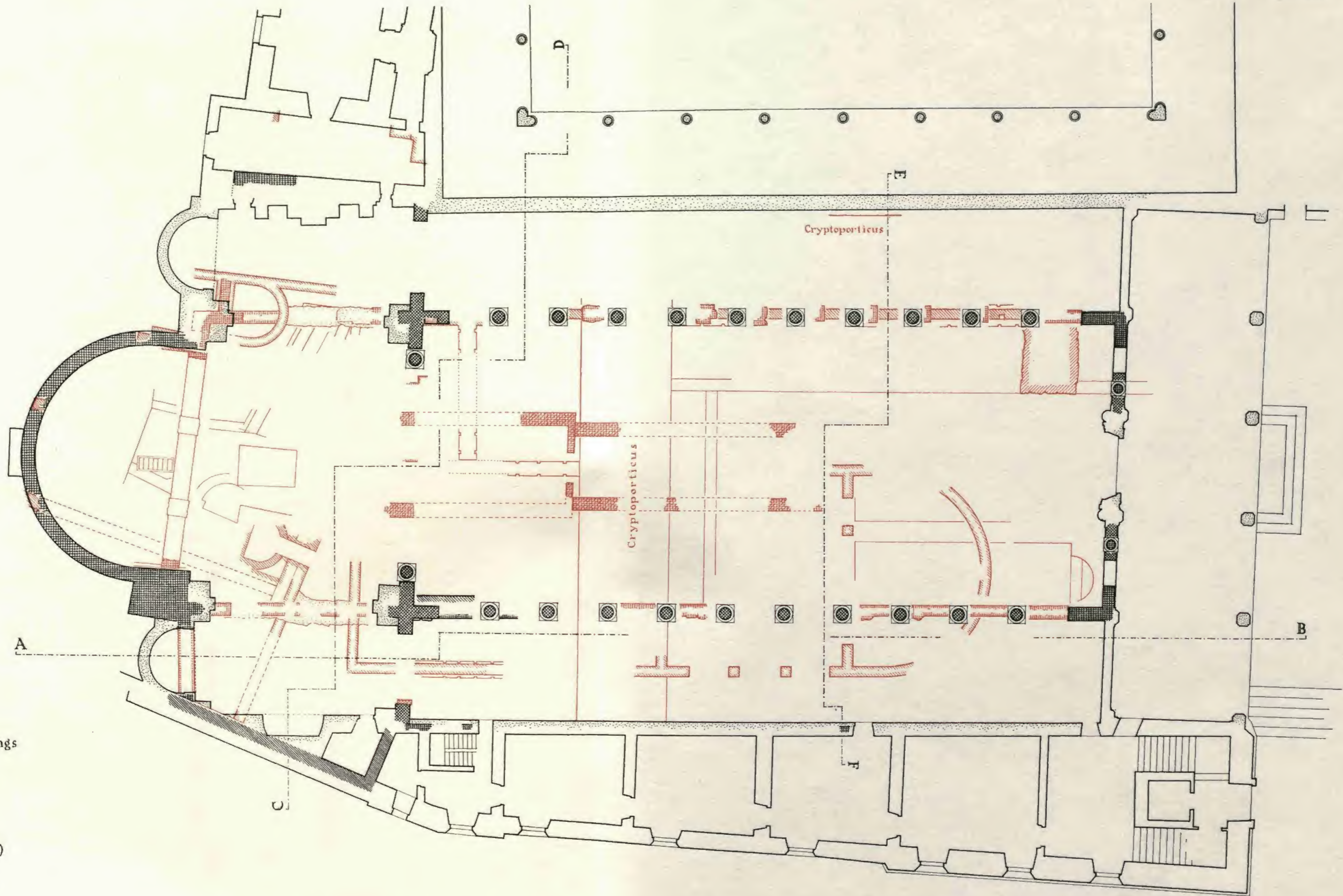
Sezione E-F.








Sezione G-H.

SURVEY AND DRAWING  
W. FRANKL



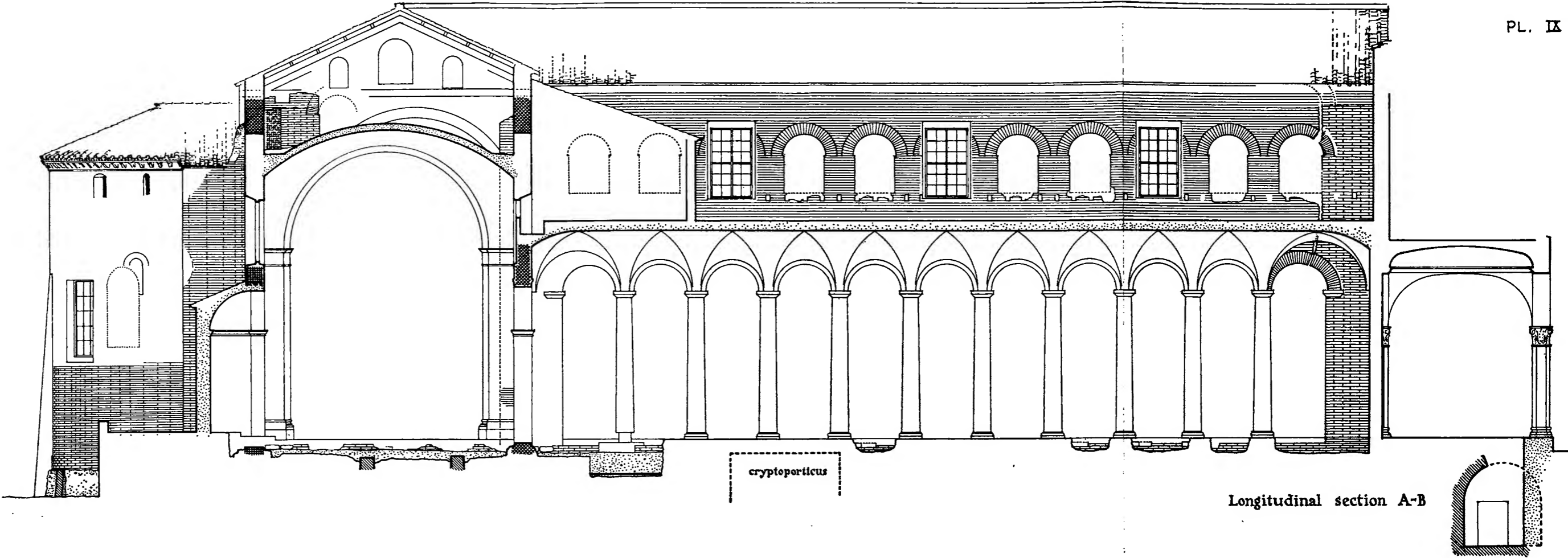


-  Antecedent Roman buildings
-  The first church ('A')
-  Chancel enclosure
-  The second church ('B')
-  Renaissance additions

0 5 10 15 20 25 30 M

S. CORBETT  
INCORPORATING SURVEY W. FRANKL

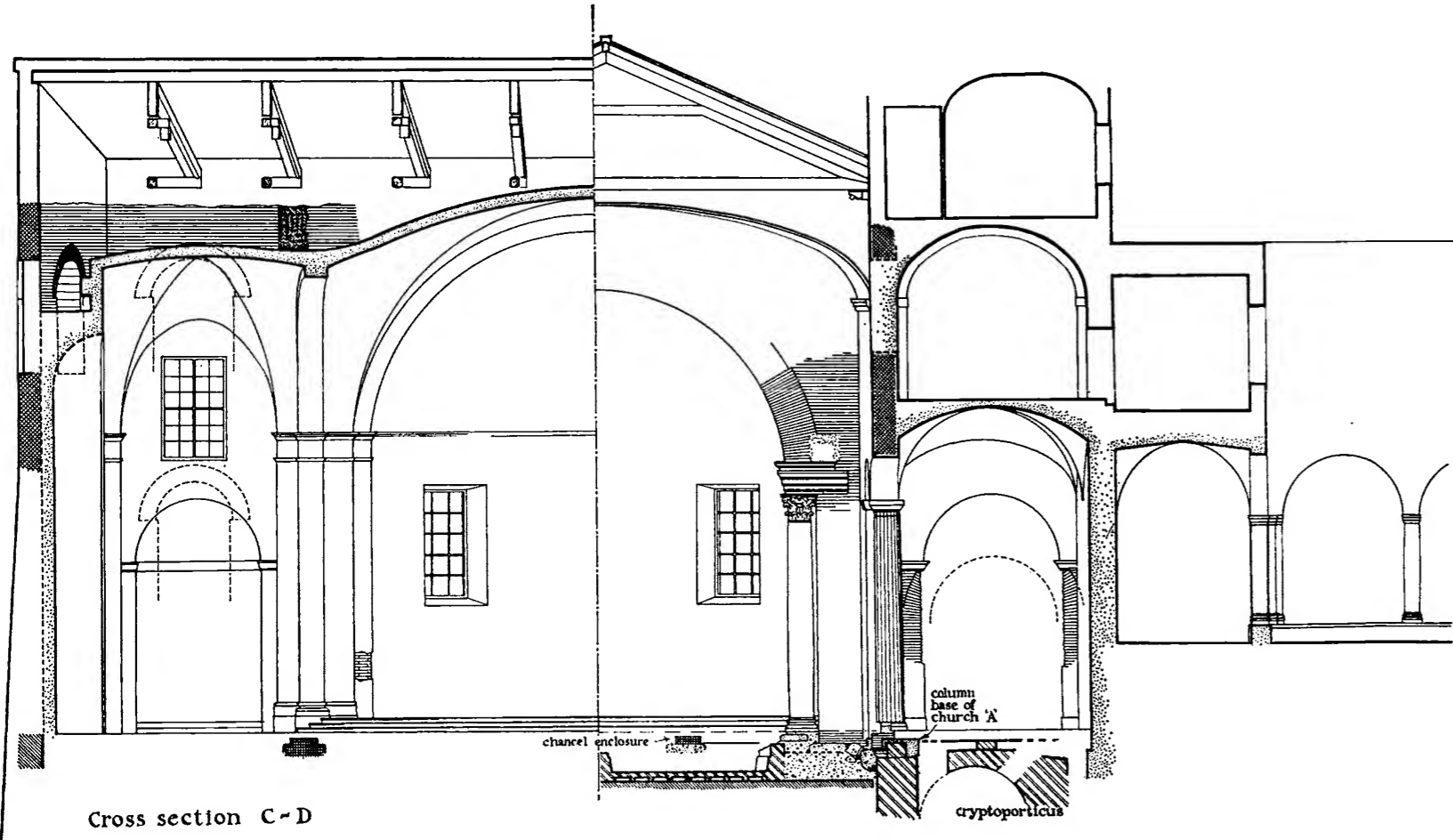




Longitudinal section A-B

cryptoporticus

- | Section | Elevation                          |
|---------|------------------------------------|
|         | Roman walls anterior to the church |
|         | Remains of Church 'A'              |
|         | Fabric of Church 'B'               |
|         | Renaissance additions              |

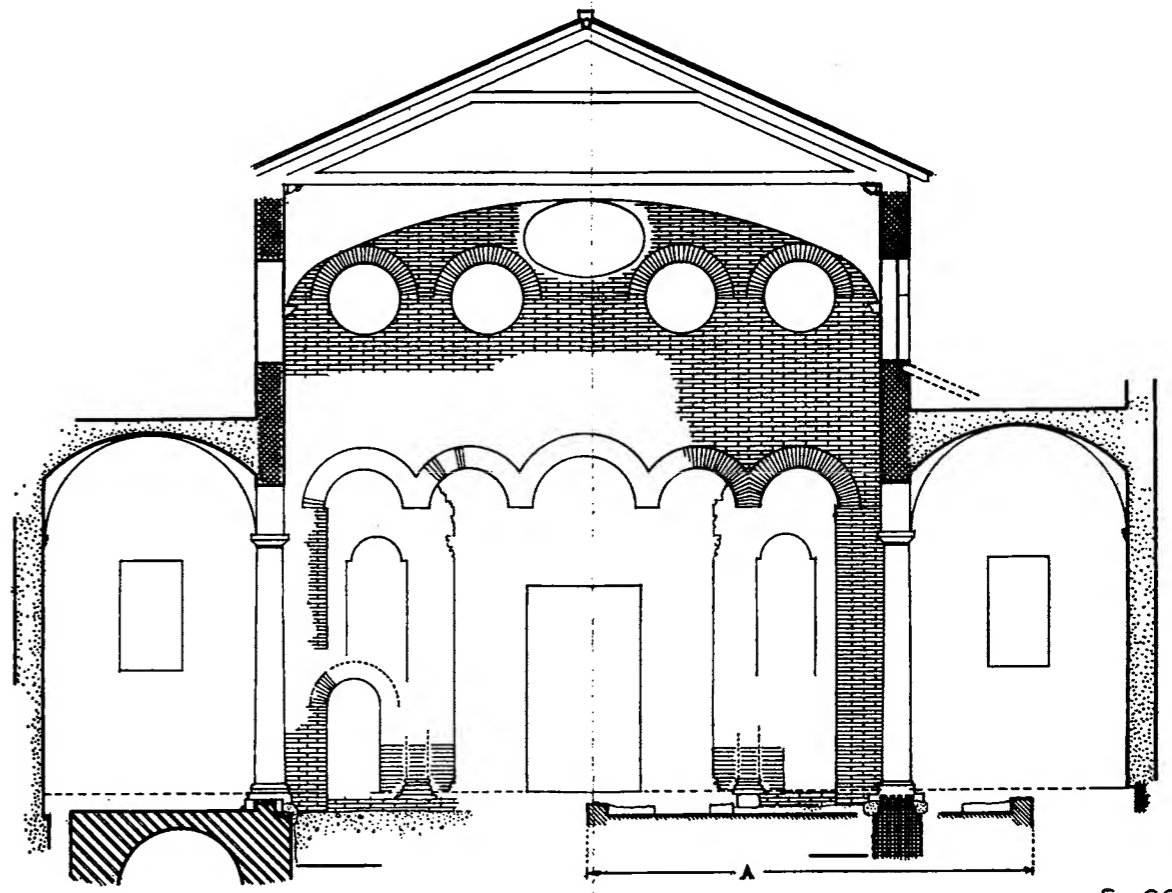


Cross section C-D

column base of church 'A'

cryptoporticus

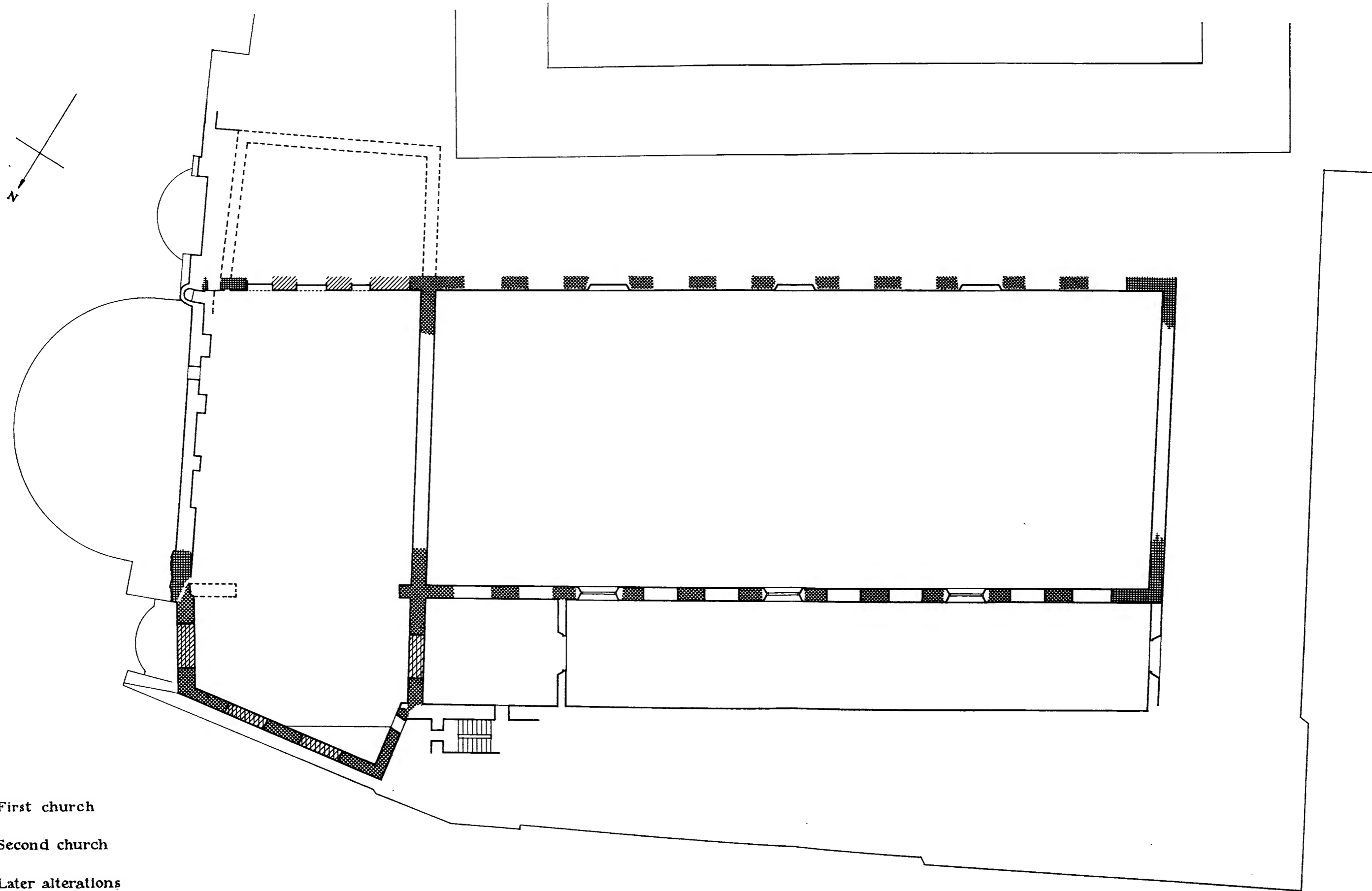
chancel enclosure







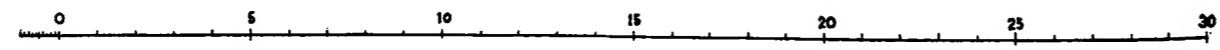
Cross section E-F

S. CORBETT  
INCORPORATING SURVEY W. FRANKL







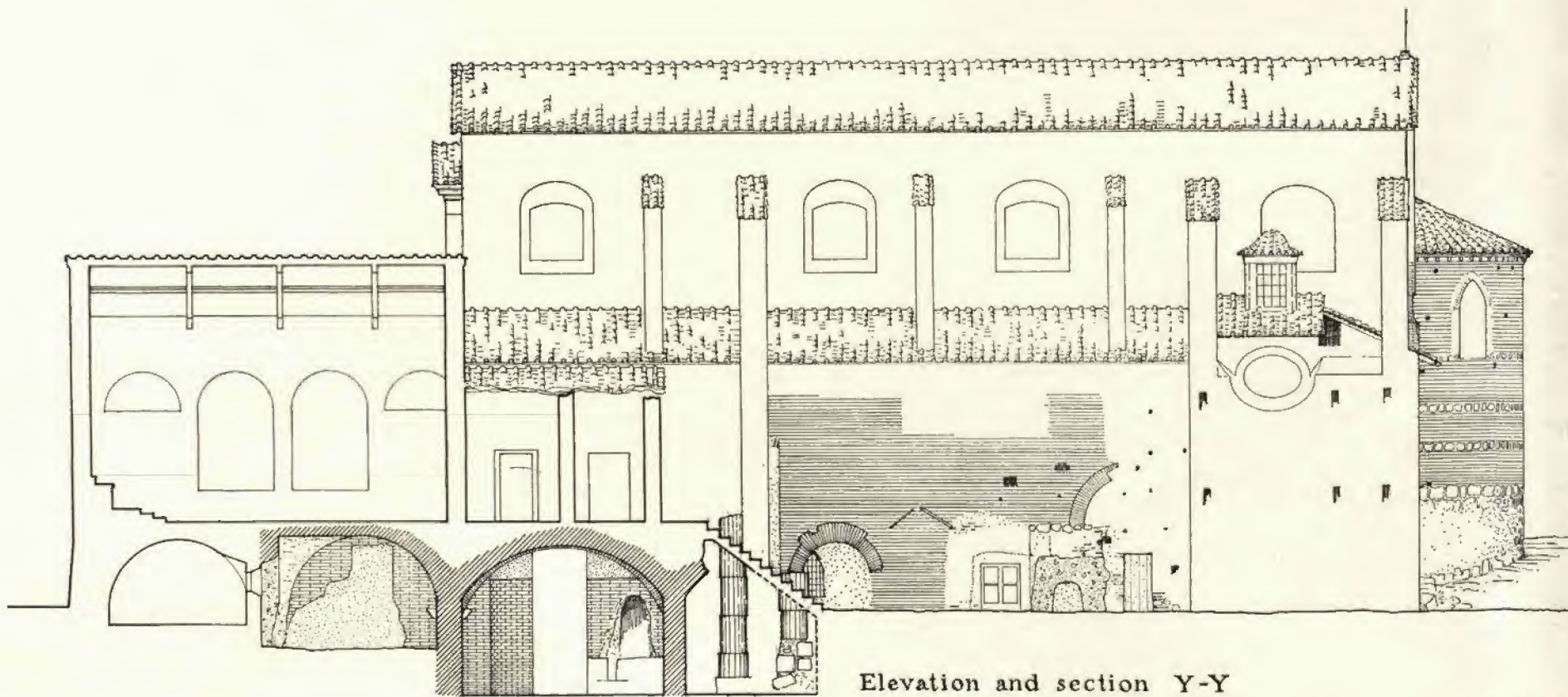
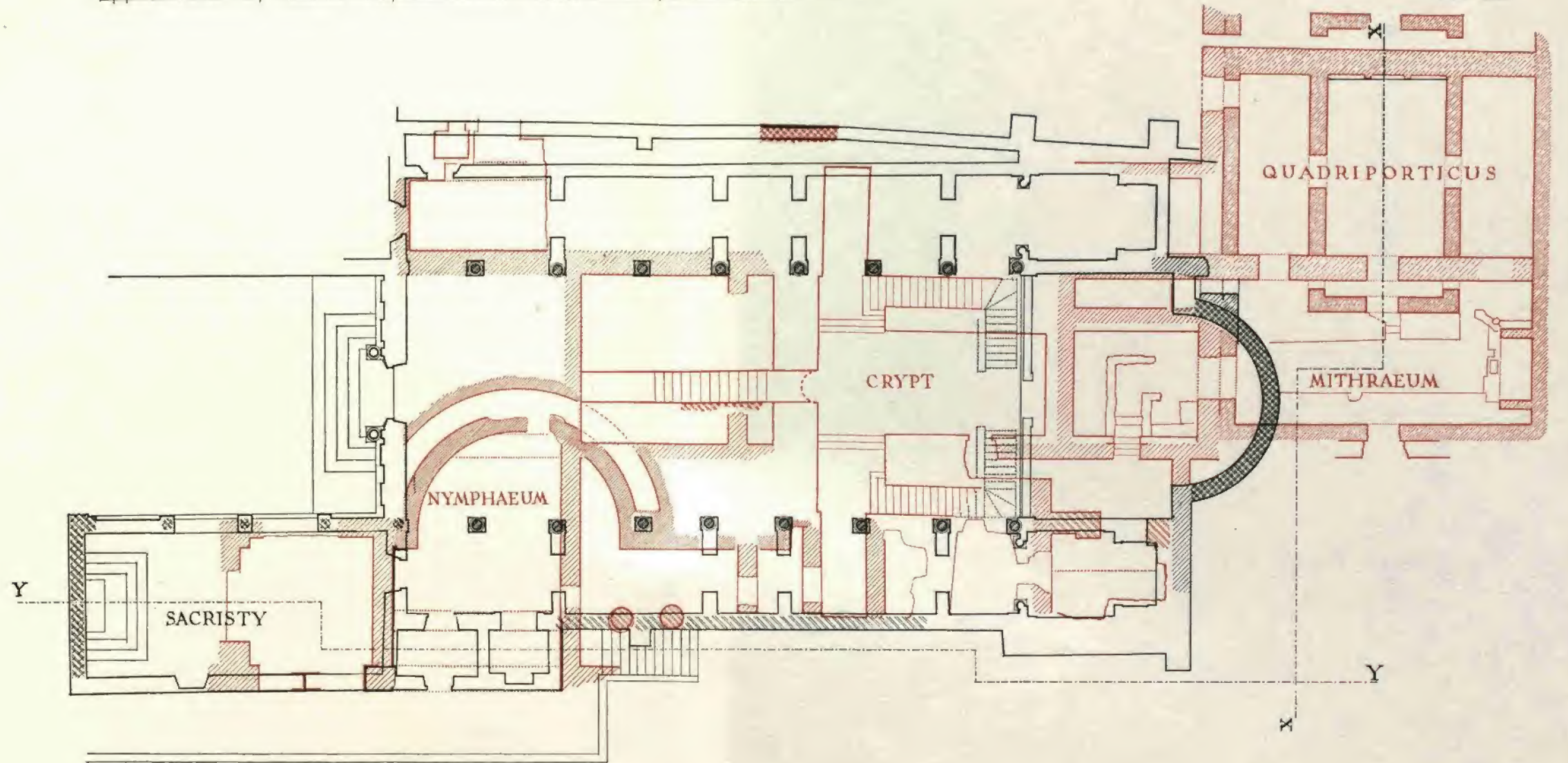


-  First church
-  Second church
-  Later alterations
-  Romanesque

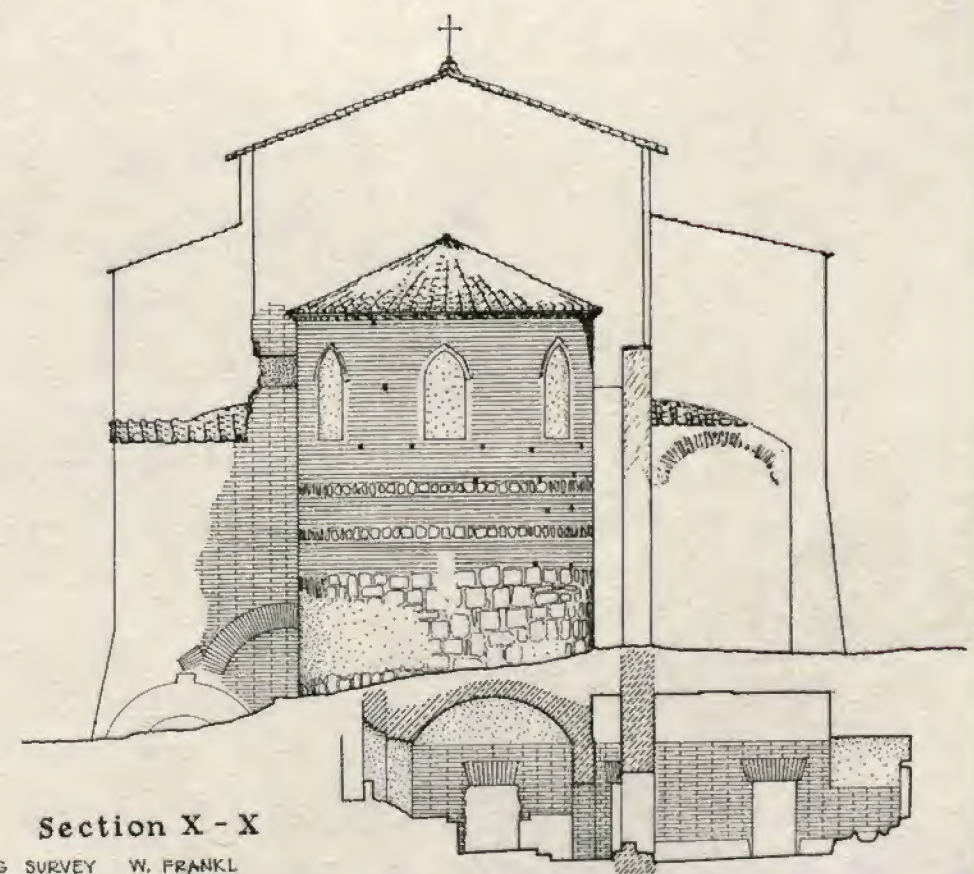




- Plan
- Elevation
-  Roman buildings of several periods.
  -  Early romanesque walls
  -  Later romanesque walls
  -  Renaissance & Baroque









Elevation and section Y-Y



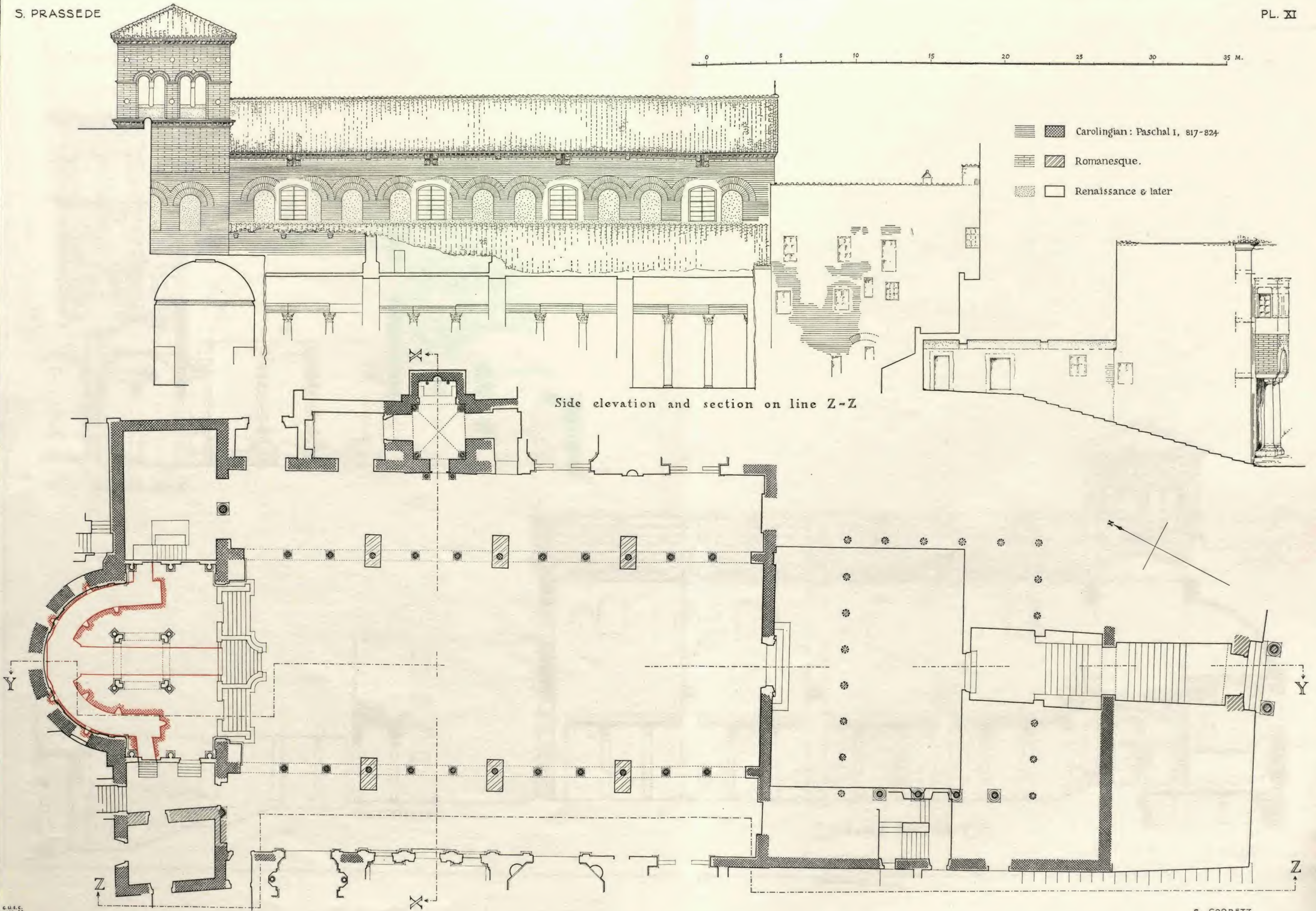
Section X - X



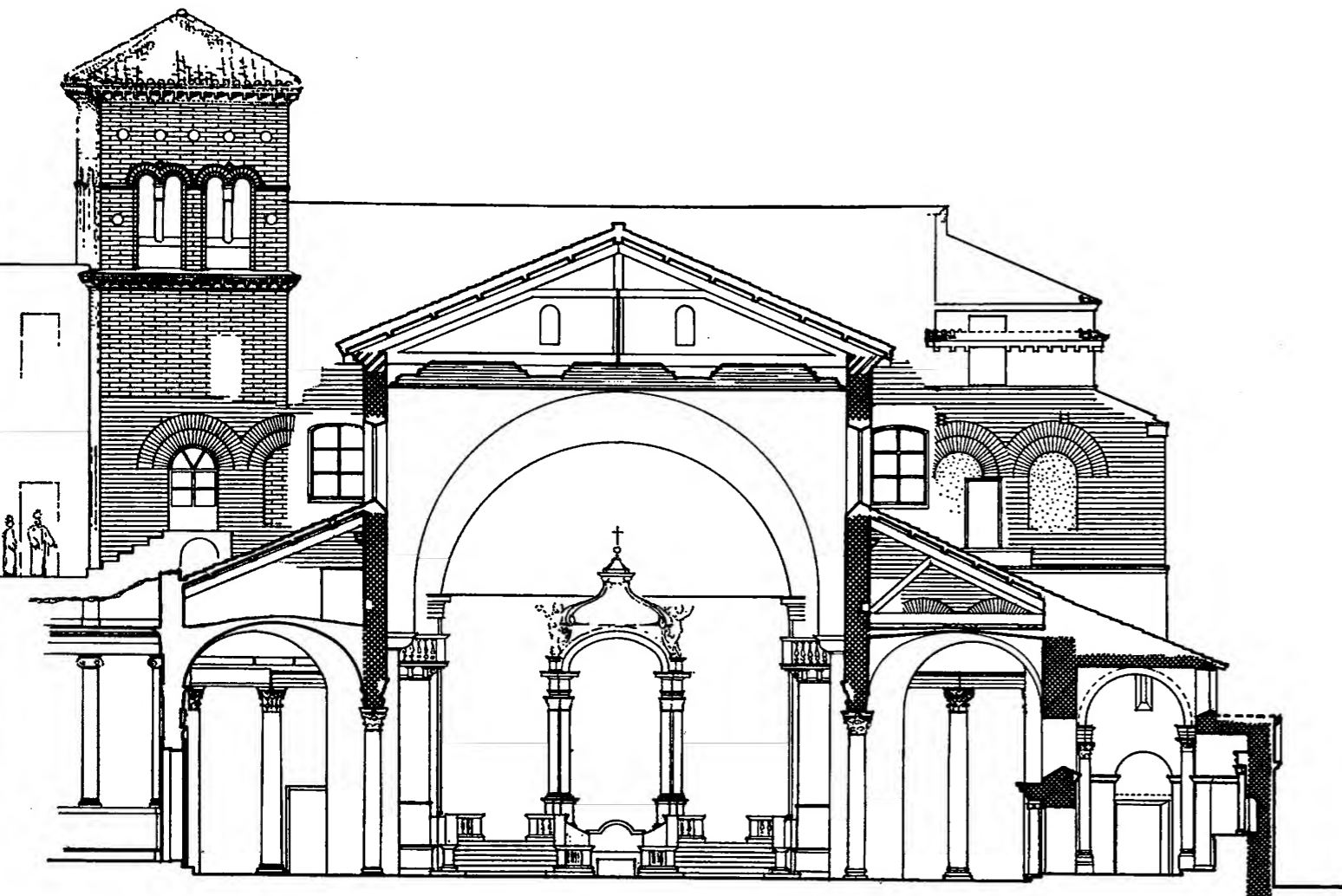
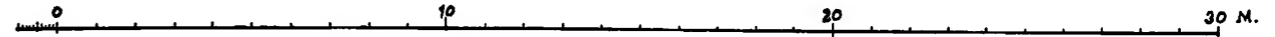


-   Carolingian: Paschal I, 817-824
-   Romanesque.
-   Renaissance & later







Side elevation and section on line Z-Z

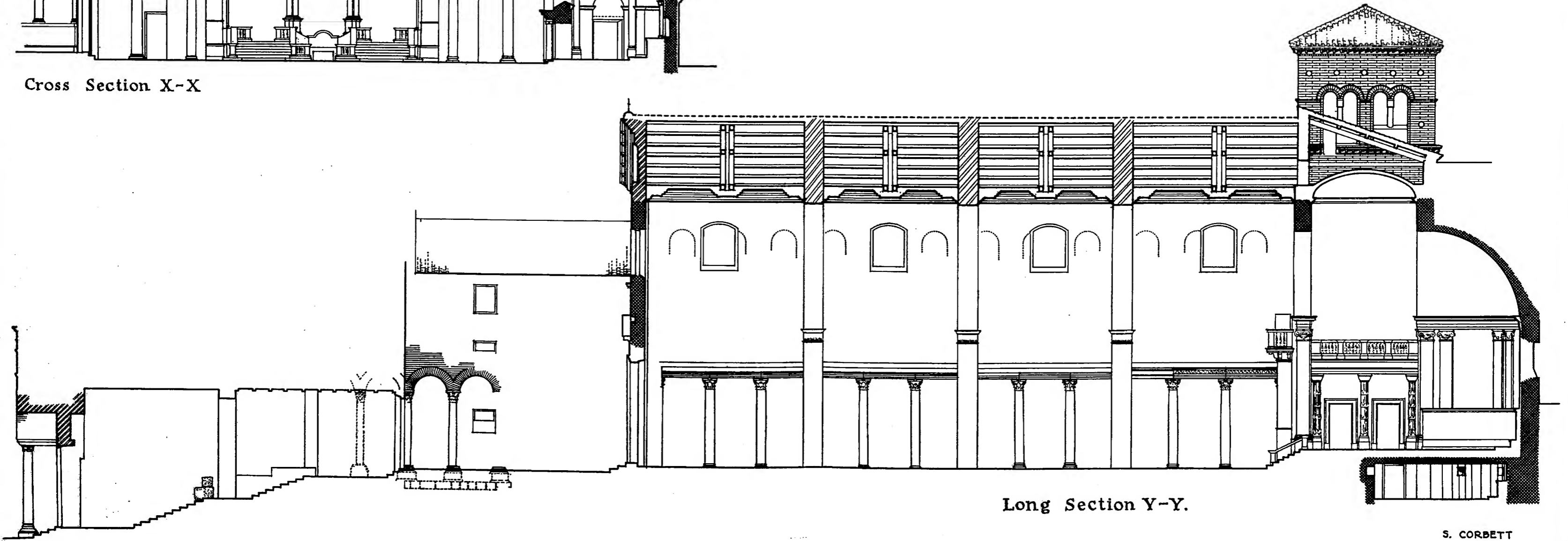






Cross Section X-X

-   Paschal I, 817-824
-   Romanesque
-   Renaissance and later









Long Section Y-Y.

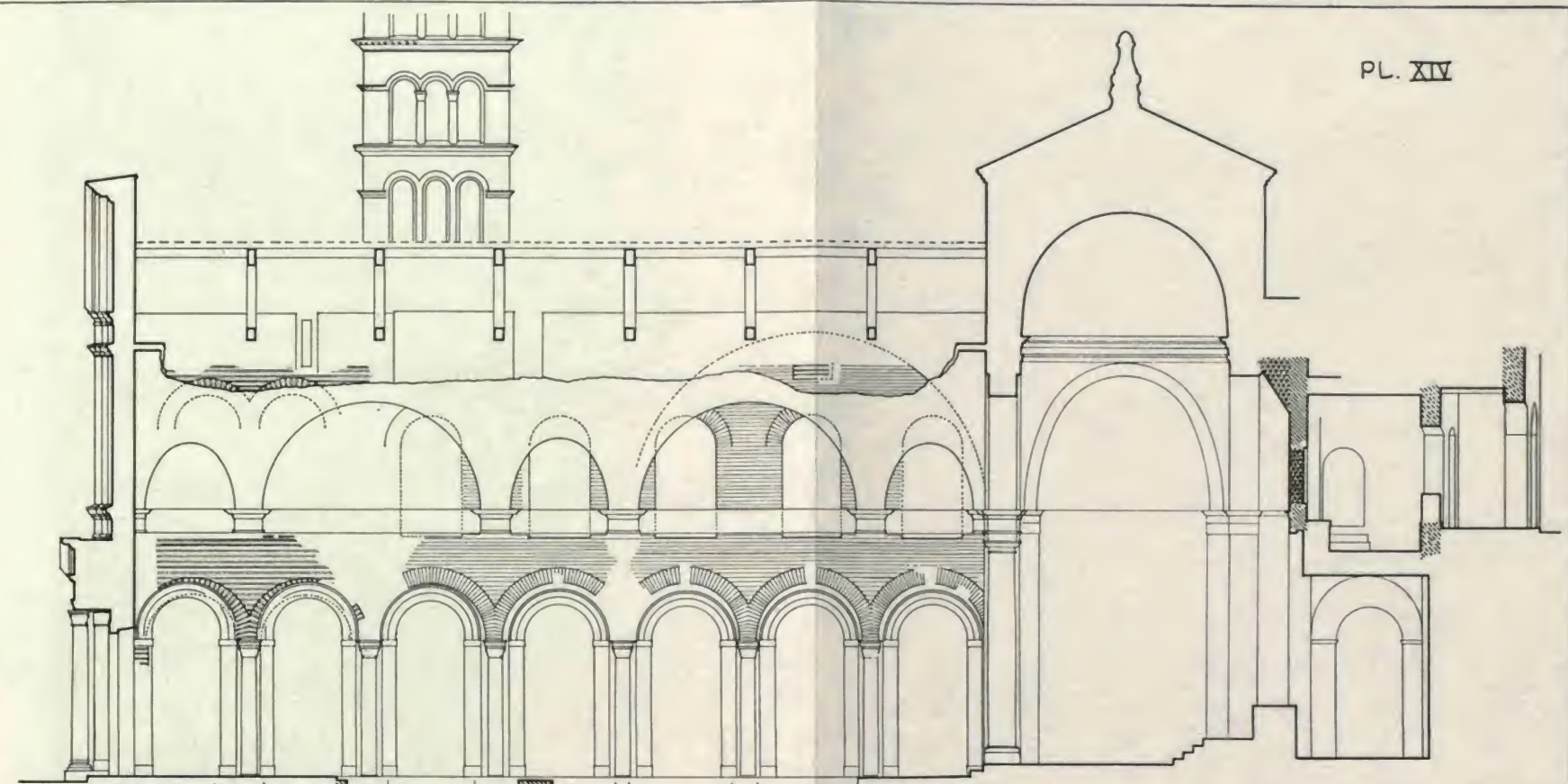
S. CORBETT





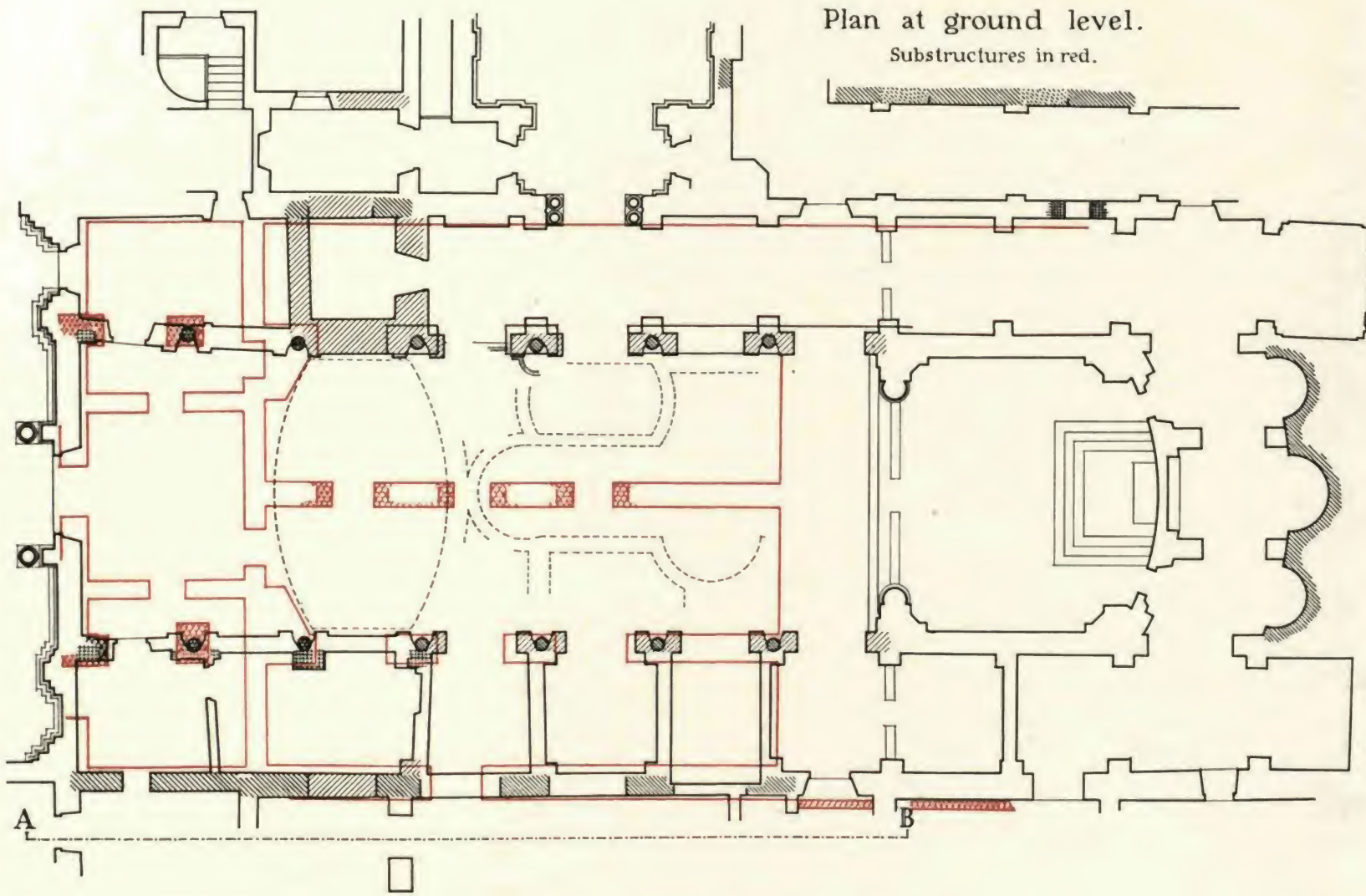
-  Roman house, ca. 134 A.D.
-  Bath Hall, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent.
-  The same, slightly later
-  Early Christian, ca. 390 A.D.
-  ca. 536 A.D.
-  Romanesque

Elevation A-B

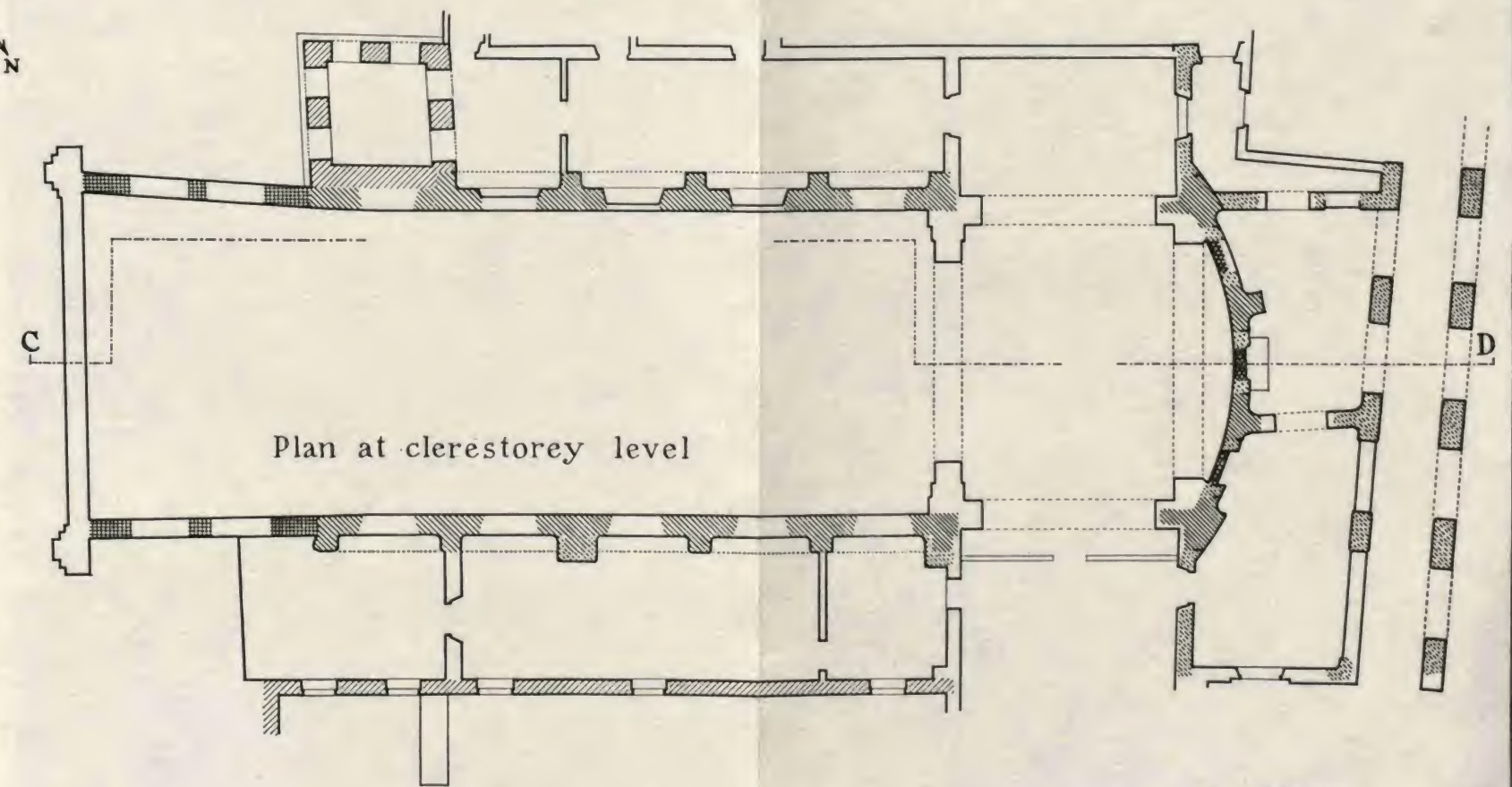
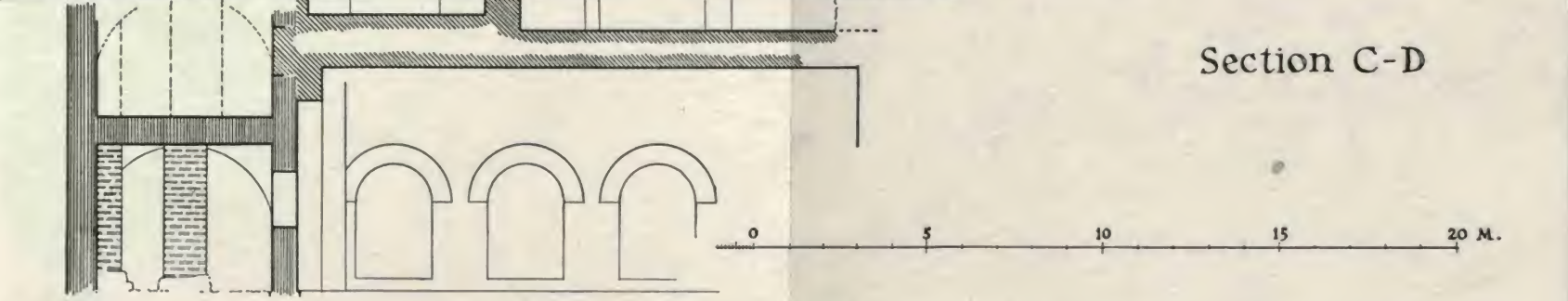


Section C-D

Plan at ground level.  
Substructures in red.



0 5 10 15 20 M.



Plan at clerestorey level